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TREATISE

ON

FINANCE,

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A

TREATISE

ON

FINANCE,

UNDER WHICH,

The General Interests

OF

THE BRITISH EMPIRE

ARE ILLUSTRATED:

COMPRISING,

A Project for their Improvement;

TOGETHER WITH

A NEW SCHEME FOR LIQUIDATING

THE

NATIONAL DEBT.

Glasgow:

PRINTED BY R. CHAPMAN, TRONGATE.

1815.

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TO

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS

THE PRINCE REGENT.

May it please your Royal Highness,

Deeply impressed with the importance of the subject-matter of the following treatise, and with the inadequacy of the attempt now made to do it justice, I beg leave, with the utmost humility, submission and deference, to place it under your Royal Highness's special notice, under the hopes and belief, that it will thereby obtain all the attention which it deserves.

At no period of the British history have the means and resources of the empire been called forth towards objects more stupendous in their character, and more essentially important; in none have its energies been exercised with more vigor, splendor and efficacy, than during the few years wherein the supreme authority of the state has been invested in the person of your Royal Highness. Amidst exploits and achievements, the most wonderful and the most heroic, your Royal Highness, by the blessing of God, has

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not only manifested your steady adherence to the sage councils of your august Father, our most gracious Sovereign; and your inviolable attachment to those principles, upon which your most illustrious house was raised to the throne; but evinced the dignity and potency with which the mighty sceptre of these realms can be swayed.

But it is known to your Royal Highness, that the memory of these great events, together with all the glory and advantage that can result from them, is apt to pass away, if not resolved into acquirements that are substantial; while the burdens incident to their attainment may remain. The illustrations, herewith offered, which take up our national affairs at this point, lay open immense and invaluable fields of enterprise, wherein, by employing the disengaged means of the nation, and the passing advantages of the state, not only may these burdens be most completely met, but a vast range of inestimable attainments be permanently secured.

It has been the peculiar happiness of his present Majesty, that the interests of true religion have been the objects of his supreme regard. How far the Divine benediction has crowned his pious solicitude is manifest to the whole world. Not only has the shield of the Almighty been spread over our heads, but his strength has animated our hearts. Our coun-

try has not merely been delivered from the baleful presence of its enemies, but it has, amidst triumphs the most grateful, provided, for these enemies, those means of reformation which had been lost amidst their crimes.

Much, however, remains to be done. The tyrant of Europe has been displaced; but his influence has not been removed. Our direful struggles have ceased; but no one can tell what changes may yet take place. In the meantime, the claims of paramount duty are constantly pressing themselves upon our notice. The means, funds and population disengaged from the service of war, must be set to work to repair its breaches. It is the main design of the following treatise to bear these towards proper objects. The public debt, as British wealth, realized in the hands of the national creditor, it is shewn, may, according to principles the most fair, and upon terms the most favorable to all concerned, be run off into colonial and other investments of essential and permanent value; whereby the substantial acquirements of the nation may be at once augmented and consolidated, the resources of the state be relieved and reinforced, and the condition and character of the people be every way ameliorated and advanced. Thereby, too, it is seen, that as harbingers and bearers, as well as preservers and defenders, of our most holy faith, systema-

tic improvement, and all the genial renovating principles with which this source of our strength is so abundantly fraught, may be diffused and established all the world over.

Although the subject-matter of this treatise be thus essentially important, I would not have presumed to have placed them so directly under your Royal Highness's notice, had not a deep and thorough conviction of duty, and of insuperable obligation, prevailed over every personal consideration whatever, and induced me to do all the justice to the general views now taken, that lay within the compass of my power.

That your Royal Highness may, amidst your exalted avocations, ever enjoy the special favor and protection of Almighty God, is the fervent prayer of,

May it please your Royal Highness,

Your Royal Highness's

most obsequious

and devoted servant,

DAVID LAURIE.

Glasgow,
October, 1815.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE first design of this Treatise was to analyze the principles, on which a financial instrument, for serving those purposes of coined money, which are at present unprovided for, may be obtained; and to unfold the nature and character of those advantages, that must result from that regular developement of our national resources which would take place, if we were to avail ourselves duly of such an instrument, and to prosecute the ulterior objects of commerce and of finance, on those liberal principles, which articulate and precise views of our best interests would, in such a case, suggest. But the connexion that invariably subsists, betwixt our discharging paramount national duties, upon those solid grounds which such advantages would provide, and the attainment of those ulterior objects, which to us are of all others the most important, constitute the prominent and principal subject of those discussions and expositions which follow.

The object of this work is prosecuted in the form of a project or scheme, held to be unfolded and prepared for im-

mediate execution; a method, which not only suggested to the Author those views of his subject, that appeared to him to be most appropriate and conclusive, but which enabled him to preserve its whole materials most completely under his eye, and, by avoiding a multitude of burdensome distinctions and unnecessary definitions, to present his ideas on the general subject, according to a form, that was at once more dense, more perspicuous, and more forcible, than any other which its complexity could otherwise have admitted of.

The plan of this work is most comprehensive; it comprises a vast range of public affairs, of the most important kind, brought, perhaps for the first time, under one great leading point of view; it reaches to objects, that, of all others, about which our schemes and designs are conversant, are the most momentous and interesting to us, both in our individual and in our collective capacities; and it presents these before us, under that aspect, which is necessarily most supremely impressive. It is believed, too, that the views thus illustrated, are not less new and important in themselves, than satisfactory and irresistible in the conclusions into which they lead.

Although these views have been drawn out into a form, that, on the whole, must appear to be theoretical; they are not to be regarded as developements of a particular system, excogitated under its influences, and merely illustrative of its operations. The illustrations and expositions now given, are the result of experience, and of deep attention to the matters of business to which they relate. They are, strictly speaking, a compilement of observations, and of those views into which these observations necessarily resolve themselves; and the system, to which reference is so frequently made, is merely the last and the most comprehensive of these resolu-

tions. This system is no doubt prominently set forward, and its leading principles are occasionally applied to other subjects, still more comprehensive. This, however, is only done in the way of illustration, and no more weight is laid upon those analogous references, than, in the circumstances of the case, they may fairly be held to be able to sustain. The general aptness of the views illustrated to these circumstances, and the particular lineaments of the project, are more powerfully impressed, by means of these representations, than they could have been without them; but its outline, and its competency to the case in hand, are both rested on matters of notorious observation, and its character is independent of all these illustrations.

This Treatise was begun, and partly sent to the press about five years since, at a time, when the commercial and financial difficulties of the British empire were great beyond any former parallel. The opportunities, which the Author had of comparing these, in their leading features, with other disasters of a similar, but less tremendous aspect, had impressed his mind with a thorough conviction that these were not anomalous. They, for a time, seemed to shake to the centre the fabric of our national credit and responsibility, as well as to envelop the hopes and fortunes of the whole mercantile interests of the country. It was not, however, sufficiently attended to, that the evils, under which we labored, were prodigiously aggravated by the desperate nature of that warfare in which we were then engaged; by the cheerless and forlorn condition in which all that was dear to us was placed; and by our being, in consequence of these disadvantages in our situation, appalled by difficulties that would

otherwise have been but little thought of. The remembrance of this dreadful dilemma may have passed away, with the poignancy of those feelings which it had excited; but the character of inanity and instability, which it has stamped on all mercantile attainments, is not thus to be obliterated.

These circumstances had called forth a multitude of disquisitions, respecting the tendency of an increased paper currency, and the effect of certain restrictions on trade, which were then generally held to be the proximate causes of all the calamities under which we labored. The legislature, the attention of which had been much occupied with the prevailing distress, withstood those views; but it substituted no alterative course of measures, to bear the nation effectually out of its difficulties. It was these circumstances which sent the Author of this treatise to the press. He had not long before suggested the advantages, that our isolated situation now afforded us, for improving and extending our institutional establishments, and other departments of our great polity, that were independent of foreign intercourse, and displayed the immense value, and powerful operation, of the various benefits that would necessarily result therefrom. His first business now was to expose the fallacy of the denouement of our difficulties, that seemed almost universally to be adopted. He agreed with all parties in considering the coincidence of our calamities with the matters complained of, as indications of the nature and character of the prevailing evils; but he could not consider this coincidence, as furnishing any rule or data for determining their origin, measuring their extent, or ascertaining their operation. He saw that these evils had a larger and more absolute sweep over our affairs, than was generally admitted;

and that, though diversified in their appearances, they had long had the mastery over our whole affairs. His chief business, accordingly came to be, to trace these evils to their source, and to seek out the means that could most completely raise us above the sphere of their operation.

The observations and hints, which the Author had then prepared, are to be found at the beginning, and in a more or less diffused form, throughout the treatise, and more particularly near the end. Various circumstances, however, intervened, and retarded the progress of the work through the press; it became evident, too, that the importance of the subject, and the powerful prejudices that would be opposed to his expositions, required to be met in the fullest manner, before his views could be held to be fully explicated. In the meantime, various new topics presented themselves, and matters, formerly held to be of primary regard, lost their importance in the public estimation. Deeply impressed with the seriousness of the task with which he had burdened himself, the Author lost sight of every other consideration, but that of doing all the justice to the subject, that was within the compass of his power. He could not now pay much regard either to plan or method; but he made it his business, to comprise the whole affairs which were deserving of attention, completely under his eye. In this way, the treatise was drawn out, in an undigested form, to an enormous bulk, so as in the end to give a compilation of ideas, which embraces almost the whole range of our public concernments, in the shape of an overgrown pamphlet; and, as many of the topics illustrated had lost their importance with the public, and given way to others but remotely connected with the principal subject, which it was now necessary to carry forward in like manner,

under the same views, the treatise itself began to assume an aspect that was at once uninviting and uninteresting.

Defects of method and arrangement, however, are not the only, nor indeed the principal faults of this work. Certain unforeseen occurrences rendered it impossible for the Author to bestow uniform attention to the work, proceeding under his hands, whereby many flagrant mistakes escaped his notice. At different times, it was necessary for him to intermit his labors altogether, frequently for periods that were very considerable; and as he had made it his business to carry along with him, the whole affairs and events with which his subject was connected, under those views which the nature of the case required, his resumption of his work, in changed circumstances, was frequently not only difficult and awkward, but extremely perplexing. These, and other mishaps in this work the Author cannot but bitterly regret, not so much on account of any disparagement they can produce to himself, as on that of their impairing the impressions which illustrations, respecting a most important subject, at once cogent and conclusive, were calculated to produce. Nothing but the firmest persuasion, that his expositions, notwithstanding their blemishes, were well calculated to produce those general perceptions of national duty and public advantage that were in view; and a thorough conviction, that the obligation laid upon him to persevere in his work was imperious, could possibly have borne him forward, amidst such discouragements. While, therefore, he disclaims, most absolutely, every literary claim whatever, he hopes that his having thus manifestly sacrificed every thing personal, will give him credit with the reader, in regard to the importance and seriousness of the general subject-matter of his labors.

This work may, to many, appear to have a fault greater than either of those abovementioned. Its object being to reach to the root of the evils contemplated, and its design to render the remedy proposed palpably evident, the project, by means of which this design is carried forward, is extended to the highest and most important concerns of the state; it strikes at corruption and abuse of every kind with the most unsparing hand, and it proposes alterations in most momentous points of our public procedure, that, in some instances, amount to innovations on customs and maxims the most thoroughly established. It must, however, be remembered, that his project is itself no other than an illustration of the subjects to which they refer. That thereby most forcible illustrations are given must be admitted; that they contain precisely those views which the Author, after exercising solicitude and anxiety on the subject, the most unremitted and intense, ultimately preferred, is not denied; but still, as these can only be regarded as illustrations of the points to which they refer, as they naturally emanated from the plan of exposition that was adopted, and as they enabled him to avoid every thing like reprobation and invective, such as in regarding such matters he might otherwise have adopted, they will, it is hoped, be regarded with as favorable an eye as possible. It is his maxim, that whatever subject he touches on shall have no other colouring but such as, in truth and sincerity, he firmly believes to be its due. If, therefore, he has given his expositions a range, that goes far beyond the limits that are commonly received, it is enough for him, that he has done this in a way, that is, on the whole, the least offensive, and the most coincident with his general plan.

Having made these candid, but necessary acknowledgments, the Author proceeds to bespeak the intelligent reader's attention, on the following grounds. First, the subjects, generally illustrated, and the principles generally developed, are, in themselves, of essential and unalterable importance; and the matters, introduced as connected with them, are such as cannot be too fully apprehended, nor too earnestly insisted on. Secondly. The same views, design and objects, that were originally set out with, accompany the general elucidation at every step, and at length completely resolve themselves into that plan and order of things, which all who wish well to the state and the community, and to the principles under which they profess to act, must most earnestly adhere to. Thirdly. Of the matters handled, perhaps there is not one that has lost its essential importance in the great scale of our national affairs, or is so absolutely superseded in the public estimation, as not to be able to excite anew public fervor. Fourthly. As it was of the last importance to the Author to evince the absolute competency of the plan, to the whole objects that were to be brought under it; so it must be of equal importance to the reader, who is impressed with the importance of doing justice to the subject, to have his perceptions of its competency equally established; which could not have been effected with less real exposition and discussion than are now adopted. These, and other considerations that will occur to the reader, in the perusal of the treatise, it is hoped, will serve as a sufficient apology for the faults of this work. In order to afford all the facility and assistance that can now be given, the subjoined Argument, comprising its leading propositions and illustrations in a condensed form, and a copious Index, are prefixed.

ARGUMENT,

COMPRISING

The Leading Propositions, Illustrations and Results in the following Work.

I. Notwithstanding the frequent financial and commercial distresses of the British Empire, it is certain, that the aggregations of commodities and productions of every kind, within the compass of the British power, are not only adequate to its own supply of such productions, but adequate to that of the whole world, and abundantly sufficient to command for our use, whatever supply of foreign subjects our circumstances may call for. For keeping up this supply, at home and abroad, thoroughly provisioned establishments, and a completely organized population, are incessantly at work, so endowed with faculties and powers for producing these resources, so stocked with all the provisions and substances necessary for rendering all their developements supremely powerful, and so replete with facilities and advantages for making these bear fully on their proper object, that this scale of profusion and abundance might, as far as we can see, be maintained for all time to come, not only at its present height, but in a constant state of progression. It is plain, therefore, that these distresses arise, not from any defect in the means and subjects of wealth.

II. Neither do these distresses arise from any want of funds. The monied interest of Great Britain comprises the greatest mass of wealth this world ever saw. This wealth is exhibited in the stocks, and funded debt of Great Britain, and other great subjects of investment, which in the aggregate constitute a mass of financial resources, that seem to be equal to every demand that can be made upon them, and to be equal to every purpose to which such resources are requisite.

III. Although Britain is thus replenished both with means and with funds—with means, comprising not only subjects of wealth, fitted for use and consumption, but processes and materials for keeping up the supply of means; and with funds, comprising, not only realized capital in a liquid state, but debts, obligations and means, verging to resolution.—Notwithstanding these advantages, we frequently sustain all the real calamities of dearth, sometimes even of absolute want. Our means, after they have satiated our own immediate wants for them, are of no use whatever, but according as they can be resolved into funds, in an appropriate market, and our funds, after putting us in possession of our immediate supplies, are of importance, only as they can be invested in subjects that yield adequate returns. It is evident, therefore, that notwithstanding all the advantages that we possess, we must remain dependent on that market and on these objects, wherein these different resolutions can be effected.

IV. The market for British productions and commodities comprises almost every civilized country. It is frequently in the power of the sovereigns of such countries, and it is generally held to be for their interest, to impede these resolutions. This took place to a great degree at the period referred to. But, even when these are altogether indifferent as to this object, there is generally a vast multitude of difficul-

ties attendant on such resolutions; the market must be in a situation to receive our commodities, and the people to pay for them; the state of commercial intercourse must also favour the transmission of the value homewards, which, after all, may consist of commodities, that merely supplant native productions, or of obligations that cannot be enforced without producing serious mischief.

V. The funds of the British capitalist can, however, generally be disposed of without much difficulty. The nation has for a long time been so involved in war, and so deeply engaged in enterprises which require fresh supplies of funds and means, that funds can always be disposed of, much to the liking of the holder, although this withdraws them so far out of the range of public advantage, that they must anew find their way into the circle, before they can effectuate financial relief. In so far, however, as our processes of consumption and production, meet each other in the common market, to that extent do the means of the country obtain their resolution, and meet our substantial wants. But from the immensity of the range which our funds and means, for the most part, respectively describe, before they meet each other in the common market, and from the power and value of our multifarious resolutions, we know that there is, and always must be, while things remain in their present state, a most immense amount of valuable productions, throughout the vast range of our transactions, from which no adequate returns can be drawn.

VI. This deficit is of much greater moment that its bare amount can at any time indicate. The wealth of the state, and the value of the public funds, depend on the supplies that are drawn out of the whole returns that are realized from our means, and their wants press always hardest for supplies when the deficit is the greatest. This is necessary and unavoidable, when the deficit is great; because the burdens of the

state must always be discharged, out of the first and readiest funds that are to be got, whatever becomes of our other affairs. Let it now be considered, that the amount, as well as the pressure of public burdens is most momentous. Is it not then evident, that every case of difficulty and embarrassment, must tend to increase, unless speedy and effectual relief be afforded, and that every increase of difficulty and embarrassment, renders it necessary to augment the relief that is thus afforded, at the same time, that the relief, thereby rendered thus necessary, is made more difficult of attainment?

VII. The difficulty, thus produced, from the nature of the case, and from the circumstances of our situation, is apt to become extremely formidable and dangerous. It is utterly impossible for us to obtain a stable and substantial instrument of exchange, from the mass of financial resources which we possess, until these be concentrated in some validated form; for all the precious metals in the world could not, although they were absolutely at our disposal, expedite one hundredth part of our financial transactions, and financial resources, cannot, at all times, be had in this concentrated, validated state, in sufficient quantity to serve our purposes. Thence it is, that commercial credit, or that confidence which individuals have in each other's capabilities to discharge any engagements that they contract, comes to be the pivot or fulcrum on which mercantile transactions turn. But, from the necessity of the case, it so happens, that when financial difficulties increase, commercial credit diminishes, and validated obligations tend constantly to move off the course of circulation. The difficulty, accordingly, is apt to become extreme, more particularly when, as at present, the precious metals are, in a manner, withdrawn from the circle.

VIII. The chief, or rather the only regular way, where-

by individuals, in such circumstances, can get the necessary supply of the medium of exchange, is that of concluding mercantile transactions, and getting the proceeds of the mercantile obligation thence procured, from a banker or money holder. But in order to be able to effect such transactions, and for the purpose of maintaining our various reproductive energies in full play, it is necessary, to urge forward the processes wherein these energies are concentrated, and to keep agoing a course of reproduction, which perhaps has already satiated every accessible market. The evil day is by these means sometimes only the farther postponed, for the transactions thus concluded, and the obligations thus come under, must be discharged from financial resources, to be drawn out of the common market. The whole hopes of all parties are centred in this point; that general relief will, in the ordinary course of things, ultimately spring up from the multitude of commercial and financial processes, that are going on in circumstances more or less independent of these embarrassments. It is thence, most assuredly, that financial relief in extreme cases derives its impetus.

IX. There results, from the whole of those disparagements, a disadvantage which is of the most serious kind. We, as a nation, are necessitated to plod on in the same course, producing the same commodities, organizing ourselves under the same influences, and drawing up wealth and attainments under the same form, whatever disappointment and disasters may follow. The factitious wants of our population, the habits of thinking and of acting, which their circumstances, thus dependent, have formed, become accordingly confirmed; and from the consequent concatenation of their affairs with those of foreign markets, wherein the resolution of our wealth into funds takes place, these wants and habits remain under impressions that are alike dangerous to our established interests, and repugnant to general improvement. Of the commodities which we

produce, few are in themselves of sufficient value, to warrant us to make any extraordinary sacrifice for their attainment; and of the returns, of which, exchanges of these with foreign nations, put us in possession, by far the greater part are of little or no intrinsic value whatever. In the meantime, our duty as a nation and as individuals remains undischarged. We are occupied about the merest gewgaws, and expend our immense energies and resources, in a way, that at once seals down our degradation, and deprives us of the price for which we have sold ourselves.

X. It is evident, however, notwithstanding all these disparagements and disadvantages, that the general system of things established in Great Britain, is most powerful, glorious and beneficent, and that these disparagements and disadvantages are interwoven with its greatest blessings. The question therefore comes to be, how are we to preserve the character of our system, and yet extricate it out of its embarrassments? Our system has withstood shocks, surmounted hazards, and overwhelmed opposition, altogether unparalleled, without losing any of its character or its power. Shall we endanger this stately oak by cutting off shoots, which, for any thing that appears to the contrary, may be necessary to its strength, merely because they are inconvenient or unseemly? In order to have a thorough apprehension of the duty that lies before us, the Author took a retrospect of the progress of improvement in civilized society.

(1.) During the pastoral era, cattle constituted at once the most useful and necessary subject of wealth, the instrument whereby wealth was circulated, (thence called *pecunia*,) and the ultimate resolution of wealth, constituting a process incrementive or reproductive, which concentrated in itself, the joint faculties of giving forth adequate returns, and conferring honor on the possessor. Under such auspices, property sought no extrinsic resolutions, but such as were

most simple and necessary. The main qualities of wealth, its real utility and subserviency to the wants of man, were never lost sight of. Nothing valuable perished in the course of any of its resolutions. Property, proceeded as from a centre of its own, to increase and accumulate; and this quality, like its subserviency to human wants, and its advancement of the condition of its possessor, was inherent, and went on, regularly, without difficulty, and without obstruction. The instrument of exchange seldom intervened; for the main agent in these processes was suasive and paternal influences, emanating from uncontrovertible right and authority. The maxims of equity, enforced by patriarchal dignity, were accordingly for the most part sufficient to preserve good order.

(2.) This system was subverted, and its elements absorbed, under that concrete domination, which, laying its hands suddenly and violently, not only on the property, but on the persons of men, rendered these jointly the instruments of preparing, and the subjects for constituting, wealth of the most diversified kind. Power and violence were here the chief agents, and the different processes of reproduction had scarcely any other stimulant to their movements, but that which these supplied. The object of these processes, was the aggrandizement of those in whose favor their fruits were drawn up. Coertion, more or less simple, exercising those functions, and impressing those faculties, which are now exercised and impressed by funds, the condition of the great bulk of mankind was thereby debased to a very extraordinary degree.

(3.) This system was broke to pieces by the Christian system, which diffused into every department of human intercourse, the principle of compassionate regard and respectful deference; and which, by exercising mankind under fraternal influences, and by raising the human mind to objects of the highest kind, prepared them for giving to these influences full effect. The feudal or Gothic system, which

was superadded to these, clothed with importance all the wants, circumstances and peculiarities of mankind, personally and abstractedly considered, and made these the subject of improvement. A multitude of political and civil entities, each having its own definite rights and privileges, which were protected by the common arm, served each of these various processes as rallying points, and shed banners of protection over them. A vast expansion was given to the system thus reinforced; but it was long before the revival and advancement of new and superseded arts and sciences, the discovery of the new world, and passage round the Cape of Good Hope, the invention of bills of exchange, and the extension and improvement of civil and juridical immunities, reinforced by those means and powers which were disengaged from under clerical and feudal influences, could prepare the world for the blessings with which this system was fraught. Even, after these advantages were attained, corruption and profligacy took the place of that liberal improvement which ought to have followed, and absorbed its best and most precious fruits; while tyranny and concretion continued to draw these up, and to dispose of them for purposes of aggrandisement. It was clear, that these multiplied entities necessarily tended to resolve their power into central points of domination, always preserving those separate rights and privileges, which the experience of ages had rendered beneficent; and it was equally clear, that the aggregate power, thus produced and reinforced, could only be held to be thus deposited for general good. A degenerated temperament, however, too frequently either perverted these tendencies, or absorbed the blessings with which they were fraught. It is most assuredly our duty as a great nation, comprising a multitude of these entities, not only to keep our system entire and in full vigor, but to see that its political affinities were properly and fully established. That we had not done this, so fully as we ought and might have done, was evident. That we could seldom, *a priori*, deter-

mine, from the bearings of circumstances, the wisest class of measures for us to follow out, was almost equally manifest. There is one simple principle in our constitution, however, which may at all times serve as a pole-star, in a national as well as in a personal capacity, and that is, to *ascertain our proper duty at the time, in a moral light; to follow out the path which this duty points to us; and to leave all other consequences to Heaven.* This is the grand principle of our system, which teaches belief and confidence in the most High, and a determined and earnest perseverance in our duty. It has so happened to us as a nation, that experience and observation, the most extended, have demonstrated to us the importance and the necessity of the connexion thus perceived in our case to exist, and that in following out the course of duty, nationally and individually, those mistakes, errors and perversities which take place, more or less, in all general procedure, have served to conduct us so much the more certainly to that end, which it is most for our interest to attain. It is no doubt implied in such procedure, that we use proper means, and avail ourselves of every advantage, and not only acquit ourselves duly of every obligation that lies upon us, but become thoroughly acquainted both with its bearing, and with the established method of following it out. It is understood too, that we do not wantonly or unnecessarily restrict ourselves in regard to those measures, which the circumstances of our cause, and the difficulties that lie in the way, render necessary. It is indispensible, however, for us at all times to follow out the spirit of the system, and to resist most stedfastly every allurement, that could make us swerve from under its influences.

XI. In the course of the treatise, the foregoing subjects are illustrated at full length, and carried over a multitude of particulars. The nature, character and operation of that general system under which we are placed, as well as those of our own special department of that system, are unfolded

and examined in their origin and causes, bearings and tendencies. It is thence made to appear, that a necessity is laid upon us to provide a new financial instrument, such as will at once operate freely upon a secure, ample, substantial basis, and such as may be had in sufficient plenty to supply all our financial occasions. At present, we are restricted to Bank emissions, which are apt to fail the most respectable and independent amongst us, in the greatest need, and which place us all on a common footing of subserviency to Banking interests, and reliance on their capricious favors. Commercial credit, widely and diffusely spread, is made to perform the main functions in this business. As this is constituted of a congeries of obligations, into which it is the rule to implicate every thing that can be held to be connected with them; and into which, for this reason, it is the practice of money-dealers to draw as great a representation of wealth as possible, the financial prowess of the commercial world is, for the most part, bound up together, and by means of the variety of liguments by which this connexion is maintained, all those parties are liable to be involved in one common fate—a fate, which in effect is prepared for it, almost without the agency of those who are mainly interested in the business.

These facts, and the various views of our situation, of our duties, and of our interests, that are connected therewith, being considered, it was seen, that the main deficiency in our system would be made up, by means of instituting establishments, whereunto the roots of wealth, those incrementive principles whence wealth springs forward anew after every rencountre, (that is, land and other productive subjects,) alone should be admitted; and by capacitating those establishments alone to emit validated impledgements, such as must be held to be ultimate resolutions of every other circulatory instrument; these establishments being always subjected to the necessity of impledging to the public those roots, to an extent sufficient to uphold their pledges, not

only in a circulable, but in a reproductive form. In other words, a scheme is herein unfolded, whereby—in consequence of our resting our circulatory processes, upon the roots or establishments, whence consumeable objects are obtained, in place of on these subjects, themselves, (each of these establishments being necessitated to impledge property sufficient for covering their emissions, both when in circulation, and when replaced to bear interest, and being exeemed from all farther resolubility after this impledgement was satisfactorily given,) the commercial world would be accommodated with an instrument of exchange that carried along with it, both its real and its denominative value, and one that is every way adapted to our circumstances.

Furthermore, in order to put as complete a stop as possible to every undue extension of these emissions, and in order to fix each transaction to the precise circumstances in which it stands, a variety of checks and rules were introduced into the general plan, all tending to dissever that concretion into which our resources tend, and to place individuals and establishments in those circumstances of native independence, which coincides with the general character of the system. As it is perfectly manifest, that since neither these financial establishments, nor any one else, could emit a single impledgement or Bank note, until they had set aside commensurate wealth, incrementive, and absolutely constituted, and recognized as importing its circulatory value; that since these impledgements, from the facilities afforded, would be emitted to the full requisite extent, and would as often as they exceeded this extent, pass into reproductive funds, bearing interest; and since fictitious and unsupported paper (emissions and obligations) would be repressed, and forced out of the circle and order of financial transactions: so it must be admitted to be equally manifest, that by these means our financial intercourse, that of the state as well as that of individuals, would move forward with vigor, and proceed on grounds the most stable and the most secure.

XII. But besides providing a financial instrument, it is necessary to prepare a suitable range of developement to our various reproductive energies. The instrument of exchange, thus provided, has a necessary tendency to draw forth internal resources, and to increase the subjects of wealth over which our whole circumstances have full control. From our situation, however, we must look abroad for the principal excitation and support which our reproductive energies call for. The war, in which we were then engaged, not only limited our views very much in this respect, but rendered it necessary for us to proceed, both with discriminating and with determinate vigor, in the pursuit of this object. The illustrations herewith given, coinciding with those circumstances, it was shewn, that if our allies are in good heart, they may benefit themselves, not less by giving us those returns which we claim, than by accepting of those bounties which we place at their disposal. Although, those circumstances for the most part have passed away, which had rendered these animadversions necessary, they enter so fully and so minutely into those general interests, in which all Christian nations alike partake, and they open up the sequel of the project so appropriately, that they cannot even now be passed over.

XIII. The Author—having, in the course of the treatise, unfolded the advantages that result to Great Britain as a commercial and highly improved community, from its vast colonial possessions, and means for supporting an immense mass of productive energies in full play within these, as well as at home; and the consequent duty that is laid upon it, to foster the interests of these colonies with as peculiar care as those of the mother country, not only in the way of according them requisite countenance and indulgence, but in that of favoring them with the fullest and truest use of every financial and commercial advantage, which is at present enjoyed by the parent country alone—proceeds to lay down various rules and schemes, for giving to these consid-

erations full and practical effect. In particular, having pointed out the benefits that must result from the faithful discharge of these duties, he goes on to notice those circumstances in our situation, that render these benefits most particularly valuable. What is it, that is to prince, peer and peasant the main object of individual solicitude? Is it not, that those respective establishments, those processes of industry or reproduction, wherein they are severally most immediately interested, may unfold themselves with the most perfect freedom, and bring them back the value of their fruits and productions in the fullest and safest manner? Surely the improvement of our colonial possessions, and enabling these to receive, return, and realize their productions, or their results, all over the world, with the greatest advantage, must expedite this object more than any other means that we can think of.

Farther. What is to each of us individually, personally, the main object of solicitude? Is it not the providing for our families, connexions and dependants, and establishing them in circumstances, wherein each individual of them may best support his native advantages, and provide most effectually for his own interest? It is evident, that our colonies, thus improved and advanced, would afford an ample, a delectable, and a secure field for the provision and establishment, of myriads of families, connexions and dependents, of all ranks and classes, if thus set forward in a course of general improvement and liberal advancement, under these very views.

To conclude. What is the main duty of man upon earth? Is it not diffusing the blessings of improvement with stedfastness, shedding the lustre, and spreading the advantages of our system every where around, over every nation, tribe and kindred of men? Now it is perfectly clear, that this grand duty is never to be effectually discharged, until we have not only transplanted our system, with all its peculiar blessings, attainments and institutions, into our extended colonies, but have nurtured these colonies under the most

genial influences of this paramount system. These are the views that are taken up and illustrated in the subsequent part of this treatise, and a variety of rules, maxims and orders are brought forward, for the purpose of giving the most ample range to the developement of these blessings, all of which are now held to be brought effectually within our reach. Man himself, the exaltation of his character, as well as the improvement of his condition, in every station, rank and order of society, is set forth as the great object of our concern. The various methods by which this object is to be obtained, in coincidence with the leading end and design of the system, are accordingly fully and particularly considered, and the whole resolved into, and concatenated with, the enjoyment of the highest and purest blessings of improvement.

Connected with these developements of the project, a scheme for proselyting and bringing under Christian influences, rude and uncivilized nations, is set forward under a plan, that must coincide with the whole operations of the project as sketched out.

XIV. Having these exalted and glorious objects before us, and a plan thoroughly digested and provided for their attainment; having means in abundance at hand, and financial establishments, emanating funds in direct subserviency to their leading interests, every where set down; the author goes on to draw out his project to its full length, comprising under its influence all our great and leading concernments. In this part of the subject, the political and belligerent interests of the nation are illustrated at full length, under views, however, which as they embrace, on forcible and general principles, the whole outlines of our leading concernments, so they are no less interesting and important, in peace, and under fixed permanent arrangements, than amidst our late tumultuous contestations.

XV. Marking the situation, in which our reproductive processes developed their force, and noting, at the same time, the incompatibility of that enormous load of debt and taxation, with a free, full and regular advancement towards those ends, the Author goes on to unfold a new source of financial resources, which will not only carry forward his whole project to its desired end, but lead to a full, fair, and absolute discharge of the national debt, and ultimately to an abrogation of all our public imposts; and to propose, as a concluding part of his design, to authorize Government to grant, to the holders of national property, the option of having their stock converted into authoritative impledgements, bearing no interest, for a specific time, and to a limited extent; to be circulated on the same footing with validated impledgements; these impledgements being, after the lapse of the specified term, at the pleasure of the holder, reconverted into stock, bearing interest as formerly. The result of granting this permission the Author conceives to be, that these impledgements will come to be circulated all over the empire, our national debt to be speedily run off, and the whole oppressive part of our public burdens, to be with equal celerity, annihilated.

This is the argument, and these the results, of the project laid down. The whole may be summed up in this. Money is the flux or menstruum, for expediting the resolution of means and advantages. It is our first and clearest interest, and our bounden duty to avail ourselves fully of our plenitude of means and advantages, by proceeding thereby to resolve these into the highest and purest state of improvement. The circumstances in which we are placed are made compatible with this process, by effectuating these re-

solutions in the most exalted stedfast path of duty. Funds or money, in our circumstances, may consist of any absolutely realized subjects, that give forth adequate permanent revenue; and they may be fairly and fully represented, either in a fixed form, producing interest, or in a liquid form, commanding universal circulation. The value of money is not determined by its plenitude, for every one husbands funds which have cost him their denominative value, and which he cannot make use of without divesting himself of a corresponding proportion of substance. This value is determined by the plenitude of its counterfeit, *commercial credit*, which an individual inconsiderately passes to his neighbour, in exchange for that which he wants, and of course parts with it, with less regard to its denominative value, which at the time costs him nothing, than to the assumed value of the object for which he parts with it. Our maxim is, to repress commercial credit within its natural bounds, and to provide the community with access to a plenitude of validated impledgements, which will render recourse to this counterfeit the less necessary. Having attained this instrument, our thoroughly organized system, when bent forward to its proper object, will develope all those means and resources, which can be the subject of our solicitude in an advancing state of improvement.

GENERAL INDEX.

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MEMORANDA.

The phraseology in this work being in certain instances somewhat peculiar, the following explanation seems to be necessary.

Impledgements—a familiar term for bank notes—*emissions*, for bank paper of every kind—*validated impledgements*, are those proposed by the plan in page 566, whereby property is impledged and set aside in security for such emissions. These are said to be *repledged*, when replaced in the bank that emitted them, at legal interest. Funds in this state are designated *retributive*, because they can again be drawn forth at pleasure. *Authoritative impledgements* are those proposed in the plan in page 1106, because these are issued by the authority of the state, and secured under the pledge of the nation.

Establishments—a familiar term for any business undertaking or enterprize, that has a set of means provided for its regular offices. *Process* refers to their operations. These are termed *reproductive*, on account of their faculty of returning with advantage, the means subjected to their operation.

The terms *system*, *project*, *plan*, *scheme*, and such like, are used in a more loose sense than usual; for they seldom embrace any objects or operations, that are not distinctly set forth in the context. They are said to be *developed*, when their powers or virtues are disclosed. *Resolutions* are steps of these developements, or of any procedure connected with them. *Results*, the last and most important stage of such progression.

Industry and enterprize are said to be impressed by *coercive* influences, when stern indiscriminating necessity urges forward their operations: to tend to *concretion*, when those virtues and advantages that ought to be diffusive, run into one object and design, to the exclusion of every other consideration. The result of these operations is familiarly termed *aggrandizement*, as descriptive of the exaltation of one individual or a few, by the depression of the rest.

On the other hand, industry and enterprize are said to be impressed by *emulous or beneficent influences*, when the individuals exercised in them derive, on collisive or independent principles, the fair value of their exertions; and to tend to *improvement and advancement*, when their fruits and results, distributed on free commercial principles, ameliorate the general condition, and exalt the general character.

There are no doubt other phrases in this work, that seem to require explanation: it is hoped, however, that those elucidated above will lead into the proper apprehension of the whole, where the context does not lead to the meaning. Perhaps the phraseology is in general objectionable. Some such modes of expression, however, were necessary; and those made use of are the best that occurred at the time.

A TREATISE, &c.

IN attempting to meet the present financial embarrassments of the British Empire, there are two great classes of exigencies, which evidently include all the rest, and which, when thoroughly provided for, must, of consequence, convey an abundant financial supply to the whole body-politic.

The first of these great classes of exigencies may be termed the exigencies of the stock exchange. The pressure made upon the money market by stock-holders is well known, and it operates in several ways. Two of those we have now directly under our eye. Our present pecuniary distresses originated in an over-run upon the money market, by the purchasers of the last loan. And, at this moment, such is the superior security found in the funds, to any that can be obtained elsewhere, that, notwithstanding, the unprecedented sacrifices daily made for accommodation by the commercial world, still, the floating wealth of the community seems to be passing as rapidly into the stocks as it can be drawn out of those investments, in which it has been

previously deposited. Hence it is, that the present high price of the funds, and the constantly accumulating pressure upon mercantile intercourse, have been severally in a progressive state.

The second of these classes of exigencies is those of the commercial and manufacturing interests. Besides the well known calamities that have taken place in foreign markets, and the absorption of a great part of the floating capital of the nation in the funds, in the manner above noticed; another cause of embarrassment, paramount to all the rest, has arisen out of the losses thence induced. It is well known that the medium which upholds and circulates our national wealth is commercial credit, as represented by a paper currency, payable to the bearer on demand. This currency, it is also known, rests solely upon the high and unimpeachable responsibility of him who utters it, and gives his pledge to the public for its validity. Many of these pledgers, or bankers, have, however, forfeited their pledge. Others of them, dreading a similar fate, have withdrawn from the public service their impledgments. Along with these, the great national pledger, the bank of England, has been paralized by the very terrors which ought to have aroused it steadily to maintain its post, in the front of public danger; and it also has withdrawn a great part of its pledges. To crown the whole, the general market of consumable commodities, being in a great measure blocked up, the holders of these are reduced to the necessity of, either forcing them most injuriously through

the narrow outlet that still remains in the market, or procuring, in a circuitous manner, the requisite relief from the floating medium. The demands of the state still continue; they may even greatly increase; yet, at this moment, there does not exist a single appropriate provision, for meeting these or any one of the many exigencies that may arise out of the present distressful state of things.

These circumstances have already produced a vast stagnation in the reproductive powers of our system. In those vast establishments, in which these powers are concentrated, a cessation has already very generally taken place, and the evil produced is rapidly increasing. A moderated interruption in the wheels of our industry, is sometimes not without its uses; but such a total obstruction and paralization of their powers, as now threatens us, must soon absorb that floating wealth, which is necessary for their support, and terminate in dissipating those energies, by which their movements are conducted. If that population, which is ranged under their protection, should in the mean time be dispersed; if those ample provisions that have been secured for their service, should fritter into ruins; and if this ruin should be as complete, as it is national; we shall in vain seek to restore that noble fabric which we now possess: neither our climate, nor our habits, nor our circumstances, permit us to hope, that we could maintain our national priviledges under such deprivations. The expenditure of the state, and the weighty duties which are im-

posed upon it, it is to be feared, would proceed to exhaust more and more our national means, until, in the end, the chief part of our general property fell directly into its hands.

These, and other considerations that might be stated, lead us to perceive, that, however great the exigencies of the state may be, they can never be held to supercede those of the community at large. The wants of the government can only be supplied by the means of the people. These means are chiefly invested in our establishments, which, taken in the aggregate, are one vast complex, stupendous system of reproductive powers, capable, when regularly stimulated and supported, of affording supplies that are almost unbounded, but which, when deprived of this stimulus and support for any length of time, effectually fall to pieces.

Happily for us, our civil organization possesses a wonderful degree of elasticity, and there are resources almost immeasurable within our own power. We must recollect, however, that the evil, which at present hangs over our heads, is of no ordinary kind, and that without some greater exertion than has ever yet been attempted, it must, to all appearance infallibly overtake us. This evil arises solely out of our own system, and it must be remedied by means which it alone can produce. Incessant, vehement, well-directed, regularly supported industry, is indispensible in our circumstances. If our country should ever be deprived of these, the

revenue of a dukedom would sink into nothing. The fate of Venice, Genoa, and Holland, convey to us but a feeble idea of the degradation that would thence ensue. These never were so dependent upon their financial system, they never built so high, nor ventured so far upon their commerce and industry as we have done; yet from these we may learn, that the commercial spirit, when debased, can never again recover its original virtue and energy; and that when the powers and faculties, which have been disciplined under incessant industry, are thrown hopelessly loose upon the world, they are above all others liable to degenerate and become corrupted. In such circumstances, our complete dependence on, or absolute subjection to some foreign state, could be no very distant or problematic event.

It is altogether unnecessary, in this place, to go deeply into the state of the country, in order to display the importance of the duty thus devolved upon our government. The ruin, which we are contemplating, would take place, although no such thing as war could be dreaded, though the world was tranquillized, and parcelled out to our will. It arises in a deficiency of public provisions, for the support of general industry, and it affects us at this moment, so sensibly, that if we do not feel the obligancy of the duties which are devolved upon us, any review of the extremity of the case, would only serve to augment that torpor which it is our business to remove. It is enough to say, that the

mischief has already been set fully in motion; already the corroding power of want has begun its work. In consequence of the pressure and urgency of the wants of the state, the means for supporting our reproductive faculties have been seriously abbreviated; and those means have sustained still farther diminution from the obstructions, that lie in the way of the direct exercise of those faculties. The wants of the state are of a kind to which no exception can be made, they arise from the strongest of all claims, that of universal safety. The obstructions that oppose the regular movements of our industry are produced, in consequence of its dependence on the market of the enemy. These wants, therefore, and these obstructions cannot be controlled; it is only by transcending the range which they describe, that they can be surmounted.

Nor is the urgency of the case, less than its importance: if by a fatal neglect, these establishments should take a decided vergency towards decay, calamities of no ordinary kind will advance rapidly upon us; and with these, the difficulty of retrieving the ground lost will increase proportionally. The exigencies of the state must be supplied; and these will increase along with the embarrassment of our situation, and press still more heavily on the remaining means of the people. Already, the want of some renovating species of industry is perceived, in order to employ the materials thrown loose from the decaying establishments. The danger of the country may soon become extreme. The

great body of our population, the hands which produced and aggregated our invaluable commodities, although deprived of their employment, still possess all their natural and artificial wants and desires, without being able to furnish means that can give them a regular claim for supplies to meet them. These wants, and the habits that accompany them, (the great pledge possessed by the public for a continuation of their services,) may not only render this weighty burden intolerable to the community, but produce in these helpless individuals, aggravated sorrow and depravity, and thus render them mere gangrene in the body-politic. The superior classes of the industrious, driven from their station, with all the materials and provisions made for the service of industry, must become gradually more and more useless, and at length losing alike their estimation and importance in the public eye, contribute to overload the remaining productive faculties of the nation, and to hasten that irremediable ruin, which we have been contemplating.

From the preceding statements, we must perceive distinctly, not only, that in order to provide effectually for the financial embarrassments of the state, or, in other words, to meet the exigencies of the stock exchange, we must begin with providing for those of the people; but farther, that in order to provide fully for the exigencies of the people, we must speedily apply those remedies, which our reproductive faculties require. That this can be

no trifling undertaking, must appear, when the extent of the duty, thence inferred, is fully weighed. We must not only bear up things as they are seen to stand, but prepare to meet the growing exigencies of the state, and the increasing embarrassments of our trade; we must institute new courses of industry, to be stimulated and supported by new courses of commerce, an undertaking always arduous, and one which, in our circumstances, is peculiarly so. The materials for doing all this, must be found within our own resources, and be prepared by our own means. It is our consolation, however, that the powers, and faculties, and resources of the nation, greatly transcend all those wants; that these are already in some measure brought forward and prepared to our hand; that they are still in high exercise, and are at this moment pouring into our stores, a profusion of commodities and productions, which greatly anticipate all our capacities of consumption. If this effort, therefore, is made immediately, if it is conducted with judgment and resolution, our means will be found to be abundantly competent to this task, taken in its utmost extent. Perhaps, there is no undertaking too vast, no view of our interests and connexions, too extensive for us to adopt, if we strenuously betake ourselves to our duty; and proceeding under the influence of wise and magnanimous councils, adopt that course, which those principles, and sentiments, that are peculiar to our organization, clearly lay down before us.

I am hence led to remark, that the embarrassments, under which we labor, do not at all arise from any dearth or deficiency of those substances, which any one of our natural wants require. These, thank God, are now, and have always been so superabundant, and so exuberant, that there is amongst us a supply, which would satiate ten times over every demand that could be made upon them. Those substances are not only plentiful, but they are in the highest order, completely fitted for preservation, distribution, or consumption; and they are endowed with every quality that can allure the eye, as well as gratify the appetite. On this score, therefore, no individual, from the highest to the lowest, can perceive either deficiency or imperfection. Our want lies entirely in the medium for enabling us to distribute those substances in a proper manner.

Here, we may pause for a little, and note the wonderful contrast that has taken place betwixt Britain and France, in the above particular. When we cast our eyes over the immense population of France, and observe the poverty of her means, something, that may be comparatively called a dearth of commodities and productions, is seen to be almost universal. The means of some of Bonaparte's subaltern officers do not command a supply to their natural wants, which, on the whole, is superior to that which any of our common soldiers could obtain. This dearth is indeed so sealed by the penury, volubility, and abject bondage of

the people, as scarcely to be heard of; and it is sometimes thrown into the shade by the spoliations, to which, in the course of warfare, it gives an edge. But that it is most bitterly felt, is undeniable. Nor is this all; in Britain, whatever wealth we possess, commands to the extent of its received value, a quantity of any other object to which it is commensurate. It is only necessary to obtain possession of the circulating medium, which represents that wealth, and the business can be instantly and completely accomplished. In France, however, prescriptions, confiscations, and every species of privileged robbery, hedge in, and counteract the gratification of the most innocent propensities. The mere possession of such means, is liable to be punished as a crime, and mankind are placed at a distance from each other, by a legion of spies, by the terror of domiciliatory visitations, and by other devices, which render even enjoyment itself painful.

I HAVE said, that it is only necessary to get any value in hand, exchanged for its estimation in the national medium, in order to obtain means for gratifying every legitimate propensity; this is said, however, only in relation to the abundance of means, for we all know, that, with us, the medium into which our own value must, in the first place be resolved, bears no proportion to this abundance. No quantity of some descriptions of commodities, that were but lately before procured at immense labor and expence, and anxiously calculated for

the service of the consumer, can, in some instances, procure a proportion of the medium, sufficient to preserve the most respectable individual from ruin. Catastrophes of this kind take place every day under our own eye, and they never take place without producing a long chain of bitter consequences; consequences which affect all of us, more or less, individually, and the state, more than all the rest, eventually. The article that could avert those evils is obvious; that the means of its attainment are simple, efficacious, and completely within our power, and every way congenial to our circumstances, it is hoped, will also by and by appear.

The public have been much amused of late with discussions, respecting the rise and fall of the price of bullion, and the consequent depreciation, it is said, of the national standard of value. With those discussions, I consider it altogether unnecessary to burden myself. My object is to procure that medium, which our circumstances require in sufficient quantity and of sufficient validity, and it is a matter altogether indifferent to me, and I apprehend to every one else, except mere dealers in bullion, to trouble ourselves much in inquiring whether the medium in which we are severally in quest, be paper or gold. That its real standard value shall be fixed, and universally received and ascertained, by a determinate, immoveable criterion, substantiated in gold and silver, I hold to be alike admitted by all parties, but that this precise standard shall, at every turn, in every transaction, or in any very

great number of transactions, be applied to this value, I hold to be altogether unnecessary. It never has been, and in a country, whose transactions are so numerous and extensive as this, it never can be done. Will any banker, at this moment, deliberately weigh the difference betwixt a bank of England note and gold, when he has payment of a bill to give or receive? The idea never occurs to him, till it is pressed upon his mind, by the ponderous and unintelligible statements of bullion merchants, and those who have become bewildered with their reports. The truth is, there is no article we receive and pass, with less regard to its real value, than money. We are anxious to obtain it, when it is due to us; we accept of it in any shape whatever, provided its received value can, in that shape, be passed from us; and we no sooner obtain the desired possession, than we hasten to place it in the coffers of another, where it will produce, or prevent, the accumulation of interest. Money, properly speaking, is a mere idea of value, which we eagerly realise in any shape whatever, wherein its value can be preserved, that happens for the time to suit our convenience; but in that state, we maintain it no longer than it serves our purpose; we pass it from us without bestowing the smallest regard to the object, which for the moment represents it.

The truth and certainty of the above position will appear, if we attend to what actually takes place in the commercial world. We every day pass at the standard value, silver money, which is

worth one third less, and copper money, which is worth, one third more, than its received valuation. In the West Indies, where gold is the great medium, and bills on London the chief object that is in request, a premium of from ten to thirty per cent. is regularly given with mint gold for a draft on London; concerning the absolute validity of which, from its not being previously accepted, there is always some doubt. In those instances, the fluctuations in the course of exchange, (as the vacillations in the difference of the value of money in different countries are denominated) are extremely remarkable, for they evidently exclude the value of the metallic medium separately considered; it being understood on all hands, that the accredited bill of exchange, though thus received as an equivalent for bullion much superior to that which it imports, can when at maturity, command no bullion; it can command only that paper medium, which we hold to be its representative. This takes place in a more or less degree in all our ordinary transactions. Do we not regularly give a premium, either in time or money, for bills payable in London? nay, do we not occasionally take much pains, in getting guineas of the mint standard, resolved into current shillings and sixpences, the metallic value of which is seldom equal to one half of that coin in lieu of which they are received?

These circumstances, in my opinion, prove incontestably, three things; first, that for the purposes of commercial and ordinary intercourse, paper

money, when duly accredited, is of equal estimation with coined money; secondly, that neither paper money nor metallic, can maintain invariably the ideal standard of value; and thirdly, that convenience is the chief regulator of these vacillations. The operation of these principles may be illustrated, by attending to what would pass in our own minds in any ordinary transaction. In the first instance, we unconsciously assume the ideal standard as an immoveable mute point, concerning the value of which, there can be no dispute, and we instinctively receive, and pass, its representative, whether paper or metallic, without remarking the difference. In the next instance, in regulating our bargain, it is not merely the mute standard of value, but the situation in which that standard appears, in regard to the circumstances of the transaction, that determines the conditions of our negotiation. And, in the last instance, money and paper, severally vibrate above and below this standard, not on account of their intrinsic excellence, but on account of the direct and immediate usefulness of each, in the current circumstances of the market.

The efficient cause of these operations may be illustrated with equal precision, by adverting to the object which the person has in view, who is to acquire money. The medium of itself is of no importance to him, but as it enables him to pass its value to another. The possessor has no advantage whatever, in retaining the mere medium; he therefore, hastens to throw it into the general mass in cir-

culation; and in doing this, he regards every thing alike that comes in the shape of money. The reason of this is obvious, as he has no advantage from money, but as it serves to pass a value from his own coffers, where it is useless to its proper depot, where its utility is perceived, so if this one effect can be produced, he gives himself no farther trouble about the matter. His money, henceforward, is placed as it were, in the national mint, in that situation, in which it can bear to him its full value, remain in perfect security, produce that revenue which its nature imports, and where it carries all those advantages, which in a country wherein the value of circulation is known, money can produce to any individual.

The facilities and advantages possessed by the money-holder in this country are, in this view, alike valuable and important. No sooner does an individual become possessed of the medium, than bankers and money dealers are seen, on all hands, ready to relieve him of the amount, and to give him the most irrefragable assurance of its repetition in the current medium, with a fair remuneration for the advantage that may have been afforded to them; holding themselves bound to disburse their obligations, in whole or in part, at the owners pleasure, in a form alike advantageous to both. Our money holders are enabled to conduct themselves in this manner, from the peculiar circumstances of our establishments, which are severally ready to absorb, reproduce, and distribute all that wealth, that is

submitted to their operation, with a power and effect, which is commensurate with the faculties which our nation possesses of realizing it in a substantial accredited form. In aid of these various markets, that are open to the money-holder, the national funds, heritable property, and various funded and moveable subjects, are all in readiness, and severally struggling for an interest in his good offices. Hence it is, that the money-holder, above all others, has his mind eagerly fixed on the universal prosperity of his country; and that the difficulty with him, is not regarding the shape or appearance of his property, but about the extent and stability of its reproductive powers, which, when equal to his views, at once supercede every other consideration.

The peculiarity in our circumstances, formerly adverted to, deserves particular notice in this place. The whole country, from one end of it to another, is full of invaluable commodities. Such is their abundance, such is their profusion, such is their cheapness and excellence, in comparison with those of other countries, that from amongst the whole, the person who holds the medium, can command an investment sufficient to ensure, not merely a fair compensation, but an ultimate profit, equal, at least, to both principal and a competent interest. Whoever, therefore, has obtained the medium, be it paper or metal, has it in his power to get quit of it immediately by investing it in these subjects, of which ten times the amount of the whole floating

wealth of the community are always in the market. These circumstances evince the high ground on which our general credit rests. When the bank of England refused bullion for its notes, this market for resolving those into real property still remained open; as our goods had then the full sweep of the European continent for their market, the want of bullion was, in so far as the community at large was concerned, so small as scarcely to attract notice. This market, unhappily, is now much contracted, and I apprehend that it is in consequence of the unfavourable circumstances in which our commodities are thereby placed, that so many monied men are clamorous about the scarcity of bullion. The instant, that a market, sufficiently extended for receiving and replacing the value of our commodities, can be found, the want of bullion must in a great measure sink out of view.

Although, however, it is evident, that in general the operation and effects of the metallic and paper medium, especially since the bank of England ceased to give out bullion, are, on the whole, nearly the same; yet there are, certain characteristic distinctions, which it is proper in this place to take notice of, because, from the want of a due attention to them, the nature of our present commercial embarrassments are much misapprehended.

Coined money possesses some advantages, which being extremely palpable, as well as important, are apt to give its claims a weight on our minds, to

which, on farther consideration, we find they are not entitled. Coined money is more lustrous, and it can be told out with a much better grace than a piece of half-worn dirty paper. This circumstance is not unimportant, for it gives it a substantial superiority in the eyes of the gay and fashionable, who grudge no sacrifice that can maintain the splendor of their appearance. Coined money of the smaller denominations is indispensably necessary for the business of life. In its more collective forms, it sometimes serves to meet, with great national and individual advantage, the demands of foreign states. These, and every quality necessarily inherent in the metallic medium, as a peculiar species of property, are characteristic advantages, which for the public good, ought not to be unnecessarily burdened; they have raised the metallic medium to its present importance in our system, they are necessary to maintain that importance, and we cannot traverse their operation without creating a degree of confusion which no ordinary advantage can compensate.

The advantages of paper money chiefly appear in the facility and accommodation, which it accords to commerce. Perhaps, the whole precious metals in the world could not serve to expedite one hundredth part of our commercial transactions, without the intervention of paper. And, though it were conceivable, that the amount necessary could be obtained, its purity and value could not be ascertained and regularly transmitted to its des-

tined repository, without inferring a degree of trouble and expence, that would far exceed any advantage that could attend this acquisition. In our circumstances, the paper medium to a greater or less extent is indispensible; we may differ as to this extent; but we must admit, that by far the greater part of our money transactions, must necessarily be transacted by the mediation of paper. And as in the general course of business, paper money is regarded and received tantamount to coin; and as bullion draws from the national capital its full current value, while paper costs, next to nothing; so it is adviseable for the purpose of husbanding the national capital as much as possible, that as much paper, and as little bullion as possible, should be made use of.

It must be noticed, in judging, respecting the grounds on which the respective claims of the paper and metal current on our regard are rested, that coin is not only the accredited standard of value; but it is itself a substance intrinsically worth that value; nay, what is more, it is certain, that the paper medium possesses no value whatever, unless as it is held to be convertible without difficulty, into this medium; the validity of paper being rested on the responsibility of the individuals who are pledged to this effect; and the pledge being only valuable when this responsibility is known to be adequate to the assurance given. It is well known, that the value of paper is so completely rested on this circumstance, that when it is said, that the paper of

the bank of England, which is supported by a capital, and placed in circumstances that sets all doubt as to its ultimate responsibility at defiance, is already discredited—that is, that its impledgments are not at par with bullion; it is strenuously contended that this arises from those circumstances that oppose the immediate resolubility of that paper into bullion.

I HAVE already said, that I consider all questions betwixt bullion merchants, and those who utter accredited paper, as foreign to our present business; that the public does not complain of a want of bullion, but of accredited paper; that though paper, duly accredited cannot be resolved into bullion, it can be resolved into a thousand other things, many of which are of equal value with bullion; and that while no one refuses to sell land, stock, goods, &c. for accredited paper, and to take this paper at its former denomination and standard value, I consider myself as warranted to dismiss this question. I now notice, however, farther, that bullion is a foreign commodity, dependent on various circumstances for its plenty, and that it is an article that it would be wonderful, if, in our days, it was not uncommonly scarce. This will appear more manifest if we attend, seriously, to two of many other contingences, which have a tendency to produce this effect.

IN the first place it will be noticed, that over the whole continent of Europe, the system of spoliation and trepanning, has been so throughly adopted,

that perhaps no resoluble property, but bullion, can be preserved with safety. When a few thousand pounds of small money are withdrawn from our circulation, we can easily perceive it, for the effect is so strong, and so sudden, that there is not one of us who would not be arrested in his most ordinary transactions. It is well known, however, that at this moment, many million pounds sterling value of bullion, remain locked up and concealed in different countries, over which Bonaparte's influence is extended, and that to this, some constant additions are daily making. In this country, bullion is not very needful; as every one possessed of money, may, with advantage, deposit it in the stocks, land, goods, &c. no one, is, or can be solicitous about a substance, which can only incite the avidity of nightly depredators.

In the next place, it will be noticed, that the state of the civilized part of the world is such, as to render the absorption of the metallic medium, thus discharged from our circulation, a necessary part of the policy of princes. In order to provide effectually for the exigencies of the state, and to guard against those evils, which a bad harvest, a defalcation in naval and military stores, and other great national affairs bring directly under their cognizance, princes and potentates of every description, have found it necessary to preserve an ample provision of the grand accredited medium of the world, constantly under their control. Besides this, such is the state of things abroad, that gran-

dees and every one who can command any considerable portion of floating wealth, are induced from motives of necessity, to secure for their own purposes, as great a proportion of the metallic medium as possible, and to retain it in their private recesses. Thus it is that the precious metals are aggregated in the hands of a few, that they circulate but slowly, and are frequently withdrawn from their obvious destination. Our paper medium, and the rapidity with which it is circulated, has not only contributed to alleviate the pressure that is thence produced on our own bullion market, but it has afforded relief out of its excesses, to that of the continent.

When in such circumstances, some great and unexpected stagnation in trade takes place, when our current paper is partly invalidated, and partly also withdrawn from the circle, when the medium in any substantial shape has become the great object towards which the minds of all monied men are directed; is it surprising, that the supply of those valuable substances should remain beneath the demand, and produce a sensible augmentation in their comparative value? The surprise, I think, is, that the disproportion is not greater. Every one sees and knows the intrinsic and irrefragable value that is absolutely inherent in the precious metals, and he cannot avoid comparing it with the assumed value of paper, which is daily becoming incompetent in his own hands. There is, therefore, in the nature of things, a decided tendency to give to the precious metal a radical preference. The difficulty of attain-

ing the desired possession occasioned by its accidental defalcation above-noticed, gives to this preference a double keenness. The reports and discussions, therefore, which are now so widely circulated, that assume the incompetency of our paper currency as a medium of exchange, can have no other effect but one, that of giving an irresistible efficacy to this protrusion, and of creating in the minds of the nation, that same spirit, which in a speculative form, has so lately ruined so many of the Wiltshire clothiers. Let all such, however, reflect—that though bullion, like Spanish wool, may not appear in the market to answer all the finical terrors of the anteprovident, yet that bullion, like Spanish wool, may not disappear equally rapidly with the terrors in which its unnatural value arose—least the opposite terror of its superabundance should, in like manner, bring those visionaries, also, but too seriously to their senses.

There are two incidental remarks that arise from the preceding views, which, in this place, may, with much propriety, be distinctly stated.

The first of these, is, that if the British government had, during this war, maintained with a high hand, that line of conduct, which its circumstances, and those of its subsidiary allies, obviously pointed out, a great part of all our financial embarrassments might have been prevented. Here, however, as in other things, we have most magnanimously sunk our own interests in those of the common cause,

in which we were embarked. Our merchants have always had many million pounds sterling of money due them, within the territories of our allies; every farthing of which might have been drawn for, at dates corresponding to the exigencies of these foreign subsidiaries, and with manifest advantage to them, as well as to us, if any thing like sound policy had regulated their procedure to our nation. Nay, what is more; if those sovereigns had consented to have permitted the unrestrained circulation of our commodities throughout their dominions, the sum which could thus have become due to us within their own power, might have amounted to double the amount of all those subsidies, with decided advantage to all parties; for it would not only have replaced to us a value, equal in all respects to that of which we divested ourselves on their account, but have stimulated, supported, and advanced their internal industry. Our continental allies, however, who all along appear to have been actuated more by contempt towards our industry, and jealousy respecting our greatness, than by a steady regard to their own highest interests, kept up without abatement their farcical prohibitions and imposts, and eagerly anticipated our bullion remittances. Thence originated our stoppage of bullion disbursements at the bank; thence too, I strongly suspect, partly originated our Spanish war. The issue has been such as might have been expected. Our blind devotion to their morbid selfishness, could only administer to the degeneracy of their system, our supplies of gold, as well as of commodities, in

place of infusing life and vigor into their body-politic, only accelerated its corrupting tendency. In the end, we have been subjected, not merely to the sorrow of witnessing the loss and destruction of our property, but to that of finding our allies bent down most despairingly, under a yoke, which they only pretended to reprobate, and, through a durance of the most humiliating nature, exhausting those vital stamina, which they so unworthily spared, in the service of a tyrant, who is alike hostile to their welfare and ours. What must those cold blooded statesmen now feel, who could trace our gold from its landing upon our shores, until it fell through their master's fingers, into the hands of Bonaparte, when they perceive that the system, which they internally venerated, cannot injure our interests, without outraging theirs beyond all bounds, and that the gold, which they writhed, and the property which they entrapped, from their best ally, have only served to pamper and infuriate their oppressors against themselves, and to seal their own more complete subjugation?

I AM here led to remark further, that gold, and indeed property of every description, may pass through a country, which is not possessed of regular and well organized industry, and leave it as poor and helpless as ever. Spain and Portugal are notable proofs of this; though possessed of riches of every description, these pass over their territory, without either animating or befriending their population. Holland, defrauded, and most violently

plundered and degraded by its new governors, who under new names, and under a new form, are carrying on the same system that Attila and his Huns did, about fourteen hundred years ago, seems at length, to be brought to the same kind of lethargic inaction. On the other hand, it appears that gold and property may be withdrawn from the service of a country, the industry of which is fully established and most completely organized and supported, without any real and permanent disadvantage. The gold and property, thus lost by our nation, never very sensibly affected us; they were soon made up by our incessant, well-supported, well-directed industry. And we now perceive, that gold itself, the representative of wealth and power, in a civilized country, may be represented, and may perform its operations as effectually, in an accredited, as in a substantial form. Gold, indeed, as a substance, is as useless to nine-tenths of those who are in quest of it, as any other metal. Though intrinsically worth its received value, this value like that of paper, arises intirely from its validated acceptation. Its scarcity, its indestructibility, its lustre, and other high metallic properties, which fit it for universal currency, and which have ensured to this currency, amongst civilized nations, a reception no less universal, could not, without this validated acceptation, have rendered the metal of any importance to one in a thousand. Indeed, it is evident, that although our faculties seem to be bent down to those services, which its attainment requires, it is the power which gold and silver have in com-

manding the objects which we desire, and their possessing almost exclusively this power, that have thus exalted them in our estimation; and that it is this exaltation which has not only drawn them from their dark abodes, but scattered them universally, and thus increased their scarcity and value. These prominent advantages of the metallic medium, estimable as they are, may be held to be surmounted by that radical advantage, which it possesses of being not only that value, into which all others are resoluble, but of being in this capacity, fitted for representation by paper, which, of itself, has no value whatever. It is inferred, indeed, that paper, as their recognized representative, must ultimately be resolved into the metals; but so long as this representative exercises with full effect the powers of its principal, so long as this resolution into a metallic value, can be deferred without manifest detriment, we must admit the competency of the paper medium, and its efficacy as a fit instrument of exchange. Its currency or accepted value, may occasionally vibrate above and below, that of coined money, and its prevalence may be attended with certain inconveniencies. These, however, must be regarded more as characteristic circumstances of the times in which we live, than as indicating any real imperfection in our acceptation of the medium itself.

These statements and remarks, I think, sufficiently illustrate two facts, which it is necessary that we carry fully along with us. First, that coined

money, though invaluable as a standard for ascertaining and determining the value of the circulating medium, may, without any peculiar disadvantage, be subtracted from *our* circulation, almost to an indefinite extent, provided only, that an amount be left circulable, sufficient to give force and efficacy to the abstract principle, by which its ultimate acquisition is maintainable. And secondly, that all the advantages connected with the paper medium, may be fully preserved in *our* circumstances, under any extension of its powers, so long as those principles, in which its adoption as a medium of exchange have their foundation, can be maintained. Paper never was, and it never could be received as a medium of exchange, otherwise than as an idea of value, clearly fixed, and resoluble into absolute value, and therefore, it is only while those inherent characteristics of the medium can be supported in their full extent, that its real value can remain irrefragable, like that of the metal which it is held to represent.

These considerations are of high avail to us, and it becomes us to be fully certiorated of the grounds on which they rest. The depreciation of every paper medium, that has heretofore been adopted, excepting only our own, together with the dreadful consequences which have universally attended this depreciation, are well known. That gold and silver, the real substantial and universally accredited representatives and standards of value, should be irrefragably connected in their operation and con-

sequences, with that imbecil emblem of power, which may be vested in the hands of the meanest, as well as in those of the highest individual in the community, appears to be a proposition at once hypothetical and insecure. The uniform experience of every other nation, has shewn, that it is doubtful and precarious; but that amidst contortions of value, in every other commodity, a circumstance which in its substantial extent has taken place amongst us to a degree, which, perhaps, has no parallel, the value of gold and paper should uniformly remain substantially the same, presents to the view of the political speculator, an object which challenges alike his surprise, and deepest regard. To those high considerations, however, an augmented force is given by a contingency, which is paramount to all the rest. The connection betwixt gold and paper as a tantamount value, is most violently split asunder, by the declared irresolubility of the paper medium into the metallic. In the bearing and import of this declaration, it is solemnly announced, that paper must not now be indefinitely resoluble into coined money, but must find its resolubility in other commodities. Still, however, after the lapse of half an age, this value of paper remains conjoined, and in a general view, tantamount, to that of the metals. The medium of exchange has preserved its value, alike in its accredited, and in its substantial form. A bare statement of these well known circumstances, evinces most unequivocally, the importance of the discussion now before us, and the necessity under which we

are laid of expounding, most completely, those principles on which it proceeds.

It is impossible to make these remarks without adverting to those systems of finance, which have been so often frustrated in France, and other countries. The statements already given, in some measure gives us the characteristic distinction betwixt our own system, and every other. We perceive plainly, that there is an exuberance of valuable articles, existing amongst us, into which our medium can be instantly and at all times resolved, generally with decided advantage. It is here, and not in the received resolubility of our medium into the metals, that the strength of our financial system resides. Neither France, nor any state that ever existed, possessed a basis of this kind, so broad, so fixed, so substantial. This is, therefore, our strongest hold, and we must prize those establishments, those productive, accumulative processes, and all the means that are necessary for their support and maintainance, as we would prize the radical stamina of our animal frame. It is upon this general basis, that our financial system rests for its support; and that the stability obtained is sufficient, we may infer, from this circumstance, that for a dozen of years, every other real support has been withdrawn: in so much, that though specie has in some instances been withdrawn almost absolutely; many immense establishments, and no small proportion of our general business, having been conducted, under privations of this kind, that are nearly complete, yet

no general disadvantage has been produced. These rest on the general system around them, and beyond them; there, their standard value is fixed and ascertainable, and the fact has shewn, that they have not thus rested it in vain.

There is a peculiarity in our social and civil organization, which favors this stability in our financial system. This may be said to have arisen in the substantial security of our government, and in that respectability which is annexed to all its functions, by the assemblage of high characters who compose its senate. Every man with us, is held to enjoy in perfect safety every right that can be consistently claimed; with full power, to avail himself of this right, to its utmost extent. Hence every individual betakes himself in good earnest to those exercises, which befit his condition, and resolutely pushes his interest that way, which is most correspondent to his circumstances. This gives rise to another advantage; the British government, poised on the centre of a system so vast, so stable, so well organized, is borne up in power and in importance. The profusion of means thus produced, is not unprofitable wasted. The state withdraws from the ordinary course of circulation a sufficiency of means to enable it to extend the range, and augment the power of the system. The means thus wisely applied, are drawn from the community in a way so regular, so equitable, and so judicious, that in place of impairing, they add strength to the national fabric; they serve to accelerate and augment the

reproductive process. Upon this basis, the national funded interest is rested. This subtraction from the means of the people is not absolute; for these funds again introduce themselves into the system, their subsequent diffusion through which, (though in a circuitous manner,) re-animates that industry whence they were drawn. No political speculator, has ever yet been able satisfactorily to account for these inherent advantages, or to say to what extreme point they may be carried. The truth is, our system is like a stately oak, developements and shoots of which, passed over by the mere surveyor, are constantly springing up for its service; and so long as the radical moisture can be diffused through its texture, these will send forth renovated strength to its support. Its advantages may be held to consist in its complete organization, and animated identity; while one congenial spirit permeates the whole, and vivifies every root and branch, while our social and civil organization remains entire, we may set the calculations of any mere speculative projector at defiance.

The question, therefore, comes to be, by what means and measures are this identity, and this organization to be maintained, how is this spirit, this system exposed to an infinity of dangers to be preserved? Let us not attempt, to attach to our own prudence, more than is its due, we know that of all the advantages which we possess, for this purpose, there is scarcely one which in its origin, has not distinctly marked the folly and imbecility of

human sagacity, and the real wisdom of keeping steadily in the regular discharge of our duty. In such a country as this, where wealth may be said to be universal, each of us has an establishment, from whence our means are drawn, and one in which they are consumed. There is scarcely one who lives on the mere offals of nature, and whose existence does not develope some benefit to those around him. These establishments stimulate and support others of a higher nature, they are either connected or dependent, or somehow resolved into other establishments; by discharging his duty faithfully in his own department, therefore, every man contributes to the stability of the whole. The statesman who presides, and the mechanic who subserves his views, can neither of them execute any of their ordinary functions, without setting in motion acquirements, that have been previously prepared, and which are of importance in the system. In fine, it is by following out in a regular and steady manner, these connexions, which so thoroughly pervade our system, that its essence and its power must be maintained.

The value and extent of these advantages, however, are only perceived, when they are fully developed in those grand reproducing establishments, in which our high character is seen. It is in the power which these have acquired, under the influence of our general system, of producing almost immeasurable provisions for human wants, that our national strength consists. Whatever losses we sus-

tain, whatever calamities befal us, the renovating power of our industry is at hand for our service. Such is our social organization, so closely are we concatenated together, and so highly buoyed up individually, by our general circumstances, that those impulses, which, as already noticed, are so universal, acquire a power that is constantly augmenting. Every article that we use, every movement that we make, serves to bring forward some of those commodities, that are so valuable and so abundant. If we even set agoing some inferior art, it subserves others, that are either directly or indirectly employed under more extensive establishments. If we prepare our sons for the navy, for the church, or for any civil employment, it is in support of these vast reproductive processes, that his services are resolved, and from those, that his remuneration must be drawn. It is thus, that provisions the most ample, and connexions the most advantageous, have been acquired, and universally maintained. No community is, or has been more closely concatenated, than that of Britain; in none, has this concatenation been more advantageously employed.

The nature and operation of these establishments thus supported, and thus connected, may be illustrated by attending to the early developements of the commercial spirit in society. In the pastoral state, that propensity so natural to man, and so congenial to his circumstances, perhaps, least of all exists, and it displays itself, chiefly in the way of bartering one commodity for another. From

this simple barter, the transition is easy to that of converting the article which we possess, into another with which we are more familiar, for which we know that we can obtain every other object in which we may be in quest. For this reason, the flocks and herds, which constituted the chief subjects of wealth, came also in some degree to represent general wealth. Perhaps it is in this very circumstance, that the project of adopting a general medium of exchange originated. Herds and flocks, then not only constituted the wealth, but they represented the value of wealth to a great part of the human race. The interchange of commodities of every kind, and of the industry which produced them, had, in these days, only vague ideas of value annexed to them, which could not, without difficulty, be connected with any other object. In this rude state of society, the interchanges of commodities, and of the industry which produced them, being few and simple, cattle, the great object of patriarchal solicitude, became the medium for resolving every value. Sheep and oxen, asses and camels, could easily serve the purposes of that commerce, which, like the creation of a barony, or the infeudation of a baron, took place but seldom, and after much consultation and serious deliberation; where the servant, domestic, and assistant, were all sunk under one name, when the appellation of tradesmen and dependent were unknown, neither pride nor chicanery could derange such solemn transactions.

It is very true, that cattle was regarded chiefly as a species of valuable property, and that it was on account of its peculiarly productive nature, and of its coincidence with the state of mankind in those early ages, that it was held to be thus valuable; but it is equally true, that transmissions of property were then mere matters of necessity, and that these very qualities were essential, in order to render cattle, or any such object, a medium of exchange. Although the advantages attached to the metals, as a medium of exchange, were self-evident, it was long before these became the direct object of pursuit. That they were resorted to only occasionally, as the medium of exchange, and that they also, as a species of possessable property, received their value from their intrinsic qualities, appears from the lavish use that was made of them in jewels and personal ornaments, in household gods, and articles of furniture. The mode of intercourse then prevalent, as well as the subjects of this intercourse, were of that palpable determinate character, that cattle was as naturally attached to the idea of value in those days, as the metals are with us. Then, possession and property were so nearly tantamount terms, that some obligation of a nature as obvious as possession, was generally needful to mark the distinction, when these were not conjoined. That property might exist in a multitude of indefinite shapes in the hands of others, in whose affairs, no direct interference could be maintained, and that wealth of the most stupendous magnitude could be represented by factitious

obligations, regarding subjects that remained unproduced, were ideas, that never occurred to the unsophisticated minds of the ancient patriarchs.

The cattle of the patriarchs, however, not only represented their wealth, their power, and their personal estimation, but they effected this object, in consequence of their being useful and desirable objects of property. Herds and flocks, therefore, not only were convenient instruments of commerce, necessary means of human subsistence, but convenient receptacles for the resolution of every other species of wealth. These were alike the objects of solicitude to princes, patriarchs, priests, and great men of every denomination. Cattle were the emblems of power and wealth, at the very time that they constituted its real substance.

It is very evident, however, that this state of things could continue no longer, than till the qualities and properties of gold had become generally received. When its portability and duration had been ascertained and estimated, it gradually entered into the detail of transactions, and at length became the received instrument of exchange. Gold, besides these qualities, was that medium alone, which suited the circumstances of the fabricator of commodities, and the tender of the flock; it abridged labor, and it shortened the process of intercourse. Cattle were subject to mortality and disease, they were exposed to depredation and destruction, and they were liable to become burdensome, as well as

profitable. Gold, however, was alike secure against both fatalities. Gold, from its universal applicability to the objects of commerce, can abbreviate the process of human labor, so as to insure a similar, and to procure an adequate return. Gold could be preserved, transferred, and commuted, with a precision peculiar to itself; gold, therefore, superceded the use of cattle as a medium of exchange.

Cattle possess in themselves, the faculties of increment and multiplication, and they can give forth fruits sufficient to render them a property really and necessarily valuable. Let it be supposed, therefore, that in some of the latter days of the supremacy of the cattle medium, it had been required by some sages and kings of the old school, that all the accredited metallic inert medium, then acquiring the ascendancy, should instantly become resoluble to cattle, the ancient representative of wealth, the only real subject which could identically produce a substantial aggregation of value. Thus following out that same abstract principle, of resolving a new into an old medium, which in our days has created such confusion. Society would have made but little progress if the whole cattle of a kingdom could have supplied the complement of medium, which one of its smallest cantons necessarily required. Cattle then, like gold now, might have risen in price, so as to throw their native utility into the shade, and so as to deprive the community of their real essential utility, as an article

of consumpt, and public utility; but in so doing, the absolute fallacy of the ground assumed, would only have been the more completely exposed. Coin, though intrinsically less valuable, would be seen from its universal reception, as the medium of commercial intercourse, to have acquired that factitious reproductive power, which we term interest. That medium, which can command the use of every object, which is universally respected for its accredited value, though in itself unproductive, yet possessing from its acceptation, as the instrument of commerce, powers of the most invaluable nature, would from these very circumstances, at once have reached that fixed estimation, which is now its characteristic.

The frame of human society in our times, is so very different from what it then was, that we can scarcely, even by analogy, trace the forms that have been handed down from these rude ages. When perception, not disquisition, indisputable rights, not abstract claims, determined the division of property, mankind troubled themselves little about any consequences, or inferences that were not obvious. Now-a-days, however, neither land nor stock of any kind, can exist as the property of an individual, but as it is hedged in by writs and evidences, sometimes of a very complex nature. These writs and evidences, when expressed in a direct form, have a value that is equal to the identical property which they represent; and this value we instinctively subsume by a necessary and in-

voluntary act of our mind, whenever we have occasion to refer to them as property; and in doing so, we fix its extent, by that metallic standard to which we are accustomed. Assuming their importance to others, from their general importance to the community, when we have brought our minds to the determination of converting them into another species of property, we carry along with us this assumed current value. There can be no doubt, but many circumstances, analogous to these existed in the early ages of the world, and that mankind became gradually habituated, not only to the metals, but to their representative, carrying on their intercourse, both on the one basis, and on the other, under the direct influence of that received standard of value, to which all parties had become accustomed. The metallic standard thus enabled them to meet a general market, and exchange their commodities with a precision that was formerly unattainable. In this way, mankind for many ages, no doubt, continued to transact their affairs; the proprietor of the metallic standard held in his power, as well as in his hands, the price of every commodity; he was possessed of the value, and of the criterion of value of every marketable object; and perhaps, while commerce remained in its simple state, mankind needed no other facilities, except those which obviously resulted from those circumstances, to render these direct exchanges of value, at once simple and complete. That rapidity of circulation, and that overweaning preponderancy of mercantile credit, which

characterize our times, were alike unknown and unnecessary.

Although, however, the received value and the intrinsic excellence of the metallic medium, thus rendered its intervention useful and commodious, it could not be procured at all times with sufficient facility, by those who had properties at market, which they were alike disposed to exchange. Bare transmission might serve the purpose, in so far, as the value of both could be held to be commensurate; but some medium to adjust the difference would be needful, in order to conclude the transaction. An obligation from an individual, holding himself bound to deliver the amount of the standard medium at a certain time, was, no doubt, occasionally substituted, and the corroborating obligation of a security, not unfrequently superadded: is it not evident, therefore, that this obligation, this personal right, which represented to the holder a portion of the current medium, corresponding to part value of his former property, became a species of property in his hands, which he would, in some circumstances, find it convenient to pass into the hands of another? Here, therefore, we trace the existence of the paper medium. The paucity of transactions of this kind, no doubt, left its nature and operations, in a very loose and unsettled state. Ages, perhaps, passed over without affording any instance that rendered positive regulations for its advantage needful. That the obligations, however, which were thence inferred, were really val-

uable to the possessor, and were secured to him, by the general circumstances of society, is sufficiently evident. Thus, though a species of property was created, which as yet wanted a real substance to uphold it, an obligation existed, which represented to the possessor, a substantial value, secured by absolute penalties, sometimes of the most extreme nature.

These statements lead us to perceive, that paper currency, or in other words, current personal obligations, which enabled the holder to distrain a fixed value from certain persons, had an early civil existence, and must have been resorted to in the first stages of social life. As assuredly as we depend on each other for the supply of our natural wants, so assuredly must we exchange the value of the supplies, that are for this purpose mutually necessary. As certainly as those exchanges require the intervention not only of a standard, but of a medium, so certainly, will both a standard and a medium be provided. Since the standard and the medium, however, may not happen always to be conjoinable, we necessarily and instinctively accept of that equivalent, which best befits our circumstances. In very early times, an obligation to deliver this equivalent, at a convenient time, generally in the standard medium, was resorted to for this purpose. In our days, this obligation has been held to be tantamount to possession.

Although these statements appear to be, in some

respects, more hypothetical than real, they serve to convey to our minds a just idea of that ground, whereon our financial system is rested. It is from this ancient source, that many of our ideas of property, and of its obligations, are drawn. Amidst the complexity and intricacy of our general system, these primary conceptions still appear, and on many occasions, we cannot more assuredly arrive at a true and certain knowledge of our circumstances and duty, than by a calm and deliberate attention to the first unfoldings of the social body. The reason of this is obvious; we are ourselves involved in the system which we contemplate. Owing to the multiplicity and diversity of our great concernments, each of which have a peculiar orbit, and a peculiar centre, a tortuous species of movement takes place in our affairs, which envelopes the true cause and consequences of those movements in obscurity. In such circumstances, those grand leading principles, which govern all those movements, which alone are universally powerful, and by regulating which all the rest may be controlled, are too frequently lost sight of. As it is by beginning at the root, that we find out the true stem, so it is by ascertaining the primary leading principles, and by following out these in their consequences, that the nature of our situation is perceived. Our present investigation is of a nature peculiarly difficult and intricate, whatever, therefore, can relieve our mind from its previous misconceptions, or unravel those perplexities, in which it is bewildered, must be of service. For which reason, I shall at-

tempt to follow out the analogies and parallels, which subsist betwixt the early stages of society, and our own, wherever these can serve for illustration.

In the first place, it must be remarked, that though in the pastoral ages, mankind admitted, without reserve, the value acquired from the metallic medium, and made the necessary sacrifices for its attainment when it was wanted, they never regarded this as their wealth. Their substance was held to consist in those flocks and herds, and in those means and resources, whence the natural wants of these could be supplied. That object, which of all others engaged their attention, was the reproductive faculties of those animals, and the capabilities within their own power, for augmenting in a natural way, that wealth, which could be thus substantiated. The precious metals they enjoyed as a species of property in every way, that corresponded to their nature; but they were not more solicitous about these as instruments of exchange, than their occasions for this use of them required. Their proper wealth, they knew, consisted not in these sterile commodities, but in these reproductive means, with which their attention was constantly employed; for this reason they never over-burdened themselves with these metals. Their cattle they could possess and enjoy, without the intervention of a current medium; it increased in their hands, without the use of this medium; their occasions for representing and circulating their wealth in a mer-

cantile form, seldom occurred, and they never attempted to convert their productive property into an unproductive, unless some peculiar motive urged them to do so. Their wealth and their substance, under this species of management, increased with a rapidity, proportioned to the correspondence betwixt their productive property, and the means which they possessed for maintaining and supporting it. These means being seldom in any degree deficient, direct recourse to the medium of exchange was seldom necessary for this purpose.

In like manner our wealth is concentrated in our fabricating, manufacturing, and other productive establishments; it is in those, that our power of commanding the wealth of the world is contained. It is here, that it is unfolded and brought to maturity. Those establishments, alike contain the power of creating, and that of giving currency to our wealth. It is the superiority, immensity, and high estimation of the productions of these establishments, which bring into our hands all those means, which give to this commanding power its high consequences. These establishments, however, like the flocks and herds of the pastoral fathers, must be regularly supported by means suited to their nature. As these last required brooks and pasture ground, so our reproductive powers, require every thing needful for the support of the establishments themselves, and of all those who are exercised under them. When those means are thus administered, the value of those powers is unfolded, their productions are

increased both in number and value, and our wealth, and our means, for giving to this wealth its full weight and estimation, are proportionally augmented: like the ancient patriarchs, we have in our hands the means which we require: our strongest propensities induce us to give to these means their proper place in our estimation; and the operations of our system, have been alike powerful and efficacious, when thus supported. Hence, the profusion of means, of establishments, and of wealth, of every description, with which we are encumbered. The power of maintaining these operations has hence reached its present high estimation. Like the flocks and herds of the favoured patriarchs, our produce is not only vast, but valuable, our productive powers have been not only great, but happily employed.

There is a want, however, peculiar to our system, to which these circumstances afford no parallel. This want arises from the complete concatenation of our social system. Men, the subjects of our establishments, may not like cattle, wander at large, and supply their wants from that profusion, with which they are surrounded. These supplies must be measured out to them, according to the value of their several claims; those claims must be resolved into the standard measure of value, and the person who cannot produce this current medium, can acquire no right to any supplies whatever. Means may be amongst his hands to the most unmeasured extent; they may be even perishing un-

der his eye, from the want of a consumer, but he must not attempt to appropriate them to his own use, until his legal claim can be admitted. At present there is a deficiency of the medium of exchange, and though all put forth claims, and produce property to obtain this medium, which but shortly before, would have been held to be competent to this effect, those claims cannot now be admitted, the medium is not to be found in sufficient quantities to meet their demands; and, in the mean time, those who are able to procure the medium, may not only acquire a portion of the general stock, far beyond its recent value, but they may retain in their custody, for an improper length of time, the instrument of exchange, in which all are most earnestly in quest; on which thousands are dependent for their support; and which, accordingly, ought to be pushed forward in circulation, with the utmost rapidity.

Although we can find no parallel to the above circumstances in the days of primitive simplicity, we can, by comparison, trace out those particular things, in which the distinction consists. In those days, the productive establishments represented their own value without any farther resolution. In our days, however, a general standard of absolute value is fixed, and a medium into which every marketable article must, in the first place, be resolved, is determined and universally received. Our primary object, therefore, is to find this medium, because it is by it, and by it alone, that we can attain

to the possession of every other, of which we may be in quest. Unlike the pastoral fathers, who in their flocks and herds, saw at once the medium of exchange, and the standard of universal value, our main solicitude is to resolve our substance, all or any of it, in any form, almost on any terms into this standard medium; by which means, and by which alone, we can meet the demands that exist against us. In our circumstances, the demand for the medium, is so pressing, is so universal, that it is frequently unattainable on any terms. Yet the attainment of it is necessary to the possession of every other object. Indeed, it is impossible without a competent portion of it, for any individual of extensive transactions to preserve any one civil right or possession. The advantage of holding in our hands that instrument, which can command every desirable object, is so congenial to our natural love of novelty, and of indefinite power, that a new species of passion has been conjoined with it: and however much we may reprobate avarice in the abstract, it is evident, that that commodity which can represent to us its full measure of value, in any other marketable commodity, must, on the whole, be regarded as incomparably more estimable than a particular resolution of it, in any marketable article whatsoever.

Direct proof to this effect is now under our eye. In our circumstances, the medium of exchange, the universal instrument for resolving the value, and determining the possession of marketa-

ble commodities, and of course, the direct means for procuring supplies of those, of that kind, of that measure, and to that extent, which suits the views of each individual, represents to us that pabulum, that means of support, which our reproductive establishments require. Our country is so overstocked with commodities and productions of every kind, and the occasions of individuals, render the possession of the medium so desirable, that the mere holding of it may be regarded as tantamount to the possession of a commensurate supply of every marketable property whatever. As every want, therefore, which our establishments, our reproductive faculties induce, may hence be supplied, and may all hence be anticipated, the medium itself, though neither the pabulum, nor at all fitted for meeting any of the wants of these establishments, yet possessing an absolute command over every object, that can supply those wants, comes plainly in the place of that food, or means of support to their cattle, their reproductive faculties, which to the pastoral fathers were so invaluable. That it is equally efficient in our hands, may appear from this, that the possessor of a sufficiency of the medium, can no more doubt his being able to procure the support, which his establishments require, than the proprietor of extensive flocks could, in the possession of a competency of pasture land.

And let it again be noticed, that in the pastoral ages, cattle not only constituted wealth, as identified with power and personal honor; a property,

valuable, from its intrinsic applicability to their circumstances, and from its tendency to increase; it constituted also the medium of exchange, the instrument of direct command over every other commodity. No accredited standard of value, no metallic, or paper currency, intervened betwixt it and the subject, into which it was necessary to have it resolved; it was itself competent to every other marketable acquisition, and it was the measure and medium for determining the possession of that acquisition. This circumstance evidently forms a characteristic distinction, betwixt the proprietors of productive establishments in that age and ours, of very great magnitude and importance. And we perceive, that it is in the want of some analogous accommodation, that our present embarrassments arise. The value of the advantage possessed by those ancient fathers, may be perceived in this circumstance, that unlike the proprietors of manufacturing, and other great establishments amongst us, who must sist progress, whenever their commodities cannot be resolved into the medium; and whose occasions thence so often protrude them to destruction, in those mutual struggles to obtain possession of the medium into which they are necessarily led—these ancients could preserve their flocks, so long as their pastures remained, and proceeding in a steady course of advancement, without stoppage or interruption, find the full value and amount of their acquirements, always resolved in the numerical increase of their establishments. What losses, what calamities, worse than those of earthquakes, and

volcanoes, in the natural world, would not society escape, if some acquisition, similar to that, to which we have alluded, could be obtained for our productive establishments!

There is in the constitution of civil society, a tendency to work out its own deliverance from oppression, and to throw off those morbid excrescencies, which were attached to it in a rude state. When society becomes at length improved, it farther acquires an elasticity in its movements, which gradually disencumbers it from forms and habits, which prejudice and misconception, at one time prepared for it. No doubt, luxury, corruption, and the innate depravity of the human mind are severally struggling to overpower this ameliorating tendency; and in consequence of the predominance of vice and folly, their operations are at times too powerful for its gentle movements. The stupendous efforts of genius and talent, and the slow but irresistable exercitations of the general principle of improvement, are therefore not only necessary to maintain the advantages secured, but to give full effect to these advantages, and to meet those numerous contingencies, to which no previous measures can be adapted. It is by such means, that the imperfections, necessarily attendant on human affairs must be remedied. The proneness of our best aggregations of improvement to vitiation, and the constant developement of spurious, as well as of useful innovations, in a system so vast, so complex, and so rapidly progressive as ours is, renders some farther

attention to those fundamental principles needful. We will now, therefore, turn our regard to that state of things, wherein the metallic medium, accompanied by incipient improvements in the arts, led the way to this developement of the commercial system.

When nations had been conquered, and compressed into narrow precincts, when the value of the arts, and of those possessions, to which these give rise, had become familiar to mankind at large, and the laws and rules for the distribution and enjoyment of property, had begun to extend themselves, the usefulness and importance of the metals, as an instrument for expediting transactions would be felt and acknowledged by all. As it was in these mild and genial climes, wherein nature itself, half-way meets the exertions of her sons, that the arts are known to have arisen, and as it was chiefly under that shelter which princes and great men afforded, that these were supported and advanced, the earliest developements of the arts, were accompanied by displays of taste, power, and splendor. Personal influence, as well as wealth, not unfrequently accompanied the exercise of them; and, although those grand remains of ancient productions that have reached us, plainly discover the hand and the dignity of the sovereign; yet both history and analogy attest the existence of a gradation of similar displays, correspondent to the stations and circumstances of the different ranks of men, which then prevailed. The existence of accumulated processes and of manufacturing establish-

ments is thence inferred, as also of artists and fabricators of high renown, even in the necessary arts. These establishments, it must be noticed, comprised slaves more generally than free workmen; they were isolated, comprehending within themselves, all these various gradations and divisions of labor, which conducted the rude material to the finished marketable commodity; and thus, they resembled the flocks and herds, the reproductive establishments of the pastoral fathers, they sent forth their fruits, by the mere operation of their own system; and were dependent on no other market than that of the ultimate consumer. The establishment of a West India plantation, approaches nearer to that organization, which distinguished the ancient establishments, than any other in modern times.

These establishments like all others, must have had their origin in small and rude beginnings. When an artist, or an agriculturist had got possession of the means needful for setting one of these agoing; the precious metals, then the universal instrument of exchange, would enable him to complete his supply of materials, assistants, and facilities. Those chemical and mechanical aids, which were then accessible, would not be awanting. Having provided every thing that could augment the value and amount of the productions of his industry, abbreviate its operations, and economize its procedure, and formed out of his acquisitions a well digested, full organized system, secured and protruded under every attainable advantage and facil-

ity, he could henceforward look upon himself, and his establishment, as independent of any ordinary contingency. It contained within itself the means of its own support and advancement. Its subsequent produce was exclusively his own, and gave out funds which he could either invest afresh in his establishment, or consume in the natural way; the support of his slaves and dependents, like that of his domestic establishment, being provided for in that form which suited his circumstances. The whole procedure being thus advanced upon one capital, and under one great head, and the commodities, not being passed in an unfinished state from hand to hand, as with us, that accommodation or credit, that direct and indirect circulation of the medium or its representative, which affords so much financial relief to our tradesmen, was unknown. The establishment rested on the basis of its own means, and the use of the medium in all its forms was precluded from the first entry of the raw material to its ultimate resolution in a finished article for general consumpt. The smith could not relieve the founder of his commodities, and interpose in his favor, the benefit of his commercial support, nor himself derive that advantage from the armourer. The whole weight of every undertaking lay undivided upon the fabricator, and it became him to be prepared for the whole stretch of his manufacture.

It is not my business to inquire into the whole results of this state of things; it is enough to point out those which most strikingly contradistinguish

it from ours, and disclose to us the operation of those principles, on which our own system is founded, when placed in circumstances so congenial to the natural state of human industry. Perhaps the most important of these distinctions, is the vast saving in the use of the medium of exchange. During the whole process, substances and materials alone entered the establishment, and finished commodities alone came out of it. For those finished commodities, the price, the medium, was obtained; in procuring the substances and materials alone it was expended. Like the industry of a great nation, which is independent of every other, billets or notices of exchange might pass, from the hand of one individual member of the establishment to another, on the delivery of any half-finished commodity; but the universal medium of exchange itself was useless, until the finished commodity met the general market.

The second circumstance that deserves notice, is the independent footing on which the fabricator held his establishment. He could do nothing till he had procured the means; those means he could only obtain by delivery of the medium, or some current value in hand; but when he had done this, his system was complete; to provide for the wants of his slaves and domestics, to bring their industry to the market, and to keep up his stock of means, were the only burdens with which he could be affected. The merest movement of his system could not but procure these in an era, wherein finished

commodities were scarce, and substances and materials superabundant. As no manufacturing establishment could be set down, but by persons really and substantially possessed of means, and under similar necessities with himself, so his commodities would always maintain their value. The fabricator was, as it were, possessed of a fertile field, or well-conditioned flock; regular returns for his industry could therefore be no more doubted of by him, than regular returns of the seasons, and their consequences by the farmer.

The third circumstance to be noticed, is the very narrow sphere which could be occupied by those fabricators. As these rested entirely on their own means, they were restrained by the limits of those means in all of their operations. The merchant might be at hand to relieve the fabricator of his commodities, and to supply him with materials, suited to his establishment. Still, however, he was by his circumstances strictly confined within the sphere which these operations could easily describe. In those days, as at present, fabricators were no doubt held in estimation, according to the value and rarity of their productions. Those of their highest class might be bribed not only with a high price, but with pecuniary advances for the sake of a preference in their finished commodities, whereby additional powers and faculties would become invested in their productive system. But, perhaps, it happened much oftener, that purchasers were not fully prepared to deliver the full value of the commodity

in hand, which they had procured, whereby it fell to the fabricator, to bestow some indulgence as to the term of payment; although by so doing, he so far for the time weakened his establishment. It must be remarked, however, that these very circumstances indicate the independent nature of the industry, which then prevailed. The connexion betwixt the fabricator and his employer, was of that intimate kind, that each severally accommodated himself to the circumstances of the other, not only in his general procedure, but throughout all the particulars of each transaction. The medium, and the means, were severally superabundant; the finished commodity was in general scarce, and while the prospect of gain on the one side, stimulated the fabricator to do his duty; that of advantage, on the other, equally disposed the consumer to meet his views. These dispositions, and the conduct to which they gave rise, had no doubt, great varieties, but throughout the whole, the independent nature of established industry, and the equal balance that subsisted betwixt the tradesman and his employer, produced a coincidence in the conduct of each, which has few parallels in our days; the superabundance of commodities, and the paucity of consumers, placing those last with us, completely on the vantage ground.

In the fourth place, the quantity of medium in circulation in those days, in general, greatly exceeded the demands both of the fabricator and of the merchant. This appears from several circum-

stances. The medium was of no farther use, than as it transferred the value of the commodity sold, from the purchaser to the vender; an occurrence which took place only in circumstances, wherein the natural wants of both parties disposed them to enter into such transactions. The circulation of the metals was so extremely slow, that they were in general prized more on account of their common use, as articles of luxury, than on account of their being indispensable accessories for expediting industry. Gold was frequently thus retained, not only in temples, but in the houses of individuals; statues, embellishments, and personal decorations being in some instances in a great measure composed of it. Those personal obligations which we preserve with so much care, and occasionally circulate as instruments of exchange; these, then, served merely to ascertain the amount of the debt, the term of payment, and the conditions and penalties, consequent on every failure; thereby producing a certain degree of stability, and ensuring some personal exertions on both parts, to realize the accredited value. It is certain, however, that the commercial spirit, in those days, was so feeble in its movements, that such obligations were not only seldom created, but that when they were created, they generally passed off in personal services, in acts of friendship or hostility, or in some display of prowess, or condescension, or direct expenditure. They seldom re-entered the reproductive establishments, and were in general, perhaps, much more prejudicial than advantageous to the interests of

industry. The truth is, the reproductive processes moved so regularly, without adventitious aid, their services were so exactly limited to the supply of ordinary and current demands, that every thing that went beyond these, was devoted to direct and immediate consumpt.

Fifthly, foreign trade, the grand stimulator and supporter of industry with us, was generally conducted without the intervention of the medium. It consisted for the most part in bartering commodities and productions against each other, and it took place in that slow deliberate manner, which resulted from far-fetched, and loosely calculated views of the wants and circumstances of those countries, which were thus brought into contact. That wide and overpowering species of intercourse, which gives the law to the consumpt, and to the character of communities, was unknown. Then, the natural developement of moral and physical principles, proceeded not merely with regularity, but in so far as commercial objects could affect it, with the most uninterrupted harmony. The results of foreign commercial transactions, were, therefore, neither direct nor powerful; they reached in the most apposite manner to those objects, for which they were calculated; but they entered naturally into the habits, and established connexions and concatenations of men and objects; thereby contributing to give stability to a system of things already secure within itself, and efficient in all its exterior relations. Whatever vices and faults might attend particular parts

of this organization, these were driven out of sight, by the operation of the great machine; and whatever deficencies and imperfections were attendant on the organization itself, these were abundantly remedied by those energies and resources, which were perpetually arising from the system. Over such matters, therefore, commerce had no control, it accommodated itself to, or bent under their influence. Limited, however, and weak as the foreign intercourse, which then subsisted was, it affected industry in a direct manner, and in that way, which, for the time, advanced the general interests of a body-politic, necessarily slowly and steadily progressive.

Sixthly, even the acts of government, and the structure of political connexions, were so constituted as to save the use of the medium of exchange, and to favor the ordinary self-moving developements of established industry. Taxes and imposts, were generally raised in kind, and the subjects thus levied, were again circulated and distributed through the agency of the state. Industry, in some measure, raised above the operation of the medium, was thus kept steadily in motion by those great agents and excitators, which, in all countries superinduce consequences, which are irresistable. Industry and commerce, accordingly, became more and more independent of the medium, and more and more fixed and stable in all their results and effects.

There are several other distinctive qualities of ancient industry, which arose out of this state of things, that might be exhibited in this place, as direct consequences of the views that have been taken. By illustrating three of these, however, some idea of the whole may be obtained. In the first place, it is evident, that when the means of conducting industry, were thus independent of the medium, and when the servants who were employed about industrious establishments, were thus severally fixed to their condition, the great line of improvement, would proceed alongst that course of things, wherein the power and dignity of the rich could be displayed. These alone possessed the medium, the means of commanding the services of others, the instrument for exciting emulation and competition amongst tradesmen, and of bringing forward under their views, the full exercise of all the powers and faculties, that were inherent in the existing state of things. It was in subserviency to their views that the wants of these were supplied; this process proceeding in that dull, heavy course, which necessity prescribed, and being neither animated by exhibitions of taste, nor smoothed by the hand of ingenuity. As the poor dependent operative had no choice, but to take up what was allotted to him, neither skill nor sophistry were needful to allure his acceptance, or to gratify his fancy; that parade of brilliancy, and of appropriate decoration which are set forth in every commodity, for the sake of the meanest as well as of the highest, could, therefore, have no place in regard to

personages, to whom the most prostrate submission had become constitutional. But the channel of improvement thus narrowed, rushed forward in that course which had been assigned to it, with an impetuosity, to which we vainly look for a parallel in modern times. Those temples and amphitheatres, those statues and paintings, which were produced in small societies, exhibit a progression in improvement, which almost exceeds belief. Powerful, yet confined to its proper object, it excluded every thing base and mean, and associated itself intimately, with every thing great and dignified; and it did this in a way, which the greatest powers of succeeding ages, have in vain attempted to emulate. Happily for us, our progression in improvement, has not only become wider, but more powerful, it has its source in the exalted principles and doctrines of our holy religion; it originates in the heavenly regions; and it possesses throughout its whole course an energy, which raises every thing with which it comes in contact to its proper pitch of excellence. Though we are deprived of these factitious ornaments of society, which were peculiar to this primary progression of improvement in the arts, we enjoy countervailing blessings, which shut these out of sight; and if we steadily keep in our eye the leading principles of all improvement, we need not despair of attaining similar excellence, even in these very particulars. We perceive however, that this object depends neither on the medium, nor on the rapidity of its circulation; it depends

upon the general circumstances and pursuits of the social body.

The second particular consequence attendant upon the course of ancient industry is, that the circulation of its productions was free and unincumbered. I do not here allude to those necessary imposts on industry, which every government, must, more or less, resort to; although it is evident, that these ought at all times to be proportioned to many other circumstances, besides the exigencies of the state. I refer to the circulation of commodities, when they had reached their market value. These commodities, not only at once found a merchant, but they found one, over whose reciprocal regards they had the most absolute command. Let any one look steadily to the intercourse that takes place in commodities amongst us, and he will perceive that the whole evils of our commercial and financial difficulties, originate in our wanting this advantage. Most of our commodities, are destined to the service of our determined enemy, whose wants they must subserve, before they can attain their value. After this has been secured to them, amidst dangers and losses of the most extraordinary kind, another risk attends the transference of this value into our own hands, which, including all the dangers, attendant on the drawer and accepter of bills, and on those individuals who make transferences of value, which must serve to meet these, are of a nature so perilous, that it is well known, no person will refuse acknowledging that for once, that the assumed value is replac-

ed to the community at large, it nearly ten times perishes in the circuit which it must describe. Besides this, however, even in the home market, so lax and illusory are these laws and customs, by which floating property is protected, that the course of the home circulation, is, on the whole, far from being either stable or secure. From all those evils, from the circumstances in which ancient industry was placed, ancient fabricators were safe. Their deficiency in mechanical and chemical power in the general digest and organization of their means, their embecil, and sometimes puerile exercitations, with the whole imperfections and deficiencies of their general procedure, were compensated by this advantage. That humiliation, that trepidation, and that complete annihilation of property and of power, which assail so generally the whole race of fabricators and merchants with us, and which so often hurries them from princely fortunes to extreme poverty, were never either seen nor thought of.

I AM hence led to take notice of the third effect produced by those characteristic distinctions of ancient industry, that have been noticed. The industrious processes thus set agoing, were not only in a great measure independent of the medium, and very little dependent on foreign trade; the fruits which arose from them, not only circulated without any interruption, and without any tendency to embarrassment, but even during this connected circulation, each of these processes remained radically independent of each other. One or more, or in-

deed any number of them might be withdrawn, overturned, or destroyed, by the calamities of war, of pestilence, of famine, of mismanagement; while the remainder, would not thereby partake sensibly of the change. Not that the general movements of industry could not be deranged by the irruption of any incidental connexion, that might subsist betwixt flourishing and ruinous establishments; or that the withdrawing of a great consumer and replacer of valuable commodities, was without its effects; but such was the state of things, that these matters were not only, in themselves inconsiderable, on account of the paramount influence of a system, which was established on such superior grounds; but the state of society, was such, that no connected chain of commercial calamities, could, in any ordinary course of things, at all take place.

There are two chains of connexions in our fabricating establishments, to which we have no parallel in ancient times. Our several manufacturing processes are brought forward in distinct parts, and each on a separate stock as distinct properties, under a peculiar system of management. It is in this circumstance, that the power and perfection of our system of industry consists; the profusion of commodities, which each of these processes incessantly sends forth, rendering the chance of any interruption in the general process of industry, on account of any accidental defalcation, in the accessory branches, extremely trifling. It seldom happens therefore, even when contingencies of this kind do take

place, that the deficiency is either great or lasting, while the advantages which are secured from the power and perfection of the system thence obtained, are great and powerful in every respect.

There is, however, another chain of connexions, which produces effects, and entanglements of a different kind. Owing to the palpable deficiency of the general medium of exchange, those various establishments, and indeed the whole superior part of the community, have been reduced to the necessity of instituting, what is called commercial credit, for the purpose of serving as a sort of medium of exchange, which each graduates for his own use; but on which, all in the end become more or less dependent; or rather on which every great interest, is as it were strung into one. When any part of this chain of credit gives way, the deficiency is not only palpably felt, but it creates an obstruction in the general circulation, that must inevitably be more or less detrimental, or perhaps ruinous to many individuals. Nor is this all, those primary effects become speedily productive of others, sometimes of high moment. As we now see these effects placed before us in a manner, that is at once palpable and deeply agonizing, it is unnecessary for me to narrate, how very ruinous these irruptions may become. The whole motions of the commercial, financial, and fabricating parts of our system are paralized, and every commodity and production with those various systems, that are constituted for their creation, are deprived alike of their value, and of

their usefulness, and many of them will, in all probability, be soon rendered of as little avail or importance, as any other morbid corrupting substance whatever.

As this subject will afterwards be resumed more at large, it is only necessary to note thus briefly, the above particulars; and from these we perceive distinctly, the vast importance of the medium of exchange, in securing individual independence. In the inferior parts of our establishments, this independence is provided for abundantly, and a continuance of it secured by the necessity, under which the heads of these establishments are laid, of granting to their dependents, as the price of their labors, the universal standard into which all commodities are resoluble, and which of course, commands its full value of each commodity. In the superior part of these establishments, however, no such security is obtained. These establishments are linked together, by a factitious paper circulation, and by other false grounds of mutual confidence, which are alike ruinous and fallacious; insomuch, that on every failure of the hopes of those who may have reached a high place in this system, the evil becomes general. Nevertheless, though calamities, to which it is frequently difficult to set limits, therefrom take place, and involve alike the most deserving, and the most culpable; the man of great property and deservedly respectable, and him, who had never the smallest foundation of either; the system is permitted to go on without interruption; we busy ourselves about

its subordinate parts, while we ought to be sedulously employed about its foundation.

The iron hand of despotism, and the cruel ravages of privileged depredators, were the most prominent enemies, by which improvement was in ancient times opposed. These were of a kind, and of a nature, to which Europeans, until of late years, could scarcely attach any fixed appropriate idea. The stern countenance of the conqueror, not only desolated regions of immense extent, but forbade, with the most inflexible accent, the return of improvement. His myrmidons not only swept from the face of the earth its most precious productions, but they tore up by the roots its institutions and establishments. These prominent enemies to improvement, were not, however, the most formidable. The form of society thus pressed together, contained in it principles of vitiation incomparably more virulent. While one small portion of mankind alone, could enjoy the blessings of liberty and security, honor and emolument; and while all the rest were consigned to unmitigated debasement; while every mean and vile demarcation of abject bondage, was affixed to that state of dependence, which is inseparable from human affairs; and while a system to which no other views or interests, excepting these of the few could enter, continued to prevail, no provisions that were at all commensurate to the natural wants of man, would be attended to. The industry of the community might be valuable, but it was calculated, limited, and pointed to the use

of the few. Its productions might be precious and abundant, but those productions were all destined to the paramount few, or to those purposes, to which it suited their views and interests to allot them. Hence in general, it must be admitted, that the industry of those days was altogether inadequate to the wants of man; not indeed from the embecility of its movements, but from the malverse destination of its powers. In some countries indeed, this evil was circumscribed, and slaves had certain rights and properties secured to them; but in none, could the labourers acquire that real command over those good things that were and could be produced, which every British subject, and until lately every inhabitant of Christendom might enjoy. The medium of exchange was rarely to be procured; when procured, it was incompetent to many valuable purposes, and it never had that command over the whole fruits of industry, which its nature implies. Thus this circumstance, which rendered the industry of the ancients so stable, and so secure, its independency of the medium, tended to shut out of use, its most valuable faculties, to limit its operations to the service of the rich, to circumscribe the provisions, the enjoyments, and the possessions of the poor, and thus to render their dependence on their masters, most absolute and most hopeless. Thereby, the objects produced might become more abundant and valuable of their kind, but thereby also they were extremely limited in their amount, thus conducing to seal more

completely the unhappy state of the grand mass of humanity.

Taking the views into which those things lead us, and having in our eye the circumstances of the eastern and southern parts of the world, it is not necessary for me, in a cursory survey of this kind, to pursue the subject any further; it is enough to refer to the known state of industry in such cases. When we fix our attention upon the vast results, which have flowed from this embecil and imperfect species of industry, we cannot help being overpowered with wonder and astonishment. The grandeur, and the multitude of superb edifices and monuments of genius and art, which have reached our times, the splendid provisions made for religious purposes, for the pomp of the state, for the education of youth, and for the luxurious indulgence of cheiftains and grandees; and above all, those prodigious and expensive armaments, colonizations, and other enterprises, into each of which the whole soul and energy of nations seem to have passed; each of their kind, though vastly different, displays a power far trancending that which we are naturally led to expect. And it must be further noticed, that though the abject bondage, and debasement, of the great bulk of mankind, has necessarily been subsumed, we are not hence to infer, that for these no provision was made by the course of industry, or that they were debarred from direct participation in every ordinary enjoyment. So far from this being the case, it is certain, that of those things which

were needful to the condition even of the lowest class, ample supplies were made. Enveloped in the lustre of the country, family, individual, to whom they were attached, they participated in general in those blessings, and in those sentiments to which their own industry gave rise, and not unfrequently lost sight of their individual forlorn condition, from the radiance with which it was surrounded. They could not indeed, as the poorest and most dependent amongst us now do, by producing the standard medium, appropriate to themselves these things that were then sacred to the rich; nor enjoy in that self-collected manner, even that share of the fruits of their industry, which was peculiarly their own. That token of independence, the medium which commanded marketable means, supported by a vast range of those appropriate commodities and productions, which are needful in personal and domestic circles with us, were quite unknown to them. Destitute, however, of these advantages, their wants, and the means of supplying these, were regularly, though imperfectly accommodated to each other.

On the whole, however, it is necessary to remark, that, nature herself, not only met half-way, all those efforts that were made to perfect her works, by the first adventurers in the arts, but that she gave a lustre and happy effect to the results that followed. The earliest and simplest movements of industry, such as merely accelerated and prepared the way for the course that followed, were not unrewarded. Mankind were then able, not only

to reap in abundance, those supplies which were requisite, but to form aggregations for futurity. These aggregations in the hands of individuals were the emblems of power and of honor, and they enabled them to make aggregations still larger, and more valuable, and to carry forward improvements of various kinds upon higher grounds. Those things gave birth to property in all its circumstances, as well as to those accumulative fabricating processes, under which the dependent were ranged and exercised. The potency and promptitude, thence accorded to the course of industry, greatly augmented its value and its results. Hence an abundance of means was created in favor of the the rich, and hence the aggregate power and splendor thereby obtained, was duly exercised.

The great design of those different courses of industry, was to produce abundance of the commodities to which they were destined. In this view, the system established was peculiarly favoured, for though defective in mechanical and chemical aids, and other advantages of high import with us, yet being independent of those overwhelming embarrassments which envelope all our undertakings, its productive processes, when once set fairly a-going, met with no opposition from rivalry, and with no interruption from financial embarrassment. Like every thing else in those days, it was affected, and sometimes ruined by war, by desolation, and by all those calamities, which were great and universal. The views of the rich, were morcover, ho-

mologated with those of the state, and the measures, which both these adopted, were carried forward by certain courses of things, all of which resolved themselves into the public service. The national arena being then the field of universal display; riches, talents, endowments, mental and corporeal prowess, were all alike here exercised. Let it be noticed, however, that wealth being created for the service of the rich and the powerful, after re-animating their personal vigor and splendor, it passed off without creating any circulable burden, or any commercial influence upon the industry of the country. So that although the course of things, then current, tended to give support to industry, by rendering it necessary, as the price of possession to make a transference into the funds of the industrious of that instrument, which was admitted to have a commensurate command over every other possession, yet this did not regularly stimulate industry, for this price went not into the hands of the laborious, but into the hands of the rich, whose views it subserved, and where most generally it remained, till as the price of a similar possession it passed into those of another. The sinews of the domestic, and of the slave, were stretched for the advantage of his master, and the unbending arm of capricious power, twisted those according to the reigning passion of the moment, very generally without any direct view to pecuniary consequences. These, therefore, seldom received any support, and never any advantage from those circulations. Their fate was fixed, their enjoyments were circum-

scribed, and their possessions all cut off by the hand of their master; to them, industry was lifeless and uninteresting; its labors, and its sorrows, exhausted hopelessly, their whole faculties; for the measure of their griefs and sorrows, of their possessions and advantages, was not adjusted by the claims of their industry, but by the caprice of their master. That instrument of independence, that power to which all can with effect appeal, the medium of exchange, was reserved for the use of others, in whose hands it served only to seal the absolute debasement of the laborious.

From the foregoing statements regarding ancient industry, it must have become manifest, that the value of its productions and not its accumulative powers was the ultimate object then in view, and that this value depended not so much upon the quantity of the medium employed in its operations, as upon the quantity and quality of the substances operated upon, and of the industry, that was therein exercised. The primary movements of every process, no doubt, originated in the expenditure of the medium, as well as in the use of other subjects; but in all its subsequent movements, the progression of industry, went forward on the grounds that were previously provided; the intervention of the medium, in this progression, being only necessary, when the operations of the establishment, came in contact with extrinsic objects, and when evils, and defects, inherent in its constitution required the intervention of exterior aid. Thus far a close an-

alogy and resemblance subsisted betwixt these establishments, and those which existed in the pastoral era. It must be noticed, however, that unlike the flocks and herds of the ancient fathers, which without any further resolution, represented their own value to the individual possessor, the proprietor of these establishments, could only realize this value by means of the accredited medium. To him the productions of his establishment, were the instruments of procuring the medium, and it was in the power, which it possessed for this procurement of it, that the value of his establishment consisted. Its fruits, like those formerly derived from the possession of flocks and herds, might be passed away, without injuring the accumulating process that was going forward; but it was neither in these fruits, nor in his establishment, that the substantial power the fabricator over general wealth resided.

But besides this, the flocks and herds of ancient times, were of themselves this general wealth, and they conveyed along with their possession, all that power and influence, which are inseparable from general wealth; neither these fabricating establishments, however, nor the medium that could be derived from their operations, could effectually either constitute, or represent general wealth, without a still farther resolution into other objects of an extrinsic nature. Individual wealth presupposed a multitude of acquisitions and provisions, that were peculiar to that state of society, of which every individual, who aspired to dignity and power, behoov-

ed necessarily to possess himself; such as houses, furniture, apparel, and other procurements of a nature, which gave forth no other value but that which a sense of possession constituted; landed property, personal endowments, political and personal influence, and those other acquirements, which constituted substantial wealth, such as was not only enjoyed, but such as of itself formed, the basis of subsequent acquirements of the most invaluable kind. The means of acquiring the medium, naturally led to the possession of these advantages; the regard which these means challenged, and the power which the medium, into which those means were resoluble commanded, insured not only this possession, but those subsequent advantages, which flowed from possession. Hereditary distinction, personal and family prowess, were no doubt then, as at present, for the most part indispensible perquisites to the attainment of those advantages; but it was in the energy, subtilty, and strenuousness of long continued exercises and efforts alone, that these attainments, reached their full value; and in the state of society, which then existed, incitements of the most cogent nature, were never awanting to urge forward those advantages.

Thus it appears, that personal exertions, the medium of exchange, and the means of commanding it, were alike invaluable, and that it was in their combined operation, that this power was most conspicuous. The medium drew means into the service of individuals, but if his establishment, if

his personal prowess, was not kept at work, these means, and this medium, would be of little avail to him. By the possession of the medium, he was as it were, placed like the pastoral flocks near a fertile meadow, beside still waters; but without the full appropriation of these advantages to himself in the use of his natural and acquired powers, these could be of no service to him; by using these as he might, his establishment, with all its powers displayed their value in a way at once stable and powerful. The great use and object of the medium at that time, was to excite and support extrinsic operations, that species of intercourse which was not included within the verge of establishments, or mere personal exertions. It marked the independence of these on each other, and gave a range for choice and exertions, which favoured competition. Thus far the operations of the medium resembled those that are in use amongst us, but in place of serving to divide and subdivide industry, according to its various functions, as is done by it with us, it merely served to pass finished commodities; and in place of animating all the inferior departments of industry, it was itself expedited and supported in all its operations, by the very means which it represented. Like gold at present with us, those means served to substantiate the value of the medium, even in ordinary transactions, and to establish the security, which every one seeks in the enjoyment of his property. Thus the tantamount value of objects of consumption, with the coin, into which

they were resoluble was displayed, and both rendered alike the proper objects of solicitude.

The truth and certainty of these views, has been already fully illustrated. That the progress of industry was in no respects impeded by any deficiency in the medium appeared from the purposes to which the precious metals were profusely applied; not only by states, but by opulent individuals, of different ranks and characters, investing most indiscriminately, that precious substance on which general industry with us, is so dependent alike in their household furniture, &c. and in the circulating medium. On the whole, therefore, it must be evident, that the quantity of medium in circulation, the current course of industry, and the circumstances of mankind in general, harmonized and corresponded to each other, and advanced in one simultaneous progression. The probability is, that for the most part, the great deficiency was in commodities, and the great redundancy in the medium.

It does not seem to be necessary to go far in order to discover the reason of this state of things. Industry was not in those days clothed with honor, as with us. The dispositions and propensities of mankind, were then steadily in favor of that tumultuous indeterminate kind of living, which we still perceive in barbarous nations; military exploits, intellectual exercitations, and other ambitious pursuits, generally occupying the vacant faculties of

those high characters, who took the lead in public affairs.

The preceeding statements and observations, apply generally to the present circumstances of many countries in the world, but it is unnecessary to illustrate the subject, by any farther reference to these. The facts and matters, however, that have been narrated, I think, warrant me to draw the two following general deductions, which shall here be just briefly stated, because it will be necessary, afterwards, to take them up more fully.

First, we perceive, that it is by no means so difficult, nor so dangerous to saturate a community with the instrument of exchange, as most people imagine. Here we have seen this very effect produced, that is—the process of intercourse, so fully subserved by the medium of circulation, that it was unnecessary for general purposes to introduce any farther supplies of it. We see gold stored in private, as well as in public recesses in such profusion, that we now a-days, are even sceptical, as to the accuracy of the accounts respecting that facts handed down to us. In the mean time, all the business of society was fully executed and adjusted; all the industry that was competent to its character, was fully exercised upon all the means, that could be prepared for its exercise; and the whole of its productions, distributed and consumed in that way, which corresponded to its general circumstances. No embarrassment from default of the medium, no

confusion from its perversion took place; on the contrary, here, as in other circumstances of the like kind, a mass of public procurements, investments, and establishments, were derived out of the redundant means thereby brought into circulation; which permanently advanced the circumstances of society, and gave to all its other improvements, a fixed and stable foundation of the last moment, to its general progression in this high course, and to the farther developement of its natural powers.

These provisions were so great and so important, that when we recollect the unseemly organization of industry, that then prevailed, and its almost total want of those chemical and mechanical powers, in which our strength resides, we cannot but regard its results with astonishment. Cities with many, concatenated acquisitions and decorations; agricultural and fabricating processes, with various concomitant improvements; institutions for the service of the state, of religious worship, of civil education, of general and particular solemnities and festivities, appear in superabundance on one side; and all those ample provisions and accommodations that enter into the detail of human life, and render civilized existence so respectable, were not only generally acquired and secured, but distributed and appropriated through the instrumentality of this medium, and of the industry which it diffused, the supersaturated powers of which, left a residuum unabsorbed and unemployed.

It must be noticed, that the form and circumstances of society were such, that a great part of its business proceeded in an evenly train, without any intervention of the medium. The relation betwixt master and servant, like that betwixt a father and his family, dispensed with the intervention of the medium; that of the state, and its subjects for the most part, existed on a similar basis. Stated customs and ordinations, consuetudinary indulgencies, and benevolent and public displays, frequently also dispensed in like manner with its services. On the whole, however, as there was no defecit in the mode or circumstances of distribution, nor any inadequacy in these to the state of society, it is obvious, that we may safely infer the independence of its financial operations.

Secondly, we perceive, that those advantages originated not in any excessive power, in the momentum, by which the process of industry was expedited, for as already noticed, the power of chemical and mechanical improvements, and of regular organic co-exertion was little understood. Far less did it originate in any peculiar economy or policy in the conduct of states or of individuals; for the views and objects of these were directed not to the advancement of industry, but to the maintainence of those high and independent principles, which coincided with ambitious and warlike propensities. Those advantages, originated solely, or chiefly in this circumstance—in the uninterrupted, regularly progressive state of things, whereby the fate of in-

dividuals and of communities was at once secured and advanced. Those tremendous desolations that are produced by the disproportion that subsists betwixt our means and our capacities for consuming those means, and reproducing their value; betwixt the price which we annex to these means, and our powers for realizing this price in the general accredited standard, were then unknown: society had no inducement to protrude its industry into unknown or forbidden paths; its fruits were therefore at all times prized according to their real estimation. That trepidation, which originates in an imperfection in the capacity of distributing these fruits, took place so seldom, and when it took place, was so very innocuous in its general effects, as scarcely to attract the public regard.

It must be noticed, however, that in those days, the spirit and temper of society raised it, in general, above mere personal feelings, and thus gave to the operation of the advantages above-mentioned, a peculiar prominence of display, as well as a free range for their developement. When men were accustomed to hardships and privations, or rather, were unacquainted with the fascinating influence of sedulous indulgence, their minds, along with their bodies, were prepared for vast undertakings, and for strenuous exertions. Besides this, they had few objects of a private nature to enfeeble or absorb their active powers, and fewer still that could impede that paramount necessity, by which, their faculties and acquirements were, on such high

occasions, propelled into action. The publicity and deep interest which attended certain displays of social advancement and civil acquirement, rendered a kind of supernal animation in some respects constitutional to individuals, and insured that ardor and perseverance which bore them above the imperfections and difficulties with which their system was replete. The paucity of means, therefore, was overshadowed by the dexterity and potency of the application of these means; and the imbecility of the general momentum, by which their industry was propelled, was superceded by the art, vigor, and force, with which it was exercised.

Although, however, it must be admitted, that the spirit and temper of the times most assuredly gave an efficacy to the train of industry, then going forward, which enabled it occasionally to transcend its natural strength, it is perfectly evident, that this spirit, and all the advantages connected with it, arose out of the simplicity and due proportionment of the active powers of the general system under which these were arranged; for even then, in numberless instances, it appeared, that no ardor of spirit, no vigor of exertion, no earnestness of perseverance, could remedy those multifarious imperfections, which arose out of a deficiency of means. The hardy Gauls, and the undaunted Britons, though most familiarly acquainted with, and most incessantly exercised in, the art of war, from the mere want of certain means of attack and defence,

were unable to cope with the legions of Cæsar. These monuments of genius preserved, in ancient Greece, the field whereon genius and talent were most strenuously exercised, come far short in point of majesty and effect, of those more exalted displays, which the superior means of Rome, and Babylon, and Persepolis, enabled them to procure. That there existed, in those ages, an exuberance of means, above direct consumption, which easily resolved itself into public and private provisions and acquirements, that those were procured without disturbing the high order of things which then prevailed, and that those procurements were distributed and possessed by means of established rules, supported by a medium of exchange, which completely subserved the general system of production and consumption then going forward, we cannot but infer. That the mode of acquiring and possessing such productions, accorded with that apportionment of labor and enjoyment, which are known to have been received in those days, is sufficiently established. That those productions themselves, and the power and influence of the state, and of individuals, together with a variety of undefined rights and usages, severally abbreviated the process of intercourse, and superceded the application of the medium, admits of no doubt whatever. But it is no less certain, that no regorgement of the faculties of industry, no general paralyzation nor destruction of establishments took place, in consequence of a superabundance of the productions thence obtained; none of these operations

which originate in a deficiency of the medium, none of those movements of wealth by which individuals were placed in direct opposition to each other, from the mere default of the instrument of exchange, took place. Every production that arose out of the earth, or out of the powers of the ingenious, maintained its value until something greater and nobler appeared to overshadow its utility. Superabundance of power, of skill, of production, never plunged those individuals, who exercised them into ruin, nor sapped the foundations of that society in which their roots were fixed; nor did the scarcity of these, waft the wealth which represented them amongst the children of adventure, like chaff in the face of the wind. Whatever was produced became valuable, in virtue of its own intrinsic qualities, and was supported in this value so long as these qualities could be maintained. The spirit and temper of the times rose far above all these shadowing peculiarities, which, with us, constitute the essence of property, but these were restrained in their movements by the fixed circumstances of each community; these being nevertheless supported and advanced by that course of improvement, which characterized the times.

It is impossible to dismiss this subject without noticing farther, that what we understand by personal possession was then, and is still, with many nations, an idea, which though it comprises what we call the state and pomp connected with the object possessed, and also the most exclusive ap-

propriation of its use to those personal purposes, to which it was adapted, yet that this possession, though in general much more completely secured than is commonly done with us; and containing, under this idea, a multitude of the qualities which, with us, are most invaluable characteristics of possession, nevertheless excluded others, which we hold to be its most essential qualities. Largesses were sometimes profusely thrown away, by the public, upon its members. Exhibitions were frequently, in like manner, bestowed by individuals. Such matters indicate the channel in which profusion displayed itself. Farther, we know, that it was not only held to be illiberal, but unlawful, for individuals to monopolize, for their own use, acquirements that were ultimately resoluble in the public service, excepting under the intervention of the general authority. These things, accompanied with the mildness of the climate, the fertility of the soil, and the spirit of their times, no doubt, rendered both the demands for the medium, and the claims of industry, both essentially and universally alike lax and feeble, so as even to render it necessary to annex the idea of punishment, as well as of privation, to the chastisement of the indolent and unprofitable members of society. All these things discover to us, distinctly, the vast difference that necessarily takes place betwixt the circumstances of a society of industrious, independent individuals, duly organized and supported by establishments, all alike powerful, and replete with means; and those of one, which is composed of half-formed,

half-educated exercitators in the arts, whose efforts are alike disjointed and embecil. They discover to us, likewise, that the industry which was requisite to obtain these possessions, the means therefrom arising, and the medium to which they were calculated, were not only duly proportioned, and correspondent to each other, but that they contributed means beyond those needful, to advance that course of improvement, which is the ultimate object of every civilized community. Interruptions and imperfections in this system, no doubt, occasionally impeded, and even destroyed this ameliorating tendency; but these never originated in, nor were connected with, a deficiency of the medium of exchange, a redundancy in the fruits of industry, or any consequent regorgement of these upon the reproductive powers of the system.

The two inductions above-stated, might be illustrated by a reference to the actual situation of many countries in the world, at this moment, and indeed to our own country, prior to the American revolution. In these, the proportionments existing betwixt the processes of industry, the medium which upheld these processes, and served to distribute their productions, and the consumption and repetition of the value therein created,were so nearly at par, that nothing like general stagnation in trade, or universal financial embarrassment, was known or apprehended. It concerns us, moreover, to attend deeply to these most important deductions, for it is in these very points that our present

financial embarrassments originate. If it is an indisputable fact that a high degree of civilization and enjoyment, equal, (at least in those respects in which our advantages are by many held to be most estimable,) or nearly equal, to what we now possess, can not only be acquired and maintained under a system, wherein the momentum of industry, and the distribution of the medium, are incomparably less than with us; but can be supported and secured in a regular and irrefragable manner; it appears, at the outset, to be a most wise and salutary measure to conform ourselves, as nearly as possible, to the same plan; and as far less labor and solicitude, incomparably less genius, talent, and power, will suffice for our purpose, to curtail our projects, and dismantle our overwhelming establishments, in order to avoid that redundancy with which we are afflicted. It is certain, that we must thereby accomplish one great object—the enjoyment of our possessions in peace and security; and that many others the most desirable, may be expected to follow; and being at the same time certiorated, that our general attainments and indulgencies, will neither be abbreviated nor diminished—it may also be apprehended, that we need be under little alarm about the continuation of our civil enjoyments.

This is too generally the language of party with us, and amidst our various turmoils, vexations, and calamities, we are all extremely apt to betake ourselves to the same sentiments, as a kind of relief from the evils with which we are impressed. We

forget our situation, and we overlook the necessary consequences of every tendency to declination. Progression in human affairs, favors the developement of our powers; retrocession infallibly cuts short and delapidates their expansion; it protrudes our faculties, while it blights their luxuriance, and withers up their energies. Our system admits not of this retrocession without a surrender of all its advantages. Our ruin is sealed the moment we lower our greatness. Our enemies are powerful; our friends are weak and timid. It is in the high exercise of our means, and in the full expansion and re-inforcement of our powers, that our safety consists; and, until these principles that are congenial to our system, shall have attained a general ascendancy in the world, we have no choice, but either to maintain our present system, or abandon ourselves to the same fate in which we see every other civilized nation overwhelmed.

In place, therefore, of indulging such humiliating conceptions of the object and tendency of our general industry, let us look calmly and carefully at our situation. There can be no doubt whatever, but that by this prostration and destruction of our system, gloomy and debasing as it unquestionably is, a state of things, inconceivably preferable to that, existing amongst us, wherein turmoils and dissentions every other year attain the ascendency, would be obtained; and that it would be incomparably more just and wise, at once to fetter down our productive powers to their proper place,

or rather to exhaust their energy upon less profitable subjects, than to erect establishments, and rear up whole generations of men in the service of these establishments; all of which, in the natural course of things, are destined to work out each other's destruction, with the most inconsiderate rapidity. It may be thence supposed that we would thereby save our whole population from these trepidations and extremities to which they are almost incessantly exposed, that we would thereby, also, submit our political existence, and our social happiness, to much less hazard and calamity, than that to which they are now incessantly submitted; and that we would secure to all classes of men, a fair and suitable remuneration for their labor and enterprise; and save much of that overstraining and overloading of the natural powers of man, which at present takes place in our system, and thus gradually introduce habits and desires, congenial to our circumstances, to our constitutions, and to our highest prospects.

We must attend to this fact, however, that our system admits of no such easy, gentle declination. Sooner may an overgrown unwieldy citizen, attain to that slender make, which he enjoyed in the days of puberty; sooner may a stately oak shelter itself from the storm, under the shelter of the ivy by which it is enveloped, than our magnificent system can be bent to this lowly state of self-abasement. It may be overturned, blighted, cut down, or otherwise destroyed, and with it all our hopes and en-

joyments, may perish, without leaving one vestige of their prior-existence. But since our whole active powers, our whole national means, our whole productive energies, have sprung forth into existence, and into high exercise, we will in vain attempt to limit their growth, or restrain their progressive animation; they may be perverted, obstructed, and lacerated, and they may become mere gangrene in our body-politic, but their force will continue to develope itself, either in our exaltation, or in our destruction; constantly going forward, until some stronger power, than any that can be made to bear on them by our strength, begin to affect their constitution. The industry of the ancients, and that of later periods, affected merely, the objects within their own system, and in this they were assisted by the provisions and institutions, which were added, age after age, to their system. In this, too, they derived much advantage from the concatenated industry of circumambient nations, betwixt whom and them a steady efflux and influx of commodities, correspondent to the circumstances of each, took place; and as the object then chiefly in view, was to provide for personal wants, and to adduce supplies under the facilities, derivable from a system of fixed procurements, provided for that purpose, the value and amount of their productions might vibrate with impunity in every direction. But our system is, in all respects, widely different. Our establishments embrace the circumstances of the whole world, and by the general circumstances of most of the nations in the world, these estab-

lishments are always liable to be affected. Our own personal concerns are comparatively of no importance to any of us. These are all sunk in those of the establishments with which we are connected; and to these, therefore, we at all times, unconsciously, sacrifice them. Burdens the most stupendous, and duties the most momentous, are laid upon our system. These affect the pursuits and possessions of all and of each of us; and they do this in a much more direct and palpable manner, than any of our most interesting private concernments; and inducing us to bear up our part of the system, cause us severally to affect it in a manner both palpable and direct. Our personal, our family, our social wants and cravings, when viewed with those of these establishments, by which such wants and cravings are usually supplied, seem scarcely to attract our serious regard. Our wants are known to be enwrapped in those of our peculiar establishment—with the rise or fall of which, our power to command their gratification is seen to increase or diminish. To these establishments, therefore, our whole feelings and attachments instinctively bind us;—to their interests our time, our powers, our whole means and resources, are unhesitatingly sacrificed. The luxury of the times, the pressure of taxes, the force of our own habits and propensities, and every thing that serves to augment the number and urgency of these personal cravings, contribute in linking us more and more closely to our establishments. Not merely the mechanic, the fabricator, and the merchant, are thus

affected; but the proprietor of the soil, and every rank and class of the community, including the state and all its officers, find their whole circumstances and interests inseparably bound up with the fate of the system in which they are involved, and of all those establishments in which their own peculiar concernments are more particularly implicated. However arduous the undertaking therefore, however difficult the execution, we have no choice but to adhere to our system, to facilitate its developements, to foster its increase, and to invigorate its powers, retrenching, no doubt, whatever is superfluous, and eradicating whatever is injurious, but always taking care, neither to extirpate nor renovate, without a due attention to the multifarious consequences attendant on such operations, in a system so vast, and so thoroughly matured, as our system unquestionably is.

For our comfort and relief under these burdens, we know, that we set to work provisioned, not merely with those advantages which flow directly from our stupendous establishments, and all their concomitant acquirements, that we enjoy not merely security at home, and ample power in every quarter of the world, but that we possess a spirit, that is equal to the highest enterprizes; and that it is a peculiar characteristic of our establishments, and of our civil and social organization, that our whole powers and strength, our whole energies and resources can be bent with full force in that direction, and in every several direction that best befits

our views and projects. Our innate vigor is abundant, our circumstances are complete; it is only necessary to select and to follow out that course, and those objects, on which these ought to be exercised, in order to give to that momentum which is requisite, free and ample scope in all its movements.

The preceding statements have served to bring clearly under our eye several circumstances, that have a relation to this subject; and we now perceive, that although we enjoy a redundancy of commodities and productions, and a power of increasing these almost unlimited, advantages unknown to the ancient world, yet that we are liable to become, and have, in fact, become, destitute of certain facilities and advantages, of which these last were fully possessed. Under the pastoral era we perceive, that the productive processes, those establishments of flocks and herds, which then constituted wealth, performed their increasing operations, not only without the intervention of the medium, but almost without human interference. Farther, these establishments being themselves the medium of circulation, they had also the faculty of being able to bring into the hands of their owners, without any resolution whatever, their full value of every marketable commodity which at that time could be required; and besides this, being themselves absolute wealth, carrying along with them the emblems of dignity and power, these establishments, at the very instant that their reproducing powers were in full exercise, and while they

could command their full value of every accessible object, maintained that respect, which constitute without any farther resolution, that great end of all our operations; and that authority, which is inseparable from fixed wealth, towards the acquisition of which, our productive establishments, and all their concomitant advantages, and even the medium of exchange itself, which commands directly every other object, are all of themselves incompetent. Hence the resolutions that take place in our system. That it is in the various struggles made in attempting to effect these resolutions, that most of our calamities take their rise, is evident to the most superficial observer. That in that state of things wherein these resolutions could be avoided, no such calamity could possibly take place, has been fully exhibited.

In the subsequent era, when commodities and productions, and those establishments in which these could be severally produced, with every accessible facility had been procured; and when such objects had, in consequence, acquired a corresponding importance in the public estimation, a process of interchange and compulsion became the instrument for distributing articles of value. This process, the metallic medium expedited—the subordinate part of the reproductive processes, and indeed most of the offices of social and civil life, being nevertheless performed without its intervention. In these circumstances, this instrument was useful; on the one part, for the purpose of expediting in-

dustry, and on the other, for that of obtaining possession of its productions.

The medium of exchange thus became the requisite and indispensible instrument of much commercial intercourse. Into this medium, not merely all commodities and productions, but every establishment, possession, and advantage, it was ultimately seen, might, by gradual accession, be rendered more or less resoluble. As these several properties and objects of the medium, however, were generally accompanied in their movements by the absolute possession of means; as its movements were, in fact, at every turn, substantiated, as well as represented, by these means themselves, so as even to supercede the application of the medium of exchange, to a multitude of transactions; and as the medium was for the most part superabundant—the paucity of transactions, and the real estimation in which substances and possessions then stood, conferred a stability and security to the process of intercourse, to which we in this country, at present, have no parallel. On the whole, we perceive, that commodities, and the industry which produced these, possessions, and the medium by which these were distributed, were necessarily so balanced, that whatever disorders took place in a country, this compartment of the body-politic remained always in unison with the circumstances of society. These things form a contrast to our situation in these particulars, so very striking, that we would be tempted to give to the state of things then ex-

isting, a decided preference to that under which we live, did we not know, that there, as in all incipient and immature advances towards systematization, these advantages were eclipsed by the many radical imperfections and perversities which were inseparable from its operation.

The sum of the preceding illustrations, therefore, seems to be this. In the early stages of society, when general industry and commercial intercourse were feeble and lax in their operations, that medium of exchange which arose easily out of their movements, served to expedite and support the business of life, without the intervention of any very determinate standard of value. Their industry, and their intercourse, were kept in motion by the circumstances of a society, wherein power and wealth conjoined, stimulated, and substantiated all their movements. Moreover, these various movements and operations, were not only thus supported, but their limits were fixed down, and circumscribed, within those precise boundaries, which existing circumstances plainly pointed out. By these circumstances they were affected, and into these they never failed absolutely to resolve themselves, advancing the condition of individuals and of societies, in that way, which corresponded to the ordinary course of affairs.

In such a state of things, it is plain, that what we call funds, or accumulations of absolute wealth, either public or private, would be very seldom creat-

ed. Property, in the shape of mere circulable capital, could scarcely at all exist; it existed in the hands of the possessor of the medium, while the medium remained with him; but whenever he chose to part with it, the capital which it represented, and every power and faculty therewith connected, were at the same time forfeited. The wealth that then existed, was, therefore, for the most part, tangible and real, and that influence which we perceive daily exercised by capital and commercial credit, lay, in general, with those, whose power, and means were fully commensurate with such influence. What we understand by funds, was then nearly of the same import with means; and what we understand by capital, was, for the most part, synonimous with property and possession. Hence, that overweaning influence of funded property, which in the hands of states, and of individuals, exercises such a paramount authority over useful industry and commercial intercourse, was altogether unknown. Commerce and industry, like the ebbing and flowing of the sea, were affected only by those regular principles of movement, which were inherent in the general circumstances of the social body.

Let it be remarked, however, that the grand moving principles of this machine, were of a description directly repugnant to all ideas of social order and happiness. In the ruling party, jealousy, at once mean and vindictive, was predominant; in all the rest, abject bondage was sealed by slavish timidity. The general business of society moved

upon these, as its proper centre. Mankind did not devote their faculties to the service of others, in order that they, in their turn, might demand a fair equivalent from the aggregate mass of the fruits of industry; unreserved submission on one part, moved merely in obedience to stern authority on the other, without end and without object; while the ultimate design of this inflexible power was, not so much the production of those articles of value, which were of real use to all, as the preservation in security of certain personal prerogatives. The arbitrary dictates of a task-master, pervaded those departments of life, which, with us, are animated by genial emulation; and in many instances, this course was followed out to an extreme length, though the imbecility of the movements to which this capricious principle gave birth, was detrimental in all respects, both to the employer and to his servant. Mankind exercised over dependents, a power which could distrain the last dregs of their personal labor; and this labor, supported by acquirements, and institutions, peculiarly favourable to its developement, sent forth fruits which were not only equal to all the demands that could be made upon them, but which could give to these institutions and acquirements, a general lustre and effect, that still appears refulgent; yet it is certain, that this labor was deficient in its results, it left out of its object, the occasions of the mere dependent. Here, indeed, the heavy arm of power, overshaded the deficiency, but although the effulgence sent forth from the higher departments of life, by their convergence, still ap-

pear glorious, and although the opacity of those circumstances, out of which this effulgence proceeded, is lost in the shades of time, and in their borrowed radiance; yet we can distinctly discern that, neither the condition nor the circumstances of mankind at large, nor even those of these highest characters, in whose persons the power and honors of whole generations of men, were concentrated, could command these noble and rational enjoyments, which are now-a-days familiar to all of us.

These considerations lead me now to observe, that heretofore we have only regarded industry and commercial intercourse, as these are instruments for procuring articles of utility and estimation, for distributing these articles, and for giving to them their full value in the hands of their lawful owners. It remains however to be noticed, that industry and commercial intercourse, besides these qualities, possess a vast influence in forming the characters and circumstances of mankind. From the statements already given, it appeared evident, that the circumstances of society, and the industrious and commercial operations which upheld these circumstances, together with the medium of exchange, by which the fruits of this industry and commerce, were distributed, their operations maintained and their powers harmonised, all served severally in their proper place to advance the condition, and to expedite the business of social life. But it must now be noticed, that the *circumstances* of society themselves, that point whereon industry, and all its

accessories, severally turned and rested, in a great measure, derived their form and qualities from the employments and attainments of its individual members. This observation lays open a large field of research to us, but it is unnecessary to burden ourselves with more than a general survey of certain portions of this highly interesting subject.

From what has been already stated, it is very plain, that the current course of industry, and the mode by which its movements were directed, contributed to press down, and bind up together the existing state of human affairs. Wars and internal commotions, which occasionally disturbed this order of things, never radically subverted the system; for the master and his slaves, the proprietor of an establishment and all its appendages, and accessories, were alike upheld by that circulation of means, which had force and terror, more than influence and persuasion for its principle. In their circumstances, therefore, this equal proportionment of wealth, and of the medium for distributing it, of industry, and of the instruments which upheld its operations, and rendered these commensurate with the circumstances of the community, which was so serviceable in securing the regular, irrefragable movements of commerce and of industry, turned out to be the very means for fixing down, and perpetuating, the general circumstances of the community. If these circumstances had been, in all respects, good and desirable, and steadily advancing towards high improvements, no acquisition could have been more

desirable than such an equalization and proportionment of the powers of the community, as that to which we have referred. But that the case was quite the reverse of this must have now become sufficiently apparent, and it therefore follows, that these advantages merely served to seal and fix down a state of degraded though splendid existence, which it was the interest of all to have renovated. This is a part of our subject of which it imports us much to have a due apprehension; for which reason, I shall take up two or three of these particulars wherein the deficiency and perversity of the current course of things is most palpable. This review it is hoped, will disclose to us the high ground, on which our own system stands, and prepare us for taking into consideration, those particular objects, which must be kept most steadily in our eye, when new provisions, of apparently, doubtful tendency and operation, are proposed to be adopted into our system; provisions, which effect the primary movements of our whole social body, and of all its members.

I BEGIN with remarking, that though the circumstances of the times, and the general character of society, were abundantly subserved and harmonized, by the current processes of industry and of commercial intercourse, yet that these circumstances, and this character, when brought into competition with those which at present appertain to our nation, were extremely low and unimportant. The connexions which subsisted betwixt the various parts of the general system, were lax and feeble; the va-

rious bearings of these several parts on each other, were indirect and embecil; and in consequence of these things, of the feebleness of the general momentum, and of the imperfect state of the general organization of human industry, although the quantity of human labor, was in many instances very great, its aggregate results were seldom proportionally valuable, and important. Such was the general repugnance of the human mind to regular systematic industry, and so operose and cumbersome was the process by which this industry was expedited, that stimulants of no ordinary kind were needful, in order to set the human capabilities for such services fully in motion; while at the same time, amidst the paucity of the productions of their arts, and inaptitude of their productions, to this object, amidst the profusion of natural blessings, and their fascinating power over man in his rude state, no such active and countervailing stimulants could be found.

In our own system we perceive, that money, or funds, or floating capital, performs of itself the office of a grand momentum, as well as that of an effectual support, to general industry. It gives to the bearer the full command over a commensurate quantity of any marketable substance or commodity, upon which he may set his mind. The facilities for obtaining possession of the medium by means of regular industry, with which our system is endowed, render this quality of the medium doubly powerful; our constitutional aptitude for regular systematic

industry, our habitual propensities to those enjoyments into which the successful exercise of these faculties naturally leads, custom, example, and a multitude of established incitements to perseverance in the course into which these things conduct us, these all give to the leading stimulant its full efficacy, and its keenest edge; while the circumstances of all around us, the pressure of our common burdens, the tenure under which our various possessions are held, our several prospects, desires, and fears, all pointedly protrude our faculties, into that very course of industry, which is most useful to the community, and most conducive to our own interest; so that on the whole this stimulus acts within our system, as a regular self-moving principle, of the highest conceivable power and efficacy, fully armed and amply provided for compelling every individual amongst us, to contribute his full quota of services to the community, in that way, which is requisite; in so much, that with us the great object of general solicitude is not to find out a momentum sufficiently powerful to expedite the movements of industry, but to procure subjects, whereon this industry may be profitably exercised; we are anxious that our industry should be incessant and powerful, but we accomplish this object, merely, by placing under its operation, means correspondent to its faculties, and removing whatever obstacles may impede the natural movements of this self moving principle.

But with the ancients, money possessed no such paramount influence over general industry; it was

sometimes, even incompetent to expedite the most ordinary transactions. Money in the shape of funds, existed but rarely. It had a basis sufficiently broad for the structure which was reared upon it, but it wanted the solidity sufficient to support a financial superstructure and capable of comprizing this powerful principle. Money, as substantiated by means even of the most valuable kind, did indeed exist; but its bearings upon industry were so weak, that it lay dormant in the hands of individuals, at the very time that its received value; if that value had been as freely circulable as it is with us, would have raised its owners to wealth and independence. That animated and unrestrained intercourse, which disposes men frankly to meet the views of each other on equal terms, was wholly awanting. A certain concatenation of circumstances, a certain pre-disposition to mutual accommodation, was generally in the first place needful. That spirit of enterprize, that intuitive vigor of mind in balancing events and consequences, that strenuous earnestness of exertion which unremittedly pursues its object in every direction, in fine, that animated, well digested, powerful process of industry, which in our days has executed such wonders, was not only awanting, but it was incompatable with, and repugnant to, the existing state of human affairs.

This feebleness and defect in the grand momentum, was partly supplied by peculiar extrinsic principles, severally more or less powerful in their operation, and generally tending to preserve that

equilibrious system of things, which we have been contemplating. In one place, the suasive influence of patriarchal or paternal authority prevailed; in another, respected usages and customs; in some instances, the equitable principles of reciprocity and good brotherhood appeared. In general, however, the stern brow of vindictive authority interfered, and while, with jealous care, it pervaded the most minute department of industry with its influence, it pressed forward the operative process with blows, and scourges, and tortures, and even death itself, sometimes in the most cruel form. By such methods the blessings of life were expressed out of the sinews of the industrious. To support this system, thus supported, the human being was systematically debased to the lowest point of moral and intellectual degradation.

When the gratification of lofty passions and base desires thus went forward, hand in hand, it could be no difficult matter to protrude a system so congenial to human depravity, into all its consequences. In order to render such practices decorous, however, or in some respects, at least, venerable, a multitude of mythological rites and ceremonies were resorted to. War and rapine may be held to have been the grand business and employment of the independent classes of society, at the time that cruelty and oppression were the means by which their power was in general upheld; industry and commerce being then mere accessories in the great system of affairs. Familiarized to such practices, men set no limits to their violence

and injustice. To these they were, moreover, instigated, by their own licentious passions and dispositions, invigorated by habit and example, and animated by universal approbation; and in these they were not only supported and sanctioned by fanatical institutions, wherein all the vices and crimes congenial to human depravity were deified, and rendered honourable, but they were incited and urged on by legislators, poets, and moralists, and by that class of men whose business it is to deduce and inculcate the first principles of true virtue. Mankind were thus induced, not only to resort to the most unwarranted practices, in order to subserve their industry, but under similar influence, to extend and fortify to the utmost that system which had been thus established. Having violently usurped the whole possessions of those whom they had subjugated; seized and devoted their persons and families to perpetual bondage; and rendered both their appearance and circumstances vile and debased; they scrupled not to depress their dispositions and understandings to a similar level, and to fix upon their whole race a character, every way correspondent to their prostrate condition. It was by these means that the industrious processes were carried forward, until they became, in all respects, constituted upon these general principles. The faculties and temperament of mankind, exercised under such a system, were gradually moulded into that form which was best adapted to these operations. But out of these general principles, nations and communities, seve-

rally, diverged more or less determinately into those courses that were most congenial to their own circumstances ; whence an order of things became, at length, established in each particular country, in all respects, conformable to its peculiar situation.

When, with these views, we cast our eyes abroad upon the general processes, whereby industry and commerce were expedited amongst the different nations, we find them differently provisioned and organized, while at the same time, in general, the nature and operation of the foregoing principles are distinctly predominant. The nations of the South, enervated by their climate, and satiated by the exuberance of their soil, after having made some attainments in the regular course of industry, seem to have almost universally given way to an enfeebling superstition. Their commercial and industrious processes being powerfully assisted by the hand of nature, under the influence of this tortuous yet imposing fanatism, advanced rapidly to a high degree of exaltation ; but being restrained, by the state of things, within narrow limits, these processes neither extended themselves far, nor reached to those more necessary and important objects, that befit the occupation of strong and nervous minds. A mystical subtility, indeed, coincident with their refined and enfeebled character, appears to have carried the operations of their system, in some respects, to a most sublime pitch of excellence. But the chiefs of these nations being generally of a timid and insidious cast, a variety

of mysterious contortions took place in their system, which marred and thwarted even this progression. These chiefs were moreover dependent on superiors of a jealous and vindictive cast, and they were frequently obliged to surrender the general prosperity of their dependents, to a paramount authority. And besides this, all classes, from the highest to the lowest, being fully exposed to the inroads of barbarians, their highest attainments were circumscribed, and thus exhibited more of their fears and apprehensions, than of their powers of expansion; and hence it was, that though the arts were, in some respects, improved, the processes by which the operations and distributions thereby induced were expedited, were on the whole both lame and limited.

The hardy sons of the North were placed in very different circumstances. They were not allured to the cultivation of the arts by any natural advantages. The strong hand of imperious want alone obliged them to resort to any thing resembling regular industry. Where the labor of slaves could produce little value, when compared with the expence unavoidably incurred in maintaining them, their numbers would be few, and their exertions confined within narrow precincts. The severity of the climate, while it indurated the bodies, and blunted the faculties of all, would bring the condition of the master and of his slave nearly upon a level. It being necessary for both the one and the other, to accustom himself to hardships and

privations, and to conjoin their personal exertions, their mutual situations would be gradually made to bear on each other, in a more equal way; and the master might receive the full remuneration of his solicitude, while the condition of his dependent was not only generally mitigated, but advanced. And it must be noticed, that to such characters, the toils of war were incomparably more sweet, than the exercise of peaceful industry; and that the plunder acquired by irruptions upon the more valuable acquisitions of their southern neighbours, would be vastly more precious than the fruits of their own rude exertions. A complacent priesthood accommodated these hardy laborers with an ensanguined superstition, congenial to these circumstances, whereby the full force of every propensity was directed towards warlike affairs. The character of society, and the tendency of its pursuits, received a correspondent bias, and a system wherein the improvement of the arts was extremely limited, took place, accordingly. The desultory industry of these nations, and the predatory intercourse which existed amongst them, formed therefore, a contrast with the peaceful prostrate industry and intercourse that subsisted in the South, which was peculiarly striking.

When we remove our eyes from such scenes, and fix them upon those regions wherein civilization and improvement were carried to the greatest height, we are astonished to find, that social advancement, so far from having carried along with

it the principles of humanity, served rather to lower those in the general system. In the South, although the laboring classes were so debased that their property, and even their civil and social existence, seemed to be absorbed in those of their chiefs, yet their personal rights were, in some measure, secured to them, and something resembling emulation was introduced into their industrious processes. In the North, the circumstances of the master and his slave had been, in some degree, approximated to their natural claims in such circumstances. Here, however, all such principles were sedulously excluded. The Spartans, in order that they might be nationally devoted to war, and lofty exercises, not only seized upon the possessions, territory, and persons of their neighbours, the Helots, and they not only devoted that whole race, for ever, to unmitigated bondage, and prepared them, by the debasing process aforenoticed, for their prostrate condition; but they, with the most cold-blooded policy, systematically brutified their manners; from the mere wantonness of cruelty, they turned out these desolate helpless fellow-creatures in this condition, to be the sport of their children, and when their political circumstances seemed to require it, they most deliberately slaughtered this most industrious part of society, sometimes by thousands; and they did this with as little ceremony as if they had been destroying the meanest and the vilest part of the brute creation. The Romans, whose name is held to be synonymous with civilization, carried

this system much farther. The deadly conflicts of gladiators, and their horrid combats with wild beasts, are so many instances of the blood-thirsty delirium which then prevailed. The general suffering of their laborers appears from the extremities, to which, from the madness of suffering, these laborers occasionally resorted. Whole colonies of them were at times driven into open rebellion, so as even to endanger the existence of the state; and, as the benignant genius of Christian mercy had no place in their system, such irruptions, like those that have taken place in our days in France and St. Domingo, and proceeding to the like deplorable extremities, knew no intercession, until it had terminated in the utter destruction and annihilation of the party that was outraged. There is an instance upon record of many thousands of these infuriated slaves being crucified at a time. Such circumstances display the character of a system, wherein simple coertion is the grand stimulator of of regular industry; and slavish dependence, the source whence supplies to the cravings of human nature are derived.

The sacred scriptures, in the history of King Solomon, convince us, however, that this system is capable of no small degree of excellence, when thoroughly pervaded by a benignant policy. That great monarch, in concentrating and giving effect to the various means and energies left in his hands by his father, in the spirit of true wisdom, availed himself fully of the principles of action, as well as

of the faculties of acting, which had been matured for his service. In conformity to the practice of the times, he resorted to the service of foreign laborers, consigning to his own people only, offices of trust, authority and dignity. Under this system, he brought forward his immense resources and powers, and he so distributed its operations and means of support, as to render its results, in all respects, grand, complete and harmonious. He was possessed of abundance of every valuable and useful commodity, including a profusion of the precious metals, of which we have no parallel upon record. His power was most extensive, and firmly established, and to its authority was conjoined that of a theocratic domination, which was no less powerful that venerable. All these advantages it became his business to bear fully upon his projects, it being the peculiar privilege and high duty which had been devolved upon his reign, to make these advantages produce effects correspondent to their magnitude. This he effected in such a manner, as to secure the most unbounded confidence, the most profound respect, and the most animated admiration, both of his own subjects and of foreign potentates. All kings and nations, it is said, sought unto him for communications of his knowledge, and resorted to his capital, in order that they might witness the great and splendid effects of that heavenly wisdom and power, with which he was endowed, and that they might contribute towards their exaltation and establishment. His kingdom thus became the

centre of surrounding kingdoms over which he exercised a sovereignty which was no less powerful than benignant; and by means of such paramount influence, his projects and undertakings received a developement, correspondent to their stupendous and important nature.

There are certain circumstances regarding the state of industry and intercourse, while under these happy auspices, that apply so directly to our present subject, that they demand in this place, our pointed regard. First—Although the medium of exchange, as well as every valuable and useful commodity, was superabundant, yet the business of society went forward with every conceivable advantage. Gold and silver, it is said, were so plentiful, as to be nothing thought of. Artists and laborers of every description had abundant supplies to all their wants. Yet on the one hand, most stupendous public works and projects, establishments and organizations, went forward to full completion, with a vigor and harmony that have never been equalled; while on the other hand, the people, numerous as the sand upon the sea shore, sat every man in his own vineyard, under his own fig tree, eating, drinking, and making merry, and rejoicing in all the good that was done for them. Secondly—These things were co-existent with a vast extension of foreign intercourse, and a liberal communication of all their blessings to every surrounding nation. Nor was this all; the rights, privileges, and immunities, of all ranks,

were not only securely preserved, but exercised in such a manner, as to give them their highest influence. Lastly—This state of things was fixed, stable, and of long continuance; it subsisted in full force during the whole long reign of this king, until in his dotage, he forsook the wise counsels under which he had formerly acted, and had fallen into courses which brought down the wrath of Heaven upon himself and his people.

From these circumstances, we perceive, that the very highest degree of supersaturation of the medium, is not inconsistent with general prosperity and happiness, and with great and proper regularity in every social movement. It is necessary, that a correspondence and proportionment, betwixt this medium and the objects which it can command, should subsist, and that these should be alike plentiful and valuable; but while this proportionment and correspondence continues, it does not seem to be at all necessary to limit their power or extension. Farther, we perceive, that as a high and incipient course of improvement, under accumulated advantages, serves to raise the powers and capacities of the state, and of all its members, so it also tends to accelerate the progress of moral and intellectual improvement, to diffuse general happiness and prosperity, and to beget mutual good will and confidence betwixt the governors and governed, sufficient to give an eclat and efficacy to every measure that may be necessary, to raise their joint operations far above mu-

tual jealousy and casual obstruction, to advance them rapidly in their high duties, and in the end, to place within the range of general fruition, the most inestimable blessings and benefits. We perceive also, that high prosperity and perfect security are not only compatible with each other; but that they severally tend to advance and extend these operations which are peculiar to both, and to augment and fortify the resources of the state and of the community, and thus powerfully contribute to identify and incorporate the interests of the government and of the people.

These very splendid advantages, it is true, were in a great measure lost, during the end of this and the beginning of the subsequent reign; but this loss, it must be noticed, originated in a gross dereliction of the principles upon which these advantages had been founded. It was not until the degeneracy of king Solomon had provoked the Divine indignation, and the folly of his son had given this indignation its full effect, that any calamities befel this system. In regarding the order of these calamities with some attention, we will perceive, that here, as in other cases, the Divine ordination operated in a natural, as well as in a direct manner. There are three different inferences, all of high moment, in our present researches, that I humbly apprehend may be drawn from the statement given in the sacred volume respecting the irruption to which we now refer.

First. Though in Solomon's reign, the people were very heavily assessed, both in their personal services and in their properties, yet so long as these assessments were employed upon high objects, so long as they occupied that supreme portion of the royal regard, to which they were destined, these burdens remained unnoticed. The abundance of commodities, and of the medium for distributing these, contributed to bring into full exercise the whole faculties and capabilities of the nation, and to bestow upon the successful occupation of these their due reward. The pressure, therefore, occasioned by these burdens, served merely to give to these their fullest and highest tone; and it was laid so equally and wisely upon the sinews of the industrious, and the means of the people, that those assessments served merely to invigorate and accelerate the operations that were induced. The commercial, agricultural, and operative courses, that were protruded, wanted, indeed, that powerful incessant stimulus and support, which a free and regular circulation of wealth naturally produces; but they were animated by a more dignified principle, and permeated through all their windings by a degree of wisdom and precision, that fully served the same end. How long this state of things might, under such an influence, have continued, we know not. We know, however, that it was not until the royal character had been disgraced, and until the cessation that had taken place in these high employments had ushered in a course of most

libidinous extravagance, that the expenditure of the state was complained of. We may, therefore, I think, warrantably infer, that while the resources of the state went off in this foolish manner, the reproductive processes of the nation, being now neither animated by a spirit of wisdom, nor invigorated by any high or deeply interesting principle, were also, in like manner, diminished; and that, the assessments of the state were continued, even after the palpable incapacity of the people to bear them, in their present circumstances, had pointed out the propriety of lessening them. In other words, the medium of exchange, together with the immensity of objects which this medium could command, had fallen off and disappeared before the end of king Solomon's reign; the general power of replacing these was also decreased; while, at the same time, the old assessments continued to be levied, according to a standard of the medium and of means which this medium could command, that had been fixed in more prosperous times. Is not the irruption, therefore, that took place in such circumstances, one great beacon amongst a multitude of others, warning us, of the danger that attends torpor and degeneracy in a state, and strongly indicative of the importance of a superlative attention to financial operations, on the smallest cessation of regular industry?

Secondly. A nation, like an individual, comprises a multitude of powers and faculties, all of which

ought to be kept more or less in full and high exercise, according as they may have become more or less sensible of their own powers and capabilities. These powers and capabilities, it appears, in the reign of Solomon, had been so exercised as to form the whole body of the people into one organized body-politic. While exercised in this capacity, under a wise guidance, they had produced results of high moment to the state as well as to the community. These results, however, it became evident, were in the course of being completely frustrated and destroyed by the folly and infatuation of their rulers; the people, therefore, in this joint capacity, naturally enough required that some check should be laid upon public profusion. By some politicians, it has been received as a maxim, that when a nation is so disposed, it ought to be hurried into some foreign contest. This, however, is not only a most wicked, but a most pernicious maxim, for it generally terminates in the discomfiture of those who adopt it, and it always protrudes the public energies into grounds, whereon more ultimate danger is experienced, than any that had previously existed. In all wise governments, this state of things will give rise to new and appropriate public provisions, to fiscal retrenchments, and to those salutary reforms which meet the real and proper exigences of the case, in their several parts and bearings. In the instance before us, we perceive, that this treatment was, (in a prudential light,) well calculated to have mitigated the public calamity. The people required to be

soothed, and to be conducted into a course, wherein their best interests, and those of the state, would have coincided. Their powers and privileges, as a nation, and the advantages inseparable from a high exercise of such privileges, ought also to have been displayed before them. In place of regarding their concerns, however, with this deference, the infatuated monarch proceeded to exercise them more fully in their disjointed capacity, and thus destroyed his own power over them.

The third, and last inference that I shall here deduce from the subversion of this beautiful system, that was set in motion by king Solomon, is, that there inherently appertains to that independently systematic, thoroughly organized, and completely established system of industry and intercourse, that arises, spontaneously, out of the improved circumstances of mankind, a vast superiority above that species of industry and intercourse, which is impelled into existence by the mere force of personal character. In the one case, the death of the individual, or some change of circumstances, may demolish the most beautiful, well-poised system, and all the benign effects connected with it, may be buried in its ruins. In the other, so long as the powers and resources of mankind can be borne with full effect upon each other, and so long as their circumstances present a firm and stable foundation to the operations that are thence induced, so long will amelioration and advancement go on. Who could have imagined, that a domina-

tion so deeply founded, so wisely constructed, so amply provided, so abundantly secured, as that which we have been contemplating, should have fallen to pieces thus suddenly? The death of the founder, we see, struck at its foundation; nay, the tergiversations of his own character, sapped its roots, even in his own life-time; and in the end, so far from being encircled with the radiance of power, its decayed grandeur tended constantly to allure the rapine of those invidious neighbours, who were raised up by Heaven for the chastisement of general offences. The general system of Jewish polity, no doubt, remained in its impaired denuded state, and served to convey to this people, and to the world, at large, those communications of light, and displays of truth, for which this polity was destined by the Most High; but it was robbed of its exalting ameliorating qualities, it was blighted in its general operations and effects; and it served to exhibit the innate feebleness of the course of improvement that was going forward, and its dependence on the character of individual rulers and their circumstances; as well as to illustrate that benign wisdom, in which it wasfounded, and which it still imperfectly displayed.

To conclude, a concrete system of tyranny may be maintained for ages inviolate, and may preserve all these principles which are peculiar to its general operation, so that the character and exercises of those who preside over it, may have a high and resplendent radiance, which, for the

time, will exalt and invigorate whatever comes within its own influence; but when general and systematic amelioration is sought for, something more than mere personal character is necessary. Mankind themselves must operate their own advancement and improvement. The renovating system must either develope itself, by means of its own internal vigor, or it will remain ever liable to be blighted, whenever the exotic influence, under which it arose, is withdrawn. Its roots and branches must have that free scope which is consistent with the full exercise of their natural functions; abundant provision and support must, no doubt, be afforded to it, correspondent to its movements, and to its luxuriance; but these must be administered in that way, which befits its circumstances. The spontaneous contribution of genius and of talent, the unbiassed exercitations of its own powers, and the genial glow of public favor, are incomparably more effectual in expediting this general advancement, than the highest splendor of any merely human excellence.

It is in such favorable circumstances, that our concernments are placed. In consequence of the general improvement of our community, and the multitude of objects upon which this improvement is exercised; in consequence of the regular stimulus and support, which, our various reproductive processes receive; in consequence of the thoroughly organised, duly concatenated, and completely digested ameliorating processes, that are constant-

ly going forward; a profusion of advantages, for the service of every individual amongst us, is necessarily obtained. It is needful, for the purpose of obtaining possession of these things, for us to produce the medium of exchange as a proof of our personal right, before we can acquire our portion of these advantages. But this medium is placed within the reach of every one of us, and it is obtained by the regular exercise of our talents, in the most useful way; while by so doing, we forthwith not only obtain this portion of the medium, but we at the same time contribute to the general stock, advantages, correspondent to those which we thus appropriate to our own consumption. With us, therefore, natural incitements draw forth exertions, to which the rigor of no task master is competent. These incitements necessarily conduct our powers and exercises, into that very sphere of action, wherein these can be most useful to ourselves, and most advantageous to the community. The means and resources of the community, are thus also brought within the range of general developement and advancement, and raised in their intrinsic value, so as to afford to individuals, and the public, their highest advantages. Under these circumstances, a respected independence is necessarily maintained by the industrious, and a mild domination exercised by their superiors. The powers of man are thus called forth into full exercise, and without being invested with that overweaning influence, which absorbs

and controls the general course of human affairs, these are also most amply rewarded. In their operations, talent and genius are, with us, diffusive; they promulgate their acquirements, while they exercise them, and thus call forth universally correspondent displays; and they excite universal emulation, by those very means by which they appropriate to their own use, their own peculiar attainments. It is thus, that our commonwealth is surcharged with invaluable commodities, and that these commodities are brought within the reach of every one of us; and it is thus also, that every order and class of the community have at length obtained, for their own use, a complete set of provisions, suited to their circumstances, and serving to advance and promote those peculiar interests, that appertain to them. These acquisitions and all their concernments are, from these very circumstances, rendered independent of the authority of any individual, however great or exalted his character may be; and being set forward in a stable and irrefragable progression, in improvement and advancement, they are placed far above all extrinsic and intrinsic influence.

The grand characteristic advantage of the ancient system of industry, consisted in this, that wherever mere muscular power, or physical energy, could be regularly urged on, by the instrumentality of direct and incessant coertion, results, both transcendent and stupendous, could be acquired; and a precision and perfection, rarely at-

tainable by us, secured. It has already been noticed, that the great line of improvement, under this system, stretched forward in that direction which befitted the views and circumstances of the higher classes of society. It may now, however, be farther noticed, that these improvements very generally exhibited themselves in those invaluable public and private acquirements, which were, in a regular manner, brought within the individual or collective control of these classes; the powers of the community being not unfrequently exercised by means of these acquirements, for the advantage of these superior classes. The art of war itself, with all its provisions, was one of these subjects; and this art, more than any other, served to attract and concentrate these exercises and acquirements: the offices of the priesthood, of judicial administration, and of authoritative influence, belonged to the same class, and carried in their train a multitude of establishments, institutions and ordinations, into which the means and resources of the people were, in a great measure, resolved. All these matters, it is evident, when viewed as pieces of business, were placed under the full weight of all that momentum, which the power of the state, regularly exercised, could give; and as the exercises induced were, for the most part, muscular and energetic, they could be propelled with a force and regularity, which could admit of no intercession. Hence it is, that the body-politic, was so fully provided with useful and important acquisitions; and hence it is, also, that its movements indi-

cated a plenitude of power and of provision, that threw out of view its multiplied defects and imperfections. This system, impelled by the force of the state, was enlivened by the splendour of the great, supported by the prostrate energies of the industrious, and connected together by a system of laws, customs and institutions, systematically calculated for giving to all these advantages their full efficacy.

On the other hand, the characteristic advantages of the modern system of industry, consists in this, that the faculties, powers, and talents of each individual, are, to a certain degree, placed in independent circumstances, and that these are regularly stimulated and supported by means correspondent to their nature and circumstances. The natural wants of each individual give him an internal stimulus to the full exercise of his powers; and by exercising these powers, as he ought, he produces, for the advantage of others, means which enable these others to discharge faithfully those claims, from whence supplies to these wants can alone be had. These means must attain to their value, not only by the due exercise, but by the judicious direction of the industrious powers; they must be constituted for the service of those who can replace their value to the producer. One class possesses this value prepared, and ready for delivery; another has it coming forward in his reproductive processes, but by far the greater part must, by dint of their incessant in-

dustry, create this value for themselves. It is for the service of all these three classes, that the industrious powers must be calculated. The poor, therefore, come in for their share of provisions as well as the rich; and the powers of industry and of ingenuity will, of course, be stretched for their advantage, as well as for the advantage of their superiors. Hence a progression in improvement in the circumstances of individuals is set a-going, which is expedited by the comparative independence in which each individual can exercise his own powers, and the facility with which he can appeal to the public for a full remuneration of all his exertions. By this means, individual happiness and enjoyment are alike increased and augmented, their possessions are improved, and rendered more estimable, the circumstances of all are advanced and ameliorated, and a process of things is kept a-going, in which the attainments and advantages of men, of all ranks and classes, are multiplied, extended and secured. Amidst all these numberless attainments, the state finds its resources; out of these, individuals draw their supplies; which supplies, in general, vastly exceed the utmost demands of both. In our nation, we can scarcely turn our eyes to a quarter, wherein profusion, beyond all our powers of consumption, does not stare us in the face, and call loudly for the helping hand of the wealthy consumer to relieve it of a burden, which has already become too weighty for its capital to support. When to this we add, the augmentative power of our vast reproductive es-

tablishments, and observe the vast mass of production which these are, incessantly pouring forth for the universal service of he community; the high predominance of our industrious processes, becomes abundantly conspicuous. Not only the wants of individuals, but the exigences of public affairs, are seen replete with supplies of every kind, which, so far transcend all their powers of absorption, that, our system, itself, notwithstanding all its numerous and important defects and imperfections, appears most refulgent and attractive, and every way deserving of our most cordial attachment, of our highest admiration.

It may be proper in this place to notice, that our deficiences chiefly appear in our public provisions, and our defects in the application of these provisions to individual exigences. Wherever the ordinary wants and cravings of the individual are concerned, there a profusion appears, that anticipates their whole highest demands. Wherever individual power, or wisdom, can, in its regular exercise, promote the developement of the system of production and consumption that is thus induced, there we find every want, error, and perversity, highly and fully, obviated and amended. It is chiefly, where great and leading objects are concerned, that these defects and imperfections, become apparent, and produce such great evils, as those which it is our present business to unravel.

Although, during the preceding review, I have had it constantly in my eye to expose the fallacy of these terrors and misapprehensions, under which our present circumstances appear, I am certain, that much remains to be done, in order to overcome these prejudices and alarms, which every new project, calculated for meeting these upon an extensive scale, is apt to carry along with it. This consideration renders it necessary for me to carry forward my views, through the leading changes that have taken place in the principles of industry just now considered, until they meet the circumstances of the present day. It is now, I apprehend, a matter altogether indisputable, that the embarrassments under which we labor, indicate a plenitude of power, and an abundance of means, which place all suspicion as to the radical strength and efficiency of our system of industry and intercourse, entirely out of the question. These evils are manifestly connected with a misapplication of these powers and means, with circumstances which mar their progress, and blight developement; and this is, perhaps, precisely what we ought to expect, where there is a deficiency in our public provisions, and some malverse propensity in those provisions that are already established. So far, however, is this perversion of our faculties from being a ground of alarm, that it discovers to us, only the more fully, the predominant beneficence of our system, which, under such perversion, is still so productive; and it points out the necessity of reviewing, without prejudice,

all the circumstances of our situation, in order that we may ascertain, not only what public provisions are necessary, but what qualities in these provisions are best calculated for meeting, with full effect, all the exigencies of the case. What the nature and extent of these provisions ought to be, therefore, remains to be discussed; but, that these provisions should fully meet our present exigencies, is a position which, I think, no one will deliberately refuse to admit: and as these exigencies plainly indicate, that these provisions should not only be extensive, but be pointedly directed to all those clamant cases that so anxiously solicit our regard, I apprehend, that it is no less indisputable that these provisions should be alike powerful and abundant, both in their principle and in their mode of application, so as to be, in all respects commensurate to the immediate, as well as to the remote causes of our embarrassments.

We are all of us sufficiently acquainted with the ameliorating and renovating tendency of that system of industry, and commercial intercourse, which is established amongst us, as well as with its power and efficacy. There is in it a wonderful tendency to harmonize and dulcify every jarring principle with which it may be connected, and to identify and incorporate, with its very essence, every interest to which it may have been conjoined. It is proper for us to examine, with care and accuracy, the nature of our embarrassments, and the operations of those provisions, that may be proposed; to

regard these in every light, and to trace them forward in all their consequences. But having done this, we ought, in like manner, to adopt with firmness, and to prosecute with steadiness, these plans into which our researches have conducted us; trusting not only to that incessant vigilance which we must systematically exercise over the operation of these provisions, but to the renovating tendency of our system itself, and to its congenial propensities in every improving and ameliorating process. Thereby only, can we ensure stability and security to our general measures, and thereby also, we may set forward a new and high progression in greater and nobler attainments, while we remedy these evils under which we are at present bent down.

In the course of the following survey, it is proposed to throw such lights upon those principles which are peculiar to our system of industry, as will, in some measure, remove the scruples of those who are averse to great and decisive measures. In the preceding part of this treatise, it is apprehended that the leading difficulties of our system, and those advantages which were peculiar to that system, which prevailed in former times, have been set forth in that point of view which it suits us at present to regard them. While thus engaged we perceive that our industrious processes, though powerful, are liable to be broken up, and to be rendered more injurious than advantageous; we perceive also, that this proceeds, in a great measure, from the scarcity of a medium for enabling individuals

to resolve the productions of these processes into absolute value; and that the circumstances of the ancients were such, that this value was either resolved without the intervention of the medium, or was passed away, almost without leaving any traces of its existence, except those which appeared in public and private real acquisitions; what we call funds, that power which can command property in the hands of the community at large, having scarcely any existence. Here, it might be proper, to trace the operation of the funding system, through its different steps of advancement, to its present highly exalted situation; but this would lead us into a wide field of discussion, with which it appears to me to be unnecessary to burden this project. In setting forth however, the principles of the system, as these gradually became established, these general views which belong to our subject, will become sufficiently obvious. But it must be remarked, that it is more the elucidation of the principles of the subsequent project, than any abbreviate of this extensive subject, that is now proposed to be given.

It is proper to premise, that as the great object of the preceding survey is, to exhibit, in a very prominent manner, certain circumstances peculiar to the ancient system of industry, and civil intercourse, by a due regard to the nature and operations of which, the perversities that exist in our system, may be more distinctly perceived and ascertained, I have contented myself with holding up those views,

which can best serve this end; and that for similar reasons, in bringing down the survey to our own times, I shall follow out the same method. Far from pretending to convey full and precise ideas respecting such matters, I sedulously exclude many important particulars, merely, because these would burden the subject with explanations, which are of no direct import in the present case. In order that the principles exhibited may be followed out in a regular train, I do not limit my views by things as they are known to have existed, I pass over the operation of countervening principles, and carry the general subject over grounds, wherein there is no positive evidence that it could possibly proceed. Notwithstanding this licence however, I am satisfied, that the principles laid down, in so far as these have been developed, and the general views that have been given of their developement, are, on the whole, substantially just. Being too apt to fill up our views of antiquated objects, with existing circumstances, and to lose sight of those numberless changes, which the evolution of ages, and the discipline of other systems have effected, upon our own affairs, the views that are given will, I apprehend, be found also to convey ideas, that are by no means inadequate to their subject. In the following survey of these great leading changes that have been brought about in that ancient system, we will perceive, that the effects of the evolutions, and maturations, under which our own system has been disciplined, can be neither few nor small.

The first of the grand evolutions that deserves our notice, is the introduction of the Christian system. Previous to that epoch, the multiplied conquests and desolations of hostile nations, had produced no very essential changes in the qualities of the industrious processes. These were still generally expedited by direct coertion, and the changes that took place, still depended more on the personal character of the individual, than upon the nature of his system. It is not meant to say, that no general amelioration took place, or that neither personal emulation nor individual independence were promoted, amidst these transmutations of power; for we know, that some desultory exercise of these principles was promoted by these changes, more especially under the later period of the Roman domination, when these emulous and independent exercises, had the countenance and support of the state. It is enough to say, however, that no principle that could systematically support, and maintain the industrious processes, was ever regularly substituted in the place of coertion. The Romans, of all conquering nations, were the most sagacious and comprehensive in their schemes of authorative policy: it frequently suited their views and designs, to play off the feelings and the interests of one class of society against another, and to incorporate their own manners and customs, with those of subjugated nations, and by this means, to break down that concrete system of coertion, by which general labor had been previously expedited. They were

enabled to exercise this advantage with full effect, in consequence of their admirable military and civil institutions. Still, however, the great moving principle, by which supplies to human wants were procured, was coertion, not uniformly simple indeed, for it was occasionally modified by blandished customs, and in certain circumstances, free workmen became numerous and respectable, and they associated together in families and in tribes; but emulation as a general principle, at once powerful and independent, still rarely subsisted, until the system now before us had matured and introduced a more genial spirit into human affairs.

It belongs to the Christian system, to teach men to love and reverence each other as friends and brothers; in whatever circumstances they may be placed, to regard their fellow-creatures as beings, for whom their Heavenly Father has expressed his highest regard, giving unto them the common privilege of expecting from him mercy and restoration, in another and a higher state of things. The powerful are, by its precepts, induced to respect all the personal rights of their dependents; these last again, are required to submit unhesitatingly to all the regular commands of their superiors. The virtuous, under a sense of their own imperfections, are by its spirit led to pity, and by mild and suasive measures, to attempt reclaiming the vicious; and these last again, are placed under the control of institutions, which are calculated to penetrate the heart, as well as to amend the con-

duct. Such a system could not but break asunder the iron bands of pinching slavery. But this system farther induced men to exercise themselves strenuously in every good work, and with the prospect of high and refined enjoyments before their eyes, to devote their whole talents and energies to the service of each other. While this system, therefore, destroyed the severe yoke of simple coertion, by which the industrious processes had been expedited, it placed these last under the guidance of merciful emulation; infusing into their progression love, humility, mutual confidence, and good-will. Every rank and class of the community became partakers of this spirit, and each of these was made to contribute its aid in advancing the interests, and extending the enjoyments and accommodations of individuals, in each of these classes; not only in an indirect manner, as connected with their own special concernments, but as fit and necessary objects of individual solicitude. Alongst the direct path of improving these, it conducted general industry; and thus men were gradually placed in that relation in regard to each other, that provisions for the wants of every description of men in the community went forward from a self-moving principle. By the operation of this system, too, the female character was improved and advanced; domestic comfort and security were maintained and practised, and those relations of life, which have love and esteem for their safeguard, were placed in cir-

cumstances which tended to give them a high and dignified impression on human affairs.

Such, however, was the depraved state of society, and such its proneness to luxury and oppression, that this beautiful system was, from the first, persecuted and opposed, by every constituted human authority. Even after it had triumphed over external opposition, and had become established throughout the Roman empire, its purifying influence was enfeebled, and its benign operations blighted and perverted, by the prevalence of vice and corruption. In these circumstances, our holy religion, served more frequently to promote the views of the crafty, and to extend the domination of the turbulent, than to raise the character, and ameliorate the condition of the human race. In order to punish the Christian world, for thus abusing this highest gift of heavenly grace, the barbarous nations of the North were permitted to obtain the ascendancy, and whilst these nations levelled with the ground the pride and obduracy of those who thus traversed the merciful designs of Heaven, they completely overturned that concrete system of luxurious tyranny, which had struck its roots so deep in the social body. Amidst incessant violence and desolations, ages rolled on, and human intercourse gradually fell back into its former rude and unsettled condition; or rather it fell into a state much worse, for while the wants of mankind were but imperfectly provided for, their cravings were immoderately strong and pungent; and as violence

and desolation swept away with a high hand the spontaneous shoots of pristine attainments, any intercourse or industry, that could remain, was incessantly exposed to destruction and derangement.

These conquerors, also, introduced a system peculiar to themselves. Individually independent, and maintaining this independence by their personal prowess, the claims of every man, regarded merely as a citizen, ranked high in their system. Having neither the taste nor the capacity that were requisite for carrying forward refined processes of industry, those highly improved establishments which passed into their hands, fell to pieces, and the powers, of which these were composed, were consigned to services more correspondent to the low standard of excellence, that had then become prevalent. The first and the most ordinary feelings of nature, had most abundant supplies administered to them, partly from the spoils that were acquired in war, and partly from the exactions which were every where levied. In the course of procuring these, the luxurious oppressor and his humble dependent, the man of great mental powers, and the meanest slave, were alike obliged to stretch their muscular sinews. The violence and ignorance of the master, and the combined subtilty and effeminacy of his slaves, rendered the processes whence these supplies were drawn, at once disjointed and defective; and mankind thus universally debased in all their employments became at length

rude and inert in the most ordinary avocations of civil and social life.

The cruelties, devastations, and overturnings in which this system originated, have not only given to it a dark and horrid aspect, which no subsequent amendment has yet palliated, and no distance of time mollified or obliterated, but they have thrown a lustre and importance upon the preceding era, to which that era is not entitled. Let us recollect, however, that although under the Greek and Roman systems, abundance of means for the exercise and enjoyment of the superior orders of society, during the high tide of life, was in general secured, yet that for the calamities to which the poor and the helpless, the sorrowful and the desponding, the aged and the diseased, were exposed, no suitable provisions were made. The character of the times was repugnant to their complaints, and a malevolent superstition aggravated their sufferings. The general effulgence, in which they were immersed, might occasionally bewilder the apprehension of the unfortunate; but, in their darker hours, their griefs remained unmitigated, and their future prospects wild and dismal. Doleful, and ensanguined, however, as the Gothic conflicts were, the Christian system had previously penetrated the whole social body, mitigated these by meeting the disasters of individuals, with its cheering consolations, and its animating prospects; and by affording hopes and joys, which elevate the soul

above every mere earthly sorrow or privation, prepared it for encountering evils of every description.

The Christian system and the Gothic system, though radically distinct, and essentially discordant, yet had each a tendency to promote the extension of the individual comforts of man, in every rank and class of society, and to direct the whole impetus of human intercourse and industry to this object. Formerly the views and schemes of the few, the superb objects which occupied their attention, and the services and exercises which coincided with their pursuits, absorbed the talents and faculties of the human race; the circumstances of the dependent, their wants and distresses, being merely matters of regard, according as they happened to correspond with these. Under the joint influence, however, of the these new systems, the circumstances and wants of individuals, were advanced into notice, and the paramount influence of the few was balanced by the importance, which was systematically attached to these wants and circumstances. War, and religion, and civil affairs, had formerly been direct instruments, not only for debasing the industrious, but for reconciling them to the deepest prostration of all their mental energies; these, however, now became the most direct instruments in their exaltation. Such objects, still, no doubt, served to confirm, and display the authority and supremacy of the dominant party; but these high instruments contributed also to bend down,

the services of those, as well as of every establishment, institution, and general measure, to the direct advantage of the whole people; their character and estimation were professedly founded upon this circumstance, and the exercises which they induced, were calculated to raise the importance of every individual in his own eye, as well as in that of the public, and thus to adapt him to those duties which were consistent with this state of things. Christianity has the general melioration of mankind, and human affairs for its object, and employs the talents, opportunities, and advantages of every individual in this service, rendering these efficacious, no less in promoting personal than universal improvement. The Gothic system, while it advanced the individual concerns of all men on the fore-ground, implanted a high sense of personal honor in the breast of each member of the confederated body. These conjoined principles, incorporated under civil influence, were pressed forward in the system of human affairs, and regularly exercised under the authority of the state.

That that sense of individual independence, which naturally arises out of such principles, would in such circumstances be very generally diffused, is abundantly manifest. The personal feelings thus necessarily stimulated, would teach men to regard themselves, and each other, with sentiments of respect and complacency; they would advance in their view, every circumstance that could ameliorate the condition, or promote the advantage,

of man, individually considered; and dispose them to invest with dignity and importance, all these things that tend to confirm, or display this dignity and importance. Hence those possessions and enjoyments, which were peculiar to the condition, even of the lowest, were gradually advanced and improved, and at length decorated with the ensignia of respect. In place of exhausting their resources, and straining their powers, for the express purpose of sealing their own debasement, these were now employed in the business of renovating and exalting their whole character and condition. War, religion, and polity, were directed to this, as their high and exclusive end. And in place of their former degrading employment, every public establishment and institution, and every general measure received more and more, the same ameliorating tendency. Thus in the end, the circumstances, and moral, and intellectual energies of mankind, were rendered capable of supporting the high state of things, that was thence induced; and mankind at large, were enabled to direct their industrious processes, into these channels, wherein individual advantages were to be promoted; the frame of human society becoming at length, organized and constituted upon this equitable basis.

It is well known, however, that although the frame of human society was thus constituted, its whole fabric was, for many ages, composed of the most heterogeneous elements. Mankind, corrupted by vicious passions, and stimulated by objects,

which excited these to their utmost virulence, were not to be influenced by the mild dictates of a pure religion. Goaded on by emulation and cupidity, in their ambitious career, they were not to be restrained by general rules or principles. Where the field, for exercising their violent propensities, was so enlarged, individuals raised to superior stations, were inspired with unbounded rapacity; the lust of domination, was supported by this congenial spirit, and the same passions and principles, which within convenient precincts, could be harmoniously adapted to each other, now took a range of operation, that was inconsistent with this regularity of movement. Society was torn to pieces by intestine discord, and many centuries elapsed, before its tumultuous elements could be composed.

It was in this state of things, that the power of Christianity began again to unfold itself, and notwithstanding the corruptions and perversions, with which its doctrines were debased, it served to bind together the social body, to neutralize its effervescence, to infuse mild and genial modes of thinking and acting into civil intercourse, and to renovate and advance general industry. Europe was indeed like a ship, in the midst of a darksome tempest, without rudder, and without compass, but she contained within herself, a pilot who presided over the storm, and who made its rudeness subservient to his purpose. Towards the close of this epoch, Europe found herself not only rid of

these dangers, but fraught with principles congenial to her high destiny.

It must be noticed that one great characteristic of our present attainments, lies in the multitude of centres, from which improvement advances. It has been shewn, that the whole circumstances of man, in a social and in a civil capacity, were now placed under the influence of improvement, which was permitted to develope itself in the most unrestrained manner, almost from the first rudiments of social union. But we must observe, farther, that now, in place of one great central city, which absorbed, and consumed the whole results of the energies of man, Europe had acquired a vast number of such central cities, all of them indowed with principles of improvement, and as these were severally defective in that overweaning influence which brought within the vortex of Rome the productions of a prostrate world, each of these centres severally stimulated and supported a species of industry and influence, that was congenial to its own circumstances. Those torrents of devouring violence, sometimes irradiated with luxurious refinement, but always loaded with blighting desolation, which became the mistress of the world, were unsuited to the circumstances of poor, yet independent provincial cities. Religion, to shed a mild ray of peaceful consolation round the habitations of the industrious, and to conduct their labors, amidst these employments wherein productions the most useful and fascinating, could be obtained,

was felt to the needful. Society was but in a poor and miserable condition; but this poverty, and this misery, alike served to preserve its reproductive processes, from degenerating into that decripitude which had characterized them during the preceding era, and to keep these steadily engaged in the general service of society. The asperities of the Northern sky, and the fervor of the meridian sun, gave, each, in their place, to the current course of industry then going forward, a series of movements, which was favorable to this species of advancement. In consequence of the exercises and operations which these movements induced, the temperament of individuals became impressed with salutary habits, at the very same time, and by the very same instruments, that their condition and circumstances were advanced. Thus, the new progression of improvement, unlike that which had taken place under mere pagan influence, and which had heretofore had the ascendancy, implicated the whole valuable interests of society; it extended the comforts of individuals, as well as provided for the wants of all classes, and it strengthened their nobler powers and faculties, while it exercised these fully in the public service.

It was, however, impossible for improvement, to proceed, with a firm and steady pace, amidst that incessant violence and licentiousness, which then prevailed. When the industrious and commercial processes, were more dependent upon the movements of an unbridled, rapacious, and turbulent

spirit, than upon the regularly established forms of municipal jurisprudence, the operations of these improving tendencies would be only feeble and desultory. The social body, involved amidst opposing principles, gave way to the one or to the other, almost indiscriminately, according, as these could for the time affect them most powerfully. Christianity, contaminated by an admixture of barbarous rites and principles, was bent down by its leaders, into this desolating service; and mankind, under the influence of a system which breathed only love and peace, rushed into the most inveterate and ensanguined conflicts. A high sense of individual importance, buoyed up men to a dereliction of that high regard to personal character, upon which alone this importance could be maintained. And while, acting in opposition to the spirit and tendency of their several systems, the heads of the Christian church, making a common cause with the outrageous rulers of the Gothic bands, gave to the usurpations of these leaders, all that sanction and countenance, which it was possible for them to writhe from the hands of a turbulent population. Thence it was, that the feudal system, acquired a concrete form and consistency, and its various chiefs a degree of authority and power, which it was impossible that they could ever otherwise have attained. At the same time, a hierarchy was permitted to become organized and established, which had a strong tendency to blight and destroy the benign influence of that system, under which it had arisen. This hierarchy, no less remarkable

for the absurd doctrines and precepts which it promulgated, than for the success and atrocities attendant on its prosecution of this object, when fully constituted, acquired, however, a power, which, being acknowledged universally, served to incorporate the disjointed interests of Christendom into one body-politic; and Europe, though split asunder into an indefinite number of political entities, was united under one common head, who usurped a right to interfere with, and regulate its best and highest concernments. The great object towards which this right was in general exercised, was to maintain its supremacy over these opposing entities; and though it was powerfully restrained, and sometimes disputed, it never failed to display itself, with full effect, when a suitable opportunity offered. The vigilance, and strenuousness with which this authority was exercised, served, in some measure, to shrowd its native imbecility, and to render these views and interests which it supported, for the most part, in the end, superior to those, by which they were opposed.

It forms no part of my design, to set up any apology for the atrocities and perversities, which flowed from these usurpations, or to decypher their advantages and disadvantages, in regard to those objects and processes by which the wants of men were supplied. It is enough to say, that within this chaos of moral and intellectual principles, the genial truth and efficacy of the Christian revelation were comprized, and that that vital energy, which

distinguishes this heavenly communication of truth in all its operations, could not be prevented from improving the human race; these principles, even then, developing advantages of the highest nature, and sending forth influences which still adumbrate and nourish our productive faculties. Under the Popish and Gothic dominations, accordingly, slaves were manumitted, peasants had their privilege to the rights of humanity recognized and protected, feudal subjection became an appropriate ligument and cement in the Christian community; and since the powers and operations of these and of several other ordinations, were restrained by the principles, and invigorated by the motives, that are peculiar to our holy religion, rulers, potentates, and even great princes, were, necessarily led to favor the encrease of these beneficent tendencies; and though occasionally kept in severe durance, by an authority which they could not but execrate and despise, they generally found it convenient to compromise their claims, by yielding to the dictates of moderation and forbearance.

But besides such ordinations, under the same influence, the strength of society was established and organized in a variety of institutions, which were expressly destined to produce a series of beneficent actions. These institutions, had a range peculiar to themselves, which was generally sheltered from the storm of violence. Therein genius, as well as industry was protected; therein also, the claims of humanity were admitted to be paramount to all others.

Under such auspices, the forms and usages of society, acquired a complexion and a texture, which coincided with Christian and independent principles; it was thus, that these became established, and universally diffused; and it was thus also that barbarism and licentiousness themselves, asswaged and mollified, became the instruments of extending the power of the general system. We are now-a-days astonished at the success, with which many vague, absurd, and unintelligible dogmas, were propagated. Let us recollect, however, that these derived their strength from the truths which were conveyed along with them, and were impelled into action by most beneficent institutions; and that while they were writhedwith the strong arm of public authorities, on the necks of the subjugated, they were fixed by a turbulent priesthood, upon the foreground of a grand progression of public improvement, with which they were incessantly incorporated and identified; and to which they, in their turn, from the beneficent operation of the general system, could not but give an ameliorating tendency.

Amidst these scenes, certain leading principles obtained a firm foundation in the social body. The rude attritions that took place betwixt men and objects, and the powerful energy with which these principles were impressed upon these, served alike to extend the influence, and to consolidate the force of these principles. Mutual good will, attended by a condescending and forbearing spirit, co-operated with conscious potency and determined for-

titude, in forming the minds of men to heroic actions. Besides this, these principles, having received an organic efficiency from the institutions and establishments in which they were invested, individuals were instinctively disposed to regard the condition of each other with favor and attention; and these feelings co-operating with that sense of mutual dependence, which stimulates the exertions of individuals, in order that they may by these exertions acquire, their own necessary supplies, *a merciful competition and emulation*, became the ruling principle in those processes, by which such supplies could be obtained. Coertion, no doubt, continued more or less to goad on the exertions of the multitude, but it was, in general, a species of coertion, which is consistent with the character and circumstances of man, and with those developements of these, which are necessarily attendant on moral and intellectual advancement.

Violence and oppression, supported by pride and ignorance, no doubt, too frequently interfered with the ordinary operations of industry, and of commercial enterprize, and gave them a bias unfavorable to improvement; and these sometimes obtained a fixed, and inflexible ascendancy in those otherwise beneficent institutions and ordinations, which had been established. Still, however, to this baleful influence, a powerful check was found in the multitude of interests by which their operations could be opposed, and to which, accordingly, they were frequently obliged to succumb. The

operation of these checks was frequently most salutary. Appeals were made to the common sense of mankind, regarding their own leading concernments; and individuals thus became interested in the general measures by which the jarring views and interests of states and of potentates, were adjusted. All of which views and interests, were thus, accordingly, in general subjected to the trial of justice and reason, before they could be carried into effect.

Under such circumstances, the business of society proceeded, and various methods, suited to the existing feelings and sentiments of men, were resorted to, for the purpose of apportioning labor, and distributing its results amongst the different classes of society. There could scarcely be said to be any fixed instrument for ascertaining the rates of absolute value. The standard medium, as fixed by a metallic currency, was rarely interposed for this purpose. In place of this instrument, customs and usages, congenial to the rude and independent spirit of the times, were resorted to. In some instances, personal services compensated certain peculiar claims; in others, productions and commodities, delivered in kind, served the same purpose; and in general, the wants and circumstances of individuals, found, in the order of things that was established, a direct access to the means of supply, without the intervention of any very determinate equivalent. These modes of distribution and apportionment, though rude in their first conception, and scarcely resting on any real substantial basis,

being congenial to the frank and magnanimous spirit which then prevailed, were, for the most part, not only most pertinaciously adhered to, but they served to maintain in full force, the character of the system, and in the end, they formed one of the finest and boldest traits of the feudal era.

The great point of excellence, however, in which this system, in our present view of it, appears to us, is its aptitude to receive and carry forward improvements and meliorations, of the highest and noblest kind. This susceptibility of improvement derived almost its whole value from its being an inherent quality of the system, and independent of individual influence. Individuals might occasionally figure high in the system; they might display their personal character, with full effect, in a number of ways, leaving behind them an impress of their sentiments and operations, sufficient not only to illustrate their virtues and their vices, but to display the effects of these to future ages. Still, however, the system itself was no ways affected by such interferences; even after the severest conflicts and concussions, it remained as fresh and vigorous as ever, and could accommodate itself to all these multifarious processes of improvement, which were peculiar to its circumstances. It had functions, as well as faculties, for the whole of these processes; and in the midst of the operations hence induced, the highest individual character was frequently seen to be shaded by that of the system under which his greatness was exhibited.

Nay, the movements of these various processes, which severally checked, composed, conjoined, and subserved, each other, were such, that princes, alike powerful and intelligent, sometimes found, their best concerted measures absorbed by the countervailing potency of the general system, and their wisest schemes, merely petty instruments in extending its influence; while those of an opposite description often turned out to be instruments of the most powerful, as well as of the most beneficent kind, and such as were altogether remote from the apprehensions of the designers themselves. The craft and power of Charles the Fifth, who sacrificed every moral and political obligation, for the sake of extending his own dominions and authority, so completely blighted, yet so wonderfully subservient to the increase of general improvement, evince strongly the superiority of the system, under which his measures were conducted, to all the means that he could bring against it. The hot-headed, hair-brained, impetuosity of Henry the Eighth, who could, for a contemptible consideration, overturn the balance of power in Europe, and change the religion of his dominions, at a venture, and who, nevertheless, set forward a system of policy and of national religion, which have been of the highest use and importance to the human race, evince as forcibly the counterpart of this position. In both cases, these high agents touched springs in the system, which were too powerful for them to manage, and in both cases, the effects produced were such, as they could not be all prepared to meet.

This remark, must, however, be obtempered by this consideration, that when individuals could affect the system, in that way which coincided with its natural course, they might thereby display their character, and even perpetuate their influence upon the system, in a manner that illustrated alike their virtue and their wisdom. Charlemagne shone amidst the age of greatest barbarism, like a meteor in a dark atmosphere; many of his actions, pursuits, and attainments, coincided with the course of events that was then going forward, and these have connected, with his name and deeds, the lustre of his personal character. But there existed no chain of connexion, no principle of accordance betwixt his sublime conceptions, and the system in which he was involved. With his lustre, therefore, his personal influence upon the system was terminated; his character and his atchievements are known, but as their effects, like heterogeneous principles, could not affect the circumambient mass in a conspicuous manner; they produced no peculiar results; the bodies with which they came in contact, remained still rude and unsubdued. His name and his deeds, remain upon record, but the efforts of his genius, are sunk in the dust, amidst others of inferior note. Alfred shone less conspicuously in his day, but his influence was more genial and permanent, than that of Charlemagne; it was displayed and fixed in institutions and ordinations, which coincided alike with the best interests, and the strongest propensities of his people. His ameliorations were easily and fully incorpor-

ated with the system into which they were introduced; they sent forth results, correspondent to the nature of that system, which improved its substantial qualities, and accelerated its advancement. And hence it is, that Alfred's atchievements and character, though involved amidst great obscurity, are known and felt, at the distance of a thousand years, by the English nation.

But, besides the faculty of supporting the rights, and maintaining the independence of its constituent members, and that of repelling innovation, and assimulating congenial principles to its own operations, this system had the farther quality of preserving those high primary principles, on which the grand improvement of the social body depended; of maturing the early developements of these principles; and of sending them forward under the shelter of its power and influence, into these departments of social life, which corresponded with their nature. In the end, we now perceive, that when these high principles, have at length overtopped the parent stem, the feudal system, and superceded its services, that this system can contribute in the fullest manner, its own luxuriance and its power, to that new course of things, which is arising out of its ruins; and that it has a tendency to predispose this new progression of improvement to analyse and absorb its own elements. The reformation, by Luther and the fathers of the protestant church, arose of out principles which were prepared to their hand. These principles had a deep root, in the

general system, they had given forth various developements long before their days, and although these developements were repressed, elements were prepared which exhibited the innate power of the principles from whence these had sprung, and the superiority of the system under which they existed, over that power which for the moment took the lead in its affairs. The feats of Columbus, arose out of those of the Portuguese and other nations, who had prepared, defended, and developed those first principles, out of which his own discoveries arose. The sublime researches of Newton, were in like manner merely continuations of those of Galileo, Copernicus, and others, who amidst much opposition and many difficulties, had directed the human attention to these principles and rules, by which such high objects were to be judged of and ascertained.

If we look towards the primary moving principles, by which these peculiar advantages were thus impelled into the general service of society, we will perceive that these sprung directly from the operation of the system itself. Where emulous competition supercedes the necessity of direct and simple coertion, the mind of man acquires an energy and elasticity in all its movements, that render him in some points a superior being. But this emulous competition in the present case, possessed an extension in its range of operations, and it had within this range, a multiplicity of objects which favored its highest exercises, that were altogether

new in the world. These elements, were formed under the chaotic ebulitions of Gothic institutions. The principles, which operated on these had been nurtured in the woods, and exercised on the ensanguined plains of Europe. These elements and these principles, were moreover homologated with a beneficent religion, and through its instrumentality, they had passed into all the duties and offices of social and civil life. The system, thus constituted, could restrain the tyranny of princes, at the same time that it animated them with irresistable vigor; it permeated the influences of improvement, and thereby accelerated its progression, at the very time that it fixed down this progression, to useful and valuable objects; and while it diffused life and energy into all the active powers of the whole body-politic, it rendered these, severally, alike, counterpoises, and stimulants to each others operations. The truth is, Europe became a grand congeries of improving establishments, a vast republic of social advancements, each of which on feudal and christian principles, impelled, supported, and balanced each other. The ultimate object of all was individual and territorial improvement; but amidst such improvements, a variety of countervailing general and particular interests perpetually arose into power, which counteracted and modified the general progression towards this grand object, and which severally prevailed and subsided, without any determinate rule of succession.

Having now taken a general view of the princi-

ples, which were introduced into society, under the influence of these conjoined systems, and also, taken some notice of the diversified operations, to which these principles gave rise, it is proper, in the next place, to advert briefly, to the constituted authorities, and recognized powers, under which these systems were severally exercised. Here a multifarious and complex scene presents itself to our notice; political entities, almost without end, and these having severally, peculiar, and sometimes opposing interests to maintain, appear on the foreground. The papal hierarchy, which exercised an indirect domination, over all these interests, first attracts our regard. This domination, amidst the varied and intricate evolutions of these different component parts of the general system, could introduce its mysterious power, its co-ercive influence, in such a way, as to attach to itself, and to its numerous emissaries and dependants, with all their varied interests their operations and pursuits, a very high degree of public regard. By this means, the want of direct predominant power, was not only amply made up, but a right of authoritative interference became established in its favor, which in the end, permeated the whole civil and political body. But besides this, while the various states of Europe continued in incessant agitation, and from their mutual repugnance, were incapable of following out any conjoined mode of operation, the papal power assumed a supremacy over the whole, which it annexed to its recognised authority. This supremacy, was supported by all the

artifices, peculiar to that subtile usurpation. Its views of its own interests, alike extensive, acute, and penetrating, embraced the whole concernments of all its emissaries and dependants. These views were followed out, by a line of policy, at once daring and inflexible; and in their operation, they implicated the highest interests of states, individuals, and potentates, for a long series of ages.

The great and ultimate object, constantly in the view of the Romish Church was, to extend and consolidate her own power, and to monopolize for herself and for her partizans, the largest possible share of every thing valuable and important. The means to which she resorted for this purpose, were analogous to this design, and they coincided with her character. She agitated the various existing political entities, by casuistical difficulties, by her own pretensions, and by her mystical distinctions; these turmoils she supported by the most sophistical disquisitions, and by the most tremenduous denounciations, against all who called these in question. Thus she continued to distract, without any determinate object, and almost without any ostensible end, the councils of princes, as well as the regular movements of the European system. But while she professed to prevent the devastation of Christendom, she most directly augmented the sphere of her own domination; while she was employed, in blighting the progress of general improvement, she pretended to be occupied in retarding that of vice and corruption; and while she effec-

tually repressed the developements of the human mind, she exhibited her power, and supported her assumptions, by appeals to tenets, which no one had then the audacity to scrutinize or controvert. It is evident, that a domination, thus exercised and thus extended, might easily keep the various component parts of a system, so rude and indigested, in a state of constant repugnance to each other, and thus retard those ameliorating and harmonizing tendencies, which are inherent in the civilizing process. This insidious policy, indeed, emitted one general advantage, it preserved to each of these civilizing processes, its separate faculty of improving itself; and rendered these processes, severally more or less, independent of every other process. But this object was effected in such a manner, as to evince her total disregard to the separate interests of these very processes, and to indicate most unequivocally, her devotedness to selfish aggrandisement. Not content with monopolizing all spiritual power, and extending its precincts through every department of social life, with advancing her own, and her suffragan's authority, above judicial control, and claiming a supremacy even in secular and temporal affairs, which was, in a manner paramount to every existing human authority, she betook herself to the disorganizing system, for the purpose of drawing into her own hands the whole wealth of the community, fixed and floating, circulable and hereditary. The possessions thus attained, she declared to be unalienable, and the influence annexed to these possessions, to be indefeasible. Having thus

raised her own interests, generally, throughout the whole sphere of their operation, she concealed no longer the hideous nature of her pretensions; her character proceeded to unveil itself, and to exhibit a collection of malign propensities, that outdid even those of the mythology of the ancients. The wealth, that had been withdrawn from its usual channel, being thus unhesitatingly sacrificed to the service of those propensities, Europe became universally implicated, not only in a most malignant, but in a most degrading bondage. Can it therefore appear surprizing, that it should have become the manifest desire of society at large, to lower the pretensions, and to exclude the interference of the hierarchy, long before any fit and appropriate method, of doing this with advantage, had been prepared for that purpose?

The next class of powers that presents itself to our regard, is that of the great states, into which Europe was split up, on the destruction of the Roman Empire. The Gothic nations had spread themselves over its whole territory, and their desolating conquests were so complete, that every vestige of the ancient state of things was absolutely destroyed. Having parceled out the possessions which they obtained, according to those principles, which arose out of their former modes of existence, their leaders annexed to that personal authority, which they had enjoyed over their subjects, when united in a military capacity, that of supreme ruler or king, over the districts in which their power

had become established. Under their authority, their inferior officers as subsidiaries were arranged, and invested with similar possessions and with correspondent power, and under these again, inferior delegations successively were made, until a form of social organization, correspondent with these principles of graduated subjection, which took place in the field of battle, had become constituted. The great object in view, in framing this order of things, was to prepare those parties, for defending and securing their possessions; and for disposing them as occasion served, to follow up any farther usurpations that might present itself to the general notice. For this purpose, various modes of deliberation were provided, in which, the will of the nation at large, was held to have been obtained. It must be observed, however, that so tremendous had been the desolating havoc of these nations, and so prone to rapine and bloodshed were their dispositions, that the ancient possessors of these countries, were completely swallowed up in the general system. Every thing that could attract their regard, was levelled with the ground, and those only who could be absorbed into the system, were permitted to remain. Here therefore there was nothing to provide for; it was ostensibly in the view of warding off similar inroads from their ancient settlements, of protecting themselves from sustaining a repetition of disasters, similar to these which they had themselves inflicted, that these nations thus provided themselves, in their new settlements; and it appeared that they had,

but too much occasion to put to the test the efficacy of that system, which they had thus instituted.

These various powers and states, however, though thus organized and constituted, were generally far from being disposed to that fixed mode of life, which such provisions implied; for they scrupled not to make inroads into the possessions of their neighbours and brethren, especially when these had secured to themselves a better lot, than that which had fallen to their own share. This circumstance, vastly impeded the process of civilization, and it gradually augmented the darkness and misery of the feudal era. In such a state of things, the paramount influence of the papal see, was not without its uses; it served to asswage animosity, to stimulate nations that were liable to become implicated in a similar fate to bestir themselves, in support of general peace, and even to set bounds to their own usurpations. By making direct appeals, on such subjects, to mankind at large, as intelligent and accountable creatures, this power exercised their common feelings and perceptions, under the most rational views of their own interests. These benign operations, were, no doubt, by similar methods, frequently traversed and abused by this very power itself. Still, however, by these and by other means, nations and individuals, were gradually taught to disincumber their minds from their barbarous propensities; and in the end, under the influence of Christian principles, to abandon their

former desolating mode of conquest for the purpose of absolute subjugation. Although, such views were on various occasions set aside, still, however, being recognised as principles that ought to sway Christian nations, in their mutual transactions, the bulk of the people, became less implicated in national struggles than formerly; they lost gradually the savage nature of their former character; warfare, became at length what it now is, merely a struggle betwixt the rulers of nations for an extension of their patrimonial domains; an extension, in which not one, in many hundreds of their subjects, could at all participate or enjoy.

When warlike enterprises had assumed this character, and when the inferior members of the feudal body had become fixed in their possessions, it is evident, that few, except the chief feudatories, and these too of the more adventurous description, would relish foreign warfare. The junior or more dependent part, and these who sought to display their prowess under the eye of their sovereign, would, no doubt, flock to such standards; but we must recollect, that as the independent principles of Gothic subordination prevailed and as those were insufficient of themselves to constitute an army, so except in these cases, wherein the national honor, or the national independence, were so implicated, as to call forth the strength of states, in a regular way, such enterprises were far from being either supported, or conducted on these high grounds, upon which the first irruptions of the Gothic bands

had taken place. The truth is, the magnanimous ardor of the feudal system, gradually mouldered down, to a convenient form, which served more to exhibit the prowess of individuals, than to exercise the capacity of nations for subjugating each other. The risk and expence of foreign warfare, was seen, and at length appretiated; the advantages and blessings resulting from the arts of peace were perceived; and these arts arose constantly in importance, until certain ameliorating accessories rendered them principal subjects in the general system. Princes were, by such means, checked by the operations of each other, and they exercised their subjects only under the influences which became their own counterpoised situation; it was rarely that they could avow any deliberate design to subjugate, far less to exterminate any other nation.

But princes and states were not only counteracted in their operations, by their mutual repugnance, and thwarted and traversed by the mystical influence of papal domination; their general movements, and even their established procedure were checked, and balanced by those constituent parts of the system, wherein their power was comprized. The feudal princes, unlike those of the preceding era, did not at once command the whole energies of their subjects; they did this only through the instrumentality of baronial, ecclesiastical, and popular feudatories, or intermediate powers. Each of these feudatories, had his own peculiar and unalienable immunities and privileges, and these,

as occasion served, they could exercise, maintain, and defend, against each other, and even against the sovereign himself. In upholding this species of independence, each of these fiefs mutually assisted each other. The hierarchy, as a matter of course, seconded their pretensions; and rival states and princes, thus countenanced and befriended, frequently lent their aid, in the same cause; insomuch, that the claims of vassals and dependants frequently stood on a more stable footing, than those of their common sovereign. The authority of princes, thus balanced and circumscribed, was evidently of a nature, altogether different from that possessed by princes under the preceding era.

There still remained, however, in the social system, another set of checks and balances, which, in the end, was destined to obtain the preponderancy over all the rest. This was, that of the commercial and industrious class. The interests of this class were, at first, held to be involved in those of the others; from which however, they were seen to be excluded; and it was seldom that more than sustenance and protection were admitted to be their due. The beneficent principles of the Christian religion, and the independent maxims of the Northern hemisphere, were however, infused into their condition; and their circumstances not being so different from those of their recognized superiors, as they had been, during the preceding era, the feelings of these last, became also less repugnant to those of the former, than they had then been; thus preparing them for that

improvement which was becoming universal. Institutions, which secured this advantage to them, together with certain rights and possessions befitting their condition were provided for their service, and held by them by the same irrefragable tenure with those held by their superiors. In their favor the hierarchy frequently interfered; for it was the grand design of this power to retain this class completely in its interests; and the circumstances of the times enabled it to accomplish this end, frequently, without much difficulty or embarrassment to any department of the body-politic. Princes and states, found also their advantage, in playing off the rights of these dependents against the power of their superiors. All these ameliorating tendencies coincided with, and were supported by the institutions, doctrines and precepts of religion, as these were received and acted upon by the community at large. Hence it was, that though the interests of this class, were at the outset, treated with contempt, by all the other classes; and though for centuries, this class was not known in a political capacity, yet its general circumstances continued to improve. Individuals, indeed, were compressed strenuously within their proper sphere, their personal interests and feelings were unhesitatingly sacrificed to those of their superiors, and they were on the whole, proverbially, mean and vile; but as their state was accessible to improvement, as the whole superincumbent system rested on their exertions, concussions in the body-politic not unfrequently elicited sparks of genius from their minds, and advanced them partially in the general system;

thus placing them on a footing, vastly superior to that of their predecessors; and by exercising and securing their previous attainments, preparing them for their present respectable condition.

It was under these auspices, that the industrious and commercial processes, were for many ages carried on. The medium of exchange, rarely intervened its equalizing faculty; for the services, possessions, and commodities, which were provided for the service of the community, were for the most part apportioned and distributed, by rights and claims, which could not be determined by any such instrument. Heroism and magnanimity, raised the superior class above mere personal feelings, and made them seek their most favorite gratifications, in the attentions which they could bestow upon the wants of others. When personal dignity, and inherent power therefore, made them masters of commodities, these disposed them also to distribute these, in a way correspondent to the wishes which these qualities naturally excite, in such a state of civil existence. Fortitude, and a sense of obligation, were leading principles in the minds of those, who composed the lowest class; and these principles likewise disclosed themselves, in correspondent circumstances. In such a state of things, consolidated through universal consent, confirmed by irrefragable customs, and organized in appropriate institutions—the principle of emulation, would be a much more powerful stimulant, to incessant industry, than simple coertion—and the hope of peculiar patronage, than

the expectation of direct remuneration. The truth is, neither the medium of exchange, nor any instrument, that could determine the absolute claims of distributive justice, could in such circumstances be resorted to. This was the era, wherein the high and lofty passions of the mind were enthroned, direct appeals to the legal standard, either of value or of justice, were therefore, for the most part, regarded with contempt.

It deserves to be noted, however, that a vast diversity in these respects took place, in different states, and that these diversities exhibited the distinctive character of these states much more forcibly than either language, climate, or descent could do. These diversities, with the causes of their production, may, therefore, with much propriety, be here shortly reviewed. Poland was the barrier country of civilization, and it was, for many centuries, the scene of arduous and sanguinary struggles. These were generally conducted under the direct authority of deputies, who thus exercised under their own influence, upon the principles formerly explained, the whole inferior population. The population, gradually formed under such banners, became at length fully disciplined and organized, in that way which best promoted the selfish views of these lieutenants; and its whole body became, in the end, no less attached than subjected to these deputies. The lieutenants, becoming thus legally and absolutely possessed of the means and principles of aggrandizement, perceived, however, the necessity

of harmonizing their operations, and the advantages that could be obtained from consolidating their several forces, and incorporating these under one body-politic; they therefore formed a kind of military union, under a common head. The lieutenants themselves, with their dependents, constituted that aggregate body, whereon the supreme power rested. Their chief was denominated their king, but he had no paramount personal interest or influence that entitled him to this appellation. He was merely their recognized grand functionary, elected under their influence, and necessitated to give way on all occasions to the monopolizing spirit, and overbearing authority, which arose out of their aggrandizing projects. Amongst a number of aggrandized characters, the king was the first, but it was needful for him to regulate all his movements, according to the views of a factious aristocracy, which was no less jealous of their prince, than inimical to the best interests of their country. In Poland, impetuosity and faction, turbulence and outrage, were inseparable. Perhaps we see in Turkey, some such organization and constitution of society, as that which we consider as having existed in this unhappy country. It must be noticed, however, that in Poland, Christian principles, and Christian institutions, had the ascendancy; and that there, also, that regard to personal character, which was peculiar to the feudal era prevailed. These advantages prevented the feelings of men from degenerating into that low sensuality, on the one side, and into that criminal insensibility to the

claims of humanity, on the other, which seem to be inseparable from the Turkish character.

In such circumstances, it is evident, that the progress of improvement, would be exceedingly slow and feeble. Productions that could magnify the pomp, and emblazon the superiority of the dominant class, would, no doubt, be superabundant; cities —wherein the arts, necessary for unfolding and maintaining metropolitan grandeur, and baronial pride, and for expediting the ordinary course of things, could be profitably exercised and displayed —would not be awanting. But, as to those other arts, which are more needful for the social body, no such advantage could be attained. Where a few chieftains could, with a strong hand, control the ordinary and useful employments of man almost at pleasure; and could, without any appeal to established rules, appropriate the productions of these to their own private emolument, it is evident, that no great advancement could take place. Under the pressure of direct coertion, the agricultural and pastoral employments might proceed; and thus a profusion of the most necessary articles of life might be obtained; but as to these industrious processes, which have for their object the domestic comfort, the social advancement, the civil enjoyments of the great mass of the people, no adequate support could be procured. Those industrious processes, which alike exalt the character, and ameliorate the circumstances of mankind at large, and which are so familiar to our apprehension, as

scarcely to afford us any conception of their non-existence, were therefore awanting. Such matters were generally thrown out of the system, so that here as under the Roman and Greek dominations, the employment of the multitude, and the exercises of their chiefs, served more to increase the debasement of the former, and to exasperate the pride of the latter, than to produce any decided improvement in human affairs. Thus, the current course of industry, led to a dereliction of many of these qualities, which were peculiar to the feudal system; these perverse propensities, served to seal and confirm its deteriorating influence, and to give to the movements of human intercourse, a concrete and absorbing influence which was totally inconsistent with that generous competition, that social independence, which was generally connected with this system.

That instrument of personal independence, the standard medium of value, the basis of commercial intercourse, rarely intervened. In general, this intercourse was left absolutely to the operations of chance. The transactions of government, and the movements of ecclesiastical polity, from the existing state of things, commonly dispensed with its intervention. The tenure of heritable property, and the usages of the proprietors of such subjects, excluded its operations, in a similar manner. Even the productions of the soil, and the valuable commodities, that were exuded from the exertions of slaves, could be distributed, and their value realized, without its assistance. It was chiefly in the

transactions of the Jews, that any thing like regular commercial enterprize, or the circulation of the medium took place. This despised race of men, excluded alike from Christian society and from territorial possessions, found in this proudful sphere of Polish industry, such an abundant field for their enterprize, that they adopted this country, as their chief residence; and, amidst their private recesses and employments, they gradually monopolized and concentrated nearly all that fluent wealth and commerce, which this immense territory comprized.

There are certain points of resemblance betwixt this state of things and that which prevailed in Scotland, during a great part of the same epoch, that here demand our pointed regard. Neither in Poland, nor in Scotland, could the sovereign make a common cause in general improvement with the industrious, and with the middle ranks of society; because, these were all beat down, and organized under the banners of the barons. Neither could these sovereigns, form one common cause with the hierarchy, because that crafty domination, aware of the difficulty of overawing such powerful chiefs, preferred that direct line of policy, wherein its own immediate interests lay. Its metropolitans had usurped the same rank with the tumultuous barons; with these last therefore the Church joined its influence, in order to increase the common power appertaining to them conjoinedly; and thus, this power, in place of keeping its usual popular tract, contributed to writhe on the necks

of the king and people the common yoke of the barons and its own metropolitans. It suited the ecclesiastical interest however, sometimes to tamper with these opposite parties; but in so doing, this power rarely effected any one good common object. It sometimes augmented its own peculiar claims, and sometimes it counterpoised those of the barons that were most generally obnoxious; but, in the end, the general system of tyranny and oppression was, for the most part, only the more confirmed and extended by such interferences.

There are two leading circumstances however in the situation of the Scottish nation, that have contributed to give to the system, developed there, a very different complexion from that of Poland. First, the bleak climate, and rugged soil of Scotland, approximated the condition of her chiefs, more to that of their vassals, than those in Poland: hence a suavity of manners, and a commixture of exercises, took place in Scotland, that could not possibly exist in Poland. These things rendered the connexion, which subsisted betwixt these parties more like to those ties and liguments, which result from parental subjection, than to the bonds by which the arrogant lords of Poland, exercised their dominion upon its fertile plains. In the second place, its remote and secluded situation, and the moderate views of its governments, preserved Scotland for many ages, secure from foreign interference; those criminal intrigues, originating in jealousy and ambition, which disgraced the councils of the

Polish state, were for many ages unknown to those of Scotland. These and other circumstances, produced a harmony and power in the Scotch processes of improvement, of which, there were few instances in the early stages of the feudal system.

If we attend to the general polity and received character of the Scottish nation and government, prior to the wars of the succession, we must become satisfied, that the current course of industry, and of commercial intercourse, must have then been upon a very favorable footing. In its remotest districts, there are still monuments of power and wealth, that were erected during that epoch, which far transcend the present capabilities of that country, greatly advanced in improvement and civilization, as it unquestionably is. Here, not only splendid and magnificent edifices, for the service of religion, and abundant provisions for the maintainance of its ministers; but superb castles, and private edifices, and vestiges of rural and agricultural improvement, of no mean description, indicated alike the concentration of industry and of genius, and the existence of an advanced state, and sublime turn of mind, in the people who could project such undertakings. When we turn our eyes to her civil and municipal polity, we find unequivocal proofs of high improvement, and of public spirit, such as could only be correspondent to, and co-existent with, considerable progression in general and commercial industry. This happy state of things, was however, effectually arrested by the base and per-

fidious interference of Edward the First, king of England, who, availing himself of the suppliant disposition of the candidates for the Scottish Crown, first attacked the independency of that virtuous nation, and then introduced his baleful influence into its councils; an influence which England, scarcely ceased more or less, to exercise, until the turbulence of the Scotch barons, and the barbarity which they thus introduced into their country, approximated the circumstances of that once happy nation, to those of Poland, and prepared it for that kind of fate, which, in the case of that country, all parties now so strongly reprobate. This conduct, is the more to be execrated, because we know, that the Scottish court and nation, previous to that period, had in many instances displayed a most generous and magnanimous spirit, when similar turmoils had taken place in England; and because the good understanding of the two countries, was already secured by the substantial interest, which the king of Scotland, as feudal superior of the frontier counties of England, had in maintaining this harmony. Having mentioned these atrocious perversities, in the rulers of a great nation, it may be proper also, to notice the divine vengeance, which soon after overtook that people, and manifested to the world, how highly the divine indignation is excited, when Christian nations thus wickedly desert their common faith. The sword which the English king wielded, entered into his own bowels and his own nation, in those horrid devastating, and sanguinary conflicts which

took place, sometime afterwards, regarding the line of succession of its own kings; which calamities continued with little intermission, until nearly the whole of this monarch's descendants, and of the ancient race of nobles, had become extinct. Their continued perversity was farther humbled, when it afterwards coincided with the divine procedure to unite the two kingdoms under one head. This was effected, by the failure of the English, and the substitution of the Scotch race of kings, upon their common throne; who thereupon entered into possession of that power, which their ungracious predecessors had aggregated in this unseemly manner.

These statements, are not given with any view to the feelings, which they might at one time have excited; in the lapse of so many ages, these parties, must have been so commixed, and their party feelings rendered so obtuse, that views of this kind, must appear at once, useless and absurd. Far less are they meant to exhibit general notions of the order of Divine Providence, on such occasions. When one nation is exalted, and another depressed, one employed as the instrument of his mercy, and another of his vengeance, the procedure of Heaven rests upon principles, which no mere human being can scan. These statements are here introduced, merely, because they elucidate these movements, in the general system of Scotland, which led to its dissolution, and because they serve to illustrate this fact, that the more attentively we regard the history of nations, the more clearly will

we discern the certain and irrefragable connexion, that subsists betwixt their welfare, and their uniform adherence to the principles of magnanimous forbearance and dignified reciprocity; and betwixt their conformity to these rules, that correspond with just and benevolent sentiments, and their own proximate fate and condition. In examining, in a general way, a subject whereof the results and fruits of our labors, and the instrument, which measures and apportions these, are the direct objects, it seems to be alike proper, thus incidentally to advert to these circumstances, and to avoid entering into any farther discussions respecting them. In our own days, the hand of divine providence, in the affairs of nations, has been discovered by tokens, which must appal the most obdurate. A few years, in some instances, a few months, have sufficed to announce the connexion betwixt national crimes, and their punishment; and they have done this in a way so tremendously awful, as to silence all cavilling as to its certainty.

Before quitting this subject, however, it may be proper to notice, that the circumstances, which marked the conduct of the Stuart race, while seated on the British throne, and those which accompanied their exclusion from it, as well as those which served to place them thereon, are alike elucidatory of the same fact. Without adverting particularly to subjects necessarily so abstruse, it may be stated, as a proof of the superior power of the system, in which they and our nation were in-

volved, above that of any individual whatever, that some of the greatest advantages, which we at this time enjoy, had their rise in the perversities of these monarchs, and in those fatalities, wherein their subjects were of consequence implicated. It was under this inauspicious dynasty, that the two British nations were radically and harmoniously incorporated together; an event indispensably necessary, in order to render them one people, great and independent. It was amidst the civil broils of these reigns, that its constitution, after a severe ordeal, was finally fixed on its present popular basis. The ship money, and other arbitrary exactions of King Charles, as well as the navigation act, for some time so injurious to trade, and the otherwise unnatural and impolitic warfare with the Dutch, laid open to Britain the empire of the seas; while the ruinous and sanguinary absurdities of the civil wars filled our North American colonies, with a race of most industrious sober-minded citizens, whose extraneous labors, in the end, afforded such a powerful stimulus and support to our national industry, as to have placed it on that high and independent footing, on which it now stands.

Without attempting to follow out these general views any farther, I will just remark, that it was the resplendent results of Polish industry, and of Scottish industry, subsequent to the wars of the succession, which interrupted the progress of improvement. The surplus fruits of industry, passing directly, and almost exclusively, into the hands of a

turbulent nobility, and an overweaning priesthood, tended to augment the violence of the one, and the rapacity of the other. The lustre of the state, as represented by the monarch, was shaded by the audacity of these parties, while the happiness and improvement of the people, were trodden under foot by their usurpations. The abundance of cathedrals and of fortresses, with all their requisite appurtenances, with which these countries were replete, attests the power and efficacy of the reproductive processes then instituted; but these also attest, that these processes, did not then resolve themselves into these meliorations and provisions, which had a tendency to advance and protect individual improvement. On the contrary, notwithstanding the advantage of all those highly important general acquirements, which arose out of their circumstances, such was the general state of things, that we may safely pronounce, that here, as under the Pagan era, the exercises of the higher and lower ranks had one common object, that of exalting the first, and depressing the last of these conditions; counteracted no doubt, by certain principles, introduced into general society, by the Christian and Gothic systems; but having a determinate inclination to exclude all these ameliorating influences more and more out of their operation.

Let us now turn our eyes towards the opposite extremity of Europe, where long chains of lofty mountains cover the widely extended plains of Iberia; and contemplate a developement of the

feudal system, vastly different from the foregoing. These fertile regions, under the influence of a genial sky and powerful government, had already made considerable progress in the arts of life, when the Gothic nations burst their frontier. The numerous lofty barriers and deep recesses, with which this country abounds, enabled the natives to make long and vigorous stands against their barbarous invaders. Race after race, however, penetrated their delightful territories, and the banners of the crescent, and even those of the cross itself, were not unfrequently unfurled over the heads of these infuriate invaders. From Africa, and from every surrounding shore, they found their way into this fascinating region, until at length, Spain, like the other countries of Europe, sunk down, subjugated under their influence. These hordes, however, were of different casts, and they were frequently no less opposite to each other in their characters, than violent in their reciprocal animosities; insomuch, that in the end their hostility against each other, was even more intense, than against those whom it was their joint object to destroy. These desolating contests at length, formed them into separate states; the numerous natural divisions of Spain, and the strength of the lofty boundaries which marked these divisions, gradually forming them into isolated kingdoms, some of which, possessed a separate existence of a longer, and some of a shorter continuance. In the mean time, however, in order to avoid the inroads of such desolating invaders, men flocked into cities and strong-holds, thus leaving

the open territory, in a great measure, wild and desolate.

Within these recesses, the pomp of war, and the pageantry of state, were alike displayed. In these too, Patrician arrogance, and clerical usurpation, were fully exercised. It was, in such hands as these, that the wealth of the community, and the power of commanding it were deposited. The wealth and power thus divided, yet thus compressed together, served to check and counterpoise that virulence, with which the possession of such power and such wealth, was, in these days, commonly attended, to concentrate their force, and to bend them towards the improvement of these objects, whereby the views and measures of these parties could be promoted. The objects, whereby power and splendor, could be displayed, were most congenial to the circumstances of these grandees; and the arts for procuring these objects accordingly, were promoted and extended. The exuberant fertility of the soil, and the vast profusion of gold, with which this territory abounded, enabled these dominant parties, to give a strong and steady stimulus and support to those industrious processes, in which these arts, were concentrated. To such processes accordingly, their force was primarily directed, but in consequence of the abundance of the medium, and the prevalence of independent principles, this confinement was not, as under the former era, absolute. Industry became general and diffusive, and, although the common and most ordinary processes were

for the most part but imperfectly supplied, and the most necessary movements of industry, were lame alike in their operations and in their results; still, however, as regular industry on independent principles had a fixed foundation, and a firm hold upon the social body, supplies suited to the circumstances of all classes, and that instrument, which enabled individuals to command their portion of these supplies, were provided and circulated; and society at large, if somewhat deficient in the more ordinary and necessary commodities, was able to command an abundance of those, of a foreign and exotic kind, that befitted their condition.

Under these circumstances, the regular arts, of various kinds, must have reached to some considerable degree of eminence. Pent up within their cities and recesses, priests and nobles, Mahometan as well as Christian, must have accelerated the course of improvement, by all that influence and talent, which their joint acquisitions could bestow. Their circumstances gave them possession of those rude commodities, of which the industrious are always in quest; and their habits and propensities induced them to relieve the industrious of those finished productions and commodities, which the industry and talent of these parties could prepare for their use. Whence it was, that both these classes, not only supplied their wants by the same movement, but they thereby also produced that stimulus and support, which was necessary to advance the whole community, in the most regular order of im-

provement. Nor is this all; the jealousy, competition and turmoils, that took place amongst the dominant classes, and the emulation in pomp, pageantry, and luxury, to which these things gave rise, produced correspondent emulation amongst the industrious and ingenious. Thus, while the community at large was plentifully supplied with means, and the laborious classes furnished with that medium, which enabled them to obtain their portion of these means, the industrious capitalists, were not only stimulated and supported in their exertions, so as to induce them to provide and circulate their commodities under every advantage, but they became gradually more and more, respectable and independent in their private circumstances; in aid of their processes, they procured all those chemical and mechanical helps that were then known, and they were enabled to have recourse to such divisions and concentrations of labor, as were then attainable. By means of their accumulations and attainments, they could also meet and anticipate the exigences of their customers, and of the public. Many of these, also, in the end, became so abundantly possessed of the instrument of independence, the standard medium of exchange, as to be able to command and distribute the wealth of the community, on a scale of magnicence, that emulated that of their recognized superiors.

There were various accessory advantages, attendant on this state of things, which require our pointed regard. While the saturation of the com-

munity, with the medium of exchange, and the prevalence of industry, founded on independent principles, served to distribute these advantages, generally, throughout communities; the influence of the hierarchy, wherever its power existed, and the authority of the state, contributed to the augmentation of these advantages. Besides this, in certain circumstances, there existed a concordance in the views and designs of some of the states and kingdoms of this peninsula, that was highly favorable to these ameliorating tendencies, which brought within their range, a greater expanse of territory, and a greater power over the means which this territory could afford. From these, and other advantages, it followed, that in Spain, a multitude of independent civil and political entities, (many of which, to this day, assume the insignia of their former prowess,) started up into power, and that these severally developed themselves fully in the service of such courses of improvement, as then possessed the ascendancy. Ranged under these auspices, the interests thus aggregated, as well as those of the individuals connected therewith, became permanently fixed and secured in their respective circumstances and bearings.

These were, no doubt, great and decided facilities to the progress of advancement. Let us see, however, into what real substantial benefits they resolved themselves. We perceive that a multitude of objects of desire and of utility, were procured for the public service; that to an appropriate portion

of these, regular access was laid open to all the industrious, upon independent principles; such principles, as at once advanced the condition of individuals, and that of those reproductive processes, from which these supplies were drawn. But it still remains to be seen, into what general objects these movements resolved themselves. What consequences, besides that of supplying the direct wants of the parties interested, did these operations produce? And, in the first place, it must be noticed, that these served to buoy up the authority of the state, and the magnificence of the superior orders, and to give these an energy and an extension in their respective ranges, that was of the highest moment to each class, and to every individual in each of these classes. Thereby, these individuals and classes were assuredly and permanently advanced in the scale of society, and furnished with means that rendered this advancement both grateful and dignified. But still it remains to be asked, how were the industrious producers of these advantages situated? They might furnish themselves with every emblem of magnificence, they might wallow in sensual indulgences, but was honor or dignified employment within their reach? This question must be answered in the negative; they might screw up their industrious improvements to the highest pitch, they might extend the reproductive power of these processes to the most extreme length; but there were immunities, privileges, attainments, and enjoyments, constantly beaming before their eyes, from which they were most completely excluded.

Nor was this all. As if the sole object of all social improvement had been to emblazon these distinctions, and to make them more galling to those who were excluded from them—the great point of excellence was, by express authority, annexed to these very distinctions, and the emblems of glory and of renown, with the most unrelenting exactitude, were bestowed only where these marks of distinction could be ascertained.

Let us, however, next direct our attention to the results of these general effects of social improvement. And here we see, that as in the pagan era, this very improvement served to augment the pressure of the dignified orders of society, upon these below them; so, under the feudal era, it served to pamper an exotic pride, which qualified this pride for annexing to its operations, advantages that were beyond its proper sphere. It served also to rivet the chains of superstition, and it made this yoke more galling and more humiliating. Thus it was, that these parties, severally, joined hands with the state, and with the hierarchy, and arrogated a multitude of exclusive advantages, which lay not in their direct course. Happily for the Spanish nation, these restraints received a relief from their foreign connexions. The independent principles nurtured at home, when permitted to exercise themselves, without restraint abroad, displayed the innate vigor, with which they had become endowed, in consequence of their previous discipline. These principles had a direct tendency to model themselves ac-

cording to those views, which had become so dazzling at home, they therefore had a range of developement, that was peculiarly favorable to that species of improvement, which coincided with these views, and with the sentiments which these views had produced. But as usurpation and violence had become familiar to all parties; as pride and arrogance were the gratifications that were universally sought after, so these principles, or rather execrable propensities, attained an ascendancy, which a superstition, modelled upon such views, exasperating, finally gratified. In the mean time, the superior arrogance of the grandees, and presumption of the clergy, and the predominant influence of a jealous monopolizing government, goaded and traversed the whole range of these acquirements; insomuch, that Spaniards, both at home and abroad, (excepting only in those cases wherein exterior influence completely excluded that of their own system,) found their state every where sealed against that high intellectual and moral improvement, wherein the true happiness of man consists. Their physical and political power was at times great and tremendous. In their discoveries and conquests of the new world, it was astonishingly displayed, so as almost to appear preter-human; but none of those feats ever tended to the real advancement of the race, which executed them. On the contrary, while the lower faculties of the soul were exercised and exhibited in all their natural strength, nothing that could distinguish or characterize a great people appeared: base superstition on the one hand, and pompous rapacity

on the other, were discovered to be their predominant principles; and these were so blindly exercised, that this nation produced no results, that either sound reason, or true religion, could approve of or justify; on the contrary, while these gave forth developements, which must astonish all ages by their stupendous magnitude, they merely appal us, with their complete repugnance to the best feelings of humanity.

In my opinion, there are certain prominent characteristics of the system that developed itself in England, which coincide with the foregoing. England during the Heptarchy, in many respects, resembled the kingdoms of the Spanish peninsula; the same violence, the same aristocratical, and ecclesiastical arrogance, and the same conjunct exercitations of all ranks, in the course of improvement and deterioration, took place in each country. Happily for England, however, its territory afforded no such formidable barriers, for these petty kingdoms, into which it was divided; and there existed no such virulent animosities betwixt its different inhabitants, as those which existed in Spain. On the contrary, almost from the first, the warfare that was carried on betwixt these states was of a languid nature, and consisted more in bickerings betwixt those, who occupied the foreground of society, than in any infuriate hostilities. Besides this, England, although it could yield abundance of the commodities, needful for social existence, to the laborious and careful, afforded none of those in-

citements that could instigate or support splendid luxury, or pageantry, or indolence. Rapine and disorder were dreaded as the worst of evils; and England having to prepare herself for encountering the inroads of desperate invaders, and to concentrate her forces, and exercise them under the same banners, the general interests of the social body became paramount over the whole island. Parties being thus exercised, and couped up together, it could be no difficult matter, for any power which had obtained the ascendancy amongst them, to convert this ascendancy into a complete sovereignty. Thus it was, that the kingdoms of the Heptarchy, were firmly united and consolidated under one head, while society was but in a nascent state; and that the whole inhabitants of England were universally constituted and organized as one people, long before any separate nationalities could be formed amongst these divisions of its territory, sufficient to keep them apart. This nation, therefore, not only resumed its former unity of character, but it proceeded forthwith, to avail itself of its commanding situation, in regard to the rest of Europe. In repelling the Danes, and other invaders, it had frequent occasion, to try its general strength, in regard to other nations. It was not, however, until after the conquest, when its superior power, had been fully collected and organized at home, that its capacity for achieving those high exploits, which struck surrounding nations with terror, was discovered. Thereafter, Englishmen, conscious of their prowess, could not only preserve their own possessions entire,

but they were able to augment their value at home, and their absolute extent in foreign regions.

Under such circumstances, the industrious processes were nurtured in England, during the feudal era. It must be remarked, that as in Spain and Poland, so in England, the privileged classes contrived to transfer into their own hands, the aggregate power and wealth of the community. It was under their banners, that the population was generally exercised, and it was into the augmentation of their power, that the fruits of these exertions generally resolved themselves. In England, however, the sovereign had vast personal domains, a circumstance which gave him necessarily a precedency over all others; his power as a sovereign, though limited, was always sufficiently powerful, to restrain the presumption of his feudatories within certain instituted bounds, unless by very gross misconduct, he united these in one body against himself. It was the interest of the sovereign, to protect and extend the immunities of the industrious, and he did this, not only by his favor, and royal protection, but by his example, in regard to his own immediate vassals, by discovering the advantages which he aimed at introducing. In this respect, therefore, the population of England, was placed in incomparably better circumstances, than that of Poland. This population, was moreover, chiefly exercised about those rustic occupations, which befitted a country wherein such occupations were necessarily matters of vast importance; and

their fruits, being for the most part of that kind, which applied alike to the wants of the chieftain, and to those of his hind, the distinction betwixt the comforts and enjoyments possessed by the highest, and those possessed by the lowest classes, was seen to consist, more in the absolute dependence of these last on their superiors, than on any peculiar inferiority in the means of their subsistence. Hence, a species of attachment was generated in the breasts of those in dependent circumstances in England, which greatly mollified the peculiar hardships, to which they were subjected. These ostentatious displays of distinction, which prevailed in Spain, were studiously avoided, and the exercises of the chase, and those of the field, those employments wherein the bold and dignified feelings of rude nature are most readily recognized, discovered to the nation at large, that the true ground of distinction betwixt the ranks, consisted no less in personal prowess, than in hereditary claims. Like the Polish chieftains, those of England enjoyed undisturbed their patrimonial domains, but they did not, like these, seek to emblazon their superiority, by the prostration of their attendants, or the degradation of their common sovereign. Like the Spaniards, the wealth and means, that passed into their hands, speedily found its way into these ameliorating processes with which they were surrounded; but, unlike these last, the wealth of the English barons exalted their own heroism; and while it warmed the hearts of their dependents, it fostered dignified views of their own, and of their country rights, and it led them through

their various labors and enjoyments, to that unsophisticated manly character, which has always been the highest honor of the English nation.

In my opinion, taking its wealth into account, England was then comparatively deficient in cathedrals and magnificent buildings, the peculiar aggregate productions of the feudal era. Perhaps, this, of itself, is one very strong proof of the independence and high spirit of the people at large, who engaged in those employments, which more immediately befitted their circumstances, did not chuse to overburden themselves with such monuments of their subjugation, to the power of overweaning grandeur or influence. The country was highly peopled; the people had their establishments for religious, civil, and social exercises complete; and the consciousness of this, and of the security, in which they enjoyed these, and all their possessions; made them hold pomp and magnificence, either in pageantry or in more stable provisions, comparatively in low estimation. Their desolating civil wars, and their ruinous irruptions into the French territory, no doubt, by draining them of means, contributed to augment this callousness, towards architectural provisions. Still, however, it is evident, that a degree of improvement and advancement, in all these things which befitted the circumstances of a people slowly emerging, under feudal principles, from a state of barbarism, prevailed within the English territory, which denoted that its organization, civil, and social, was undergoing a fundamental

preparation, for a very high state of national excellence.

The feudal system developed itself, no where with more force and efficacy, than in Germany. This country, lying contiguous to the highly improved regions that were under the direct influence of the Roman sway, had generally received the full influence of those civilizing processes that were peculiar to that domination, when the northern nations began to display their superior prowess. The forests and marshes of Poland, and the lofty Pannonian mountains, formed a kind of natural barrier to the ravages of these infuriate desolators; it was, morever, inhabited by a brave and hardy race of men, who were not disposed to part with their general rights, upon the deceitful grounds of insecure compromise; its climate and its territory, were obviously less inviting than those of Italy, France, and Spain; and the Gothic and Vandalic devastators, could perform a circuit either by sea or by land, with incomparably greater ease, than they could have penetrated this redoubted territory. For these and other reasons, that accrued from the character and circumstances of the indigenous inhabitants, Germany escaped from the fury of the northern irruptions, more than any other European nation, and was thereby capacitated to carry forward in security its own peculiar improvements. Indeed, Germany received its devastations more from the regorgement of the banditti, upon its western and southern frontiers, when these were forced

back from France and Italy, than from its Polish exposure. In regarding this point, we must take this fact along with us, that feudal principles, accompanied with a feudal spirit and energy, developed themselves under every advantage in Germany; because, there these had already been approximated to existing circumstances; whereas in other countries these were so repugnant to the state of society, therein subsistiing, that they could only exist by destroying countervening principles and thus inducing most infuriate hostility.

Under these auspices, the German feudatories, not only succeeded, as in Poland, in rendering their supreme chief elective, and in restricting his power to the office of executing their general will, but they were able to appropriate to themselves respectively, within their several precincts, the full possession, and the complete exercise of sovereign authority. Each feudatory acquired and maintained a certain civil corporate system of his own, conformable to his condition, and in all respects independent of every other feudatory, and of the general chief. This supreme domination was recognized on all hands, and it was protected by appropriate municipal and military establishments. In so much, that upon the whole, these various powers comprized within their own authority, all the prerequisites of independent sovereignty; restricted indeed, as to certain general provisions, but in lieu thereof, protected by a grand paramount sway, towards the maintenance of which, though they seve-

rally contributed their respective quotas of men and money, yet in their separate capacity, they were in all other respects, completely independent. Moreover, as upon feudal principles, these different feudatories were severally bound and impledged to guarantee and defend to each other, their various separate rights and possessions; so each of these, upon the same principles, derived a protection and security, which in real value, far exceeded the substantial extent of the contributions that were really exacted from them; and as each of these powers took a warm and vigorous interest in the concerns of every other power in the confederacy, in so far as these coincided with its own general views; so each of them remained as a pledge to every other, in similar circumstances, for the safety of its peculiar possessions. And although many of these states were small, and of themselves unequal to any great undertaking, yet a consciousness of their participation in general concernments raised up for them both in their joint, and in their separate capacity, not only correspondent, but paramount influence.

Although the great bulk of these states were of an inferior description, yet it must be noticed, that various respectable potentates, perceiving the advantages that would accrue from being implicated within the general pale thus provided for improvement, having consented to become parties to the confederacy, bestowed upon its movements a radical strength and consistency, of high import to its best interests. While those potentates, in the view

of the vast range of general usefulness, which was thus placed within their reach, and within the reach of all their most valued connexions, thus contributed largely to the public welfare, undue preponderancy was guarded against by their reciprocal jealousy and competition, which stood up in defence of the public good. Alongst with this decided advantage, another not less important, was conjoined. By dint of their superior means, these superior powers could bring forward and mature various important ameliorating processes, of general operation; though perhaps, more peculiarly adopted to the case of that state which protected them. To all these improving tendencies, the whole range of the whole system was laid open, so that individual talent received a field of expansion, as well as an instrument of support and protection, of the highest moment to its subsequent developements. The jealousy and competition, that took place betwixt those states, in consequence of this advantage, like that which existed amongst their chiefs, though sometimes directed to the retardation of improvement, became strenuously powerful, when extended in its developement. Competition and emulation, thus introduced, ceased not in their operations, until they had secured, not only for Germany, but for all Europe, the full advantage of these developements.

It has already been noted, as one of the peculiar qualities of the feudal system, that it readily admitted of these improvements, which coincided with its general principles; that it disposed these im-

provements to develope themselves under circumstances peculiarly favorable to the interests of individuals; and that it induced combinations betwixt these of a kind, that was decidedly favorable to general improvement. This remark may now be farther extended, by noticing, that in various instances, improvement proceeded not only under the influence of such high individual acquirements, but under that of organized combinations of such individuals. The Knights of the Teutonic order, and others of a similar kind, may be given as instances of these organized combinations of highly improved individuals, arising out of a peculiar developement of this system. Their organization was peculiarly simple, but it not only developed consequences, congenial to the system under which they acted, and in all respects fully equal to the aggregated power of the individuals who were comprized within its influence; but in all their movements, these knights displayed an authority and an energy, for which no proximate cause could be assigned. This matter, however, may be sufficiently accounted for, by adverting to this circumstance, that individuals, such as these knights were when drawn together, possessed a most superlative regard to the concerns of the deserving, and that it was known and believed, that these knights thus conducted themselves, from a most scrupulous regard to their personal character; a regard which necessarily shut out of sight their life, and all their personal concerns, and disposed them to exercise a prowess, which appeared to be preter-human.

And when we consider that these knights had one fixed and invariable object before their eye, towards the attainment of which, their whole thoughts were directed, and that in compassing this object, a multitude of zealous, and emulous individuals were associated, by whom all ordinary obstructions were regarded as infinitely below their notice, we cannot be surprized that these individuals were able to achieve exploits, that in general, inspired terror, where redoubted assurance would otherwise have existed. Amidst the tremulous sensations with which these circumstances inspired their opponents, the inflexible courage, and formidable aspect of these associates, could not but display themselves with full advantage, so as to induce a vacillation and trepidation in the counsels of their adversaries, which became in general decisive of their contests. These circumstances, distinctly announce the characteristic advantages of associations, formed upon these high grounds, and prepare us for regarding with attention, these peculiarities in the Germanic confederacy, that now more particularly coincide with our researches.

The princedoms of Germany, besides possessing the inherent priviledges already noticed from their union and association, furnished a sphere of action for the enterprizes of their youths, that greatly advanced their individual character. Not only the whole expanse of the imperial domains, but the absolute extent of Christendom, in consequence of the personal acquirements which their highly

favorable circumstances enabled them to mature, was laid open to them. The public interests, and the public cause, at a time when Europe was in a ferment regarding these, seem to be conjoined with those of this confederacy. The famous Hanseatic league, so popular and so powerful, was also seen to possess interests which were necessarily identified with the Germanic body. The Christian knights, notwithstanding their obliquities and tergiversations, appeared to be only the advanced ground of the same cause. It is no wonder, therefore, that the feelings and the propensities of civilized Europe, became so implicated in those of the Germanic body, as to cause its interests to be regarded as the general concerns of civil and social improvement.

There exists a coincidence betwixt these associations and the feudal system, that here demands our regard. These associations, branched out in a similar way, with the developements of this system. In a system so vast and so complex, so extended and so attenuated, as the Germanic body necessarily was, to digest and to provide for all the concernments, that were meant to be comprized within its influence, and to make its general power bear with sufficient steadiness on the business that was placed before it, could not, especially at the outset, be expected. The system had grown out of the circumstances of the times, it coincided with the maxims, which then swayed the councils of nations; during its immaturity, it as already noticed derived shelter from the intervention of Poland,

betwixt it and more barbarous nations; the known prowess of the German nation, together with the splendid character of their chiefs, and leading communities; the influence of the hierarchy; the clamant emergency, that arose from the irruptions of the Saracens into the centre of Europe, combined with the gallantry, which then characterized the times; these and other things, gave a lustre and eclat to the movements of this vast body, which thenceforward ensured its stability. It had appeared, that improvements in the useful, as well as in the ornamental arts, were important objects of political regard. Into this confederacy, such views were not only admitted as fundamental principles, but in a variety of combinations they were made, under the influence of the predominant confederacy, essential parts of principles that had been solemnly recognized. And as these gave forth results, which fully warranted the assumption of the importance that had been connected with their power, their influence became proportionally extensive. Let it at the same time be remarked, that these confederacies, developing themselves in this shape, harmonized, much more exactly with those ancient feudal practices, whence the system had derived its influence, than those direct infeudations did, which were construed, as implying authorized subjugation on the part of the vassal, and acknowledged inferiority as to his personal claims. In these dark ages, wherein the feudal system was founded, industry never was held in contempt, and general affiliations on the principles of reci-

procal right, public utility, and inherent interest, were alike the basis and the support of the social system. In this view, the Germanic and Hanseatic confederacies, may not only be regarded as legitimate developements of the feudal system, but as peculiarly fraught with those advantages, which this system was held to imply. These advantages have produced such consequences, that it may be proper, in this place, to trace these out more particularly. This shall be done, under three distinct heads, into which these seem naturally to have become resolved.

It is necessary at the outset, to notice, that it was the peculiar office of the feudal system, to rescue industry from the concrete oppression under which it labored during the Pagan era, and to bestow upon it full room for expansion, in every useful and desirable direction. To have attained this advantage, therefore, in any considerable degree, would have dignified the system, which effected it, especially, when to this, the privilege of carrying forward in security the industrious processes, and enjoying the fruits that naturally flow therefrom, (an advantage ultimately effected under this system) had been superadded. But to procure a range of exercise, and of developements, coincident with this high progression, space and means, correspondent to the value of these procurements, and a sufficiency of that medium of exchange, that instrument for expediting industry, which befitted these circumstances, were accessories of incomparably greater importance.

Yet all these advantages were introduced into the German territory, during the darkest ages, under the influence of this system. This remark being premised, let us next regard the three special classes of advantages, into which these circumstances resolved themselves.

In the first place, the interests of industrious communities, such as cities and imperial franchises, were not only regularly received into the aggregate body, wherein the whole great concernments of the empire were comprized, but their instruments, and representatives, as well as the principal subjects in which their interests were concentrated, were there set down, and recognised, as dignified parts of the general system. These bodies, being held as feudal dignitaries, their representatives were always regarded as belonging to the superior class. This simple and unavoidable concession, was of peculiar advantage to the progression which we are now contemplating; first, because it impressed the public mind, in all its various capacities, with a just sense of the value of those interests, which were thus advanced into notice; and secondly, because, it gave this class full power and opportunity to make good, its just and irrefragable claims, in that form, which corresponded with the condition of the society thus constituted. In the case of the Hanseatic league, we know, that the industrious, pushed their interests much farther; they absorbed the public feeling in their direct interests, and thus set their opponents, fully in

the back ground. The high hand, with which this league exercised, and maintained the joint and separate interests of the industrious, during a series of ages, evinced at once, the high ground, which these interests occupied, and the necessity under which all parties were laid of submitting to their claims. And it must be noticed, that these substantiated claims raised those of the whole commercial body to such a height in the general estimation, that they had the whole range of the known world for their developement, and the whole aggregate force of feudal and improving principles for their support.

In the second place, the industrious, not only attained to feudatory rank and influence, and became sufficiently capacitated for exercising an ample share of the general power of the state, and of its influence on the public opinion, but they acquired sovereign authority within these precincts, which had devolved upon them. In this capacity, they could new-model the general order of their community, so as to render it completely subservient to their views, and they could thus secure and advance these courses of improvement which befitted their circumstances. Nor is this all; they could thereby introduce and circulate those ideas of civil greatness and importance, which were most conducive to their interests. It is easy to perceive, that in such circumstances, the industrious would attain to a certain ascendancy in their competition with the merely dignified. Society had, by this time, in place of spirit, substituted system; and in place

of desperate courage, it had advanced deliberate contrivance, on the foreground of strenuous exertions. Hence means, and the command of these; influence, and the power of managing this influence, gradually reached to a superior importance in that general system, wherein mere personal prowess operating upon indigested means had formerly prevailed. The dignified themselves, perceiving the operations of this powerful system, became at length proud of the privilege that was laid before them, of enlisting under burgage banners, and exercising emulously their peculiar advantages in the public service.

In the third and last place, all these advantages derived a substantial and permanent hold of the general system, from the provisions to which they gave rise. When cities had thus raised themselves to sovereign power, and when their various separate internal interests had been set forward in a course of improvement, coincident with these circumstances, those subdivisions of the industrious, which consequentially arose therefrom, gradually reached to a limited degree of interest and importance. Restrained by their condition, many individuals of these classes, could scarcely venture to assume any fixed ground, until, under the banners of incorporations, they could, as members recognized in a civil capacity, set forth their claims. When individuals, however, had thus become aggregated, their power and their claims would be displayed, and in the person of their head, they would be success-

fully enforced, and those immunities that became their condition, gradually increasing in importance, would be solemnly recognized, and, as occassion served, they would also be duly exercised. Thus sheltered, the interests of every distinct class of men, and of the individuals who composed these classes, were thus successively arranged, and gradually fortified and augmented. Therefrom, individuals, on the one part, derived power and influence; and therefrom also, the states and communities, with which these were connected, derived also correspondent advantage. The feudal system having once received the industrious and commercial part of the community, into its organization, on terms befitting their circumstances; this organization, under every subsequent developement, exhibited more and more its determinate propensity towards the advancement of individual industry, and the extension of social intercourse.

It is now proper for us to direct our attention to these important and diversified results, which flowed from this interesting developement of the feudal system. And here we find, that besides those which were peculiar to those states, whose circumstances have been already considered, such as cathedrals, and all those usual and appropriate appurtenances of religious worship, which a powerful and gorgeous priesthood could secure for themselves; besides an abundance of those provisions, which a multitude of subordinate, though independent and substantial, municipal, civil and

military establishments, could require; together with a profusion of the means necessary for supporting the power and pageantry of their several governments, central and subordinate, along with their patrician and equestrian dependencies; we find a variety of invaluable institutions for advancing the character of the people, and improving the face of the country; a multitude of reproductive, industrious and commercial processes, and an universal and decided tendency in all these, to promote and extend the happiness and improvement of the community at large.

When we look a little farther, we perceive consequences of these general results, that indicated at once the propriety and efficacy of these confederacies, and the high ground on which these and all other governments stand, that act seriously towards the best and highest interests of those communities, and of those individuals, who are severally and collectively, under their charge. The Hanseatic league obtained a superiority over the seas, which enabled them not only to secure and maintain their widely scattered interests, but to intimidate and alarm all their opponents, great and powerful though many of these doubtless were. The spirit and prowess of the Teutonic knights spread an alarm which paralized the most remote barbarians. The power and splendor of the commercial cities, both in their civil and municipal capacities; the wealth, renown, and influence of the merchants, in their private and in their public right; these,

and other advantages, are so many prominent attestations of the irresistible energy with which that system, which had broke in pieces the concrete form of human society, and substituted genial competition and emulation in the room of simple coertion, as it is the moving principle, now operated. And as mankind, in their personal and in their social concerns, found a progression of improvement in constant motion, which was perpetually extending their comforts and enjoyments, advancing their condition, and exercising their powers and faculties in the most profitable and rational manner, it was evident, that the energy and efficacy of this system, in its lower and more immediate operations, were equally indisputable. Out of all these provisions, the nation's power arose most resplendent; as it was popular in its constitution, so its measures, which, in the first instance, extended the sphere of popular claims, in the end, led to an expansion of the influence of the constituted power. A system so amply provided, so well organized, and so equally poized, seemed to be secure against every emergency.

It is evident, however, that these diversified political entities, contained principles of repulsion, as well as of concord. Hence, not only dissension, and mutual jealousy and recrimination, but actual hostility, and sometimes sanguinary and inveterate warfare took place amongst them, which neither the general arm nor the sense of justice or propriety could allay or terminate. This arose, part-

ly, from the form in which these independent states, severally, gave their voices in their deliberative assemblies, which was peculiarly restricted, indicating a distrust not only in the general body, but in their peculiar representative, and much self-sufficiency in their respective views and projects; but it arose chiefly from the circumstances into which these advantages ultimately resolved themselves. It is evident, that it was the interests of all parties to draw this confederacy closer; and thus to strengthen each of its limbs, by infusing the whole vigor and animating principle of the general body into these, as often as occasion required it; thus creating a natural tendency to bring the whole system under one energetic, duly poized, central government, more or less similar to that which prevailed all over the rest of Europe; such as was found to advance, at once, general improvement and personal independence. In Germany, this union and combination might have been effected, not only without hostility, but with perfect harmony, if a similar spirit had got the full ascendancy. In place of this, however, an anxiety to preserve their separate existences overwhelmed every other consideration; and Germany became the common arena, wherein military prowess was formed and disciplined; insomuch, that the interests of its inhabitants were lost sight of amidst the virulence with which their rulers defended antiquated forms and privileges. In our days, privileged usurpation, and legalized rapine, in one party, and contracted views, and mere personal considerations in other parties, have

been set in motion, for the purpose of executing that, which it would have been well if all parties had at one time effected, in a regular manner. At length, however, a period appears to have been put to these disorganizations by means which still appal us.

As Germany has been the mother, and the fosterer of almost all that is valuable and important in the present state of things, it seems to be proper, before quitting this subject, to take a nearer view of the cause of these disorganizations. Improvement has a tendency to unite; how is it, that such estimable and such extensive improvements as these, with which Germany abounded, could thus resolve themselves, into a disseveration of that federal system, out of which they had arisen? In attempting to account for this, we have only to turn our eyes to our own country, wherein an equally improved, and an equally free, but a more combined system of things prevailed; and there we perceive, at once, that this disseveration arose partly from the want of a sufficiently powerful arm, to comprize and bind these interests into one; and partly from the want of some common principle to harmonize their operations, to consolidate their views and prospects, and to give to the whole expansion a concatenation and developement, corresponding to the nature of its powers of reproduction. From the want of the first, dissensions, and foreign combinations were formed, which became unmanageable; and from the want of the last, the energies,

pent up and circumvented, spent themselves in devouring that system from which they had arisen.

If we attend a little more closely to the subject, we will find, that such effects must always flow from any system of improvement that is thus unequally poised. In the general progression of improvement, the aristocratical party, both in those greater states who retained a monarchical, and in those which assumed a popular form of government, having the power constantly in their hands, acquired an absolute, though modified ascendancy. The best fruits of the industrious processes fell into their hands; the rest of the community had, no doubt, secured to them a variety of privileges; but as these first felt their power and influence always most valuable, when the state was engaged in offices and occupations, wherein they were drawing forth its utmost resources, and exercising these alongside of other states, in similar circumstances with themselves, they naturally enough gave the preference to the warlike posture of affairs, as that one wherein the movements of the system harmonized most completely with their own interests. The course of peaceful improvement, thus traversed and broken up, taking a direction which coincided with the exigences of the states, a new species of interest and of influence, favorable to dissention and oppression, was created in the commonwealth. Amidst the turmoils of their fellow-citizens, and the intrigues of foreigners, the interests of the general body were absolutely lost, and

Germany saw, in all its petty principalities, foes and opponents impressed by circumstances, in which its interests were not implicated. Jealousy and pride became the stimulants to war; fear of the consequences of a cessation of hostilities kept these constantly in agitation; and family views and family measures, having once got the ascendancy, became more and more predominant; until, the general interests of the country were completely absorbed in those of family feuds and animosities. Hence it was, that these families and parties became, at length, so highly buoyed up in the system, that out of mere complaisance to their humors, and without either choice or discrimination, Germans proceeded to slaughter each other, and to desolate their common country almost at random.

Before entering any farther upon the consideration of these results of this very peculiar developement of the feudal system, it is proper, to take into view, those circumstances which distinguished the developement of the feudal system in other European countries; partly, because the results of these developements being greatly blended together, can be better apprehended under one view than apart, and partly also, because the statements, that must here be incidently introduced, will necessarily go a great way in illustrating those matters that still remain for our attention. Before taking leave of this subject, however, it is proper to make two general remarks.

First, that the feudal system, no where, gave forth more important and more interesting developements than in Germany; including under this appellation, as has been all along done, that territory that extends from the frontiers of Poland on the one side, to those of France, as it lately stood, on the other. The vast improvements, every where introduced into social life, under the political and commercial influence of the Hanseatic league, and the effectual support, which that great body gave to those reproductive processes, to which this influence extended, were followed out and increased under that of the Flemish and Dutch states, so as to form one grand connected series of displays of the power and efficacy of regularly supported, well directed industry, duly cherished, protected, and honored, by the dominant power. From thence, potentates of every description perceiving blessings and advantages springing up to their hands that had formerly been overlooked, were led to pursue these measures that tended towards their attainment, and were furnished with means, that enabled them successfully to execute these measures. Under such extensive and powerful patronage, numberless discoveries in the arts and sciences, improvements of a civil and municipal nature, and provisions for giving full effect to the progressions into which these things led, were obtained. The circumstances and character of mankind at large were ameliorated and advanced; and principles were set in motion which carried these advantages through every rank and class in society. Amidst these circumstances,

many most illustrious characters were formed; whose researches and labors exalted and extended the compass of the human powers, and in the end, shed that dignity on the character, and that energy on the movements of the social body, that have raised modern Europe so high in the scale of the world.

Secondly, We know however, that with all these favoring circumstances, there were then, and are still numberless obstructions in the way of improvement, arising from defects in public measures; and that even the most promising schemes, were then, and are still, daily blighted by dissension, and traversed by ambition. We know also, that it is only where the principles of emulation and of strenuous exertion have free scope, that the progress of improvement displays its beneficent influence; and that thence, improvement is apt to infer more difficulties than degradation, and abundance of means more embarrassment than a defective supply. May we not, therefore, conclude, that such high results can only be obtained and secured, where useful occupations are endowed with the capacity of adequate extension; and where an organization of society exists, that is not only regular, and steady in its movements, but is so fully combined, that it can receive anew, and exercise advantageously, the results and fruits of its own reproductive powers. In other words, in order to obtain the proper use of its own blessings, do we not discern, that the frame of every great society ought to comprize, along with the means and principles of improvement, the power

of exercising these incessantly with advantage? that it ought to possess not only an organization of its members fitted for its ordinary functions, but a field of expansion for these, commensurate with the due exercise of their powers and talents, according as these may become prepared for expansion? This observation is here incidentally noticed, because it arises out of previous statements; it is necessary, however, to return to our leading subject before it can be fully elucidated.

Next to Germany, Italy challenges our regard in the present view. Italy, for ages, the seat of splendor, glory, and civilization, had become the prey of every base and profligate propensity, long before Gothic barbarism had changed its aspect. Our attention, however, being confined to that state, to which, under feudal principles, it afterwards arose, it is unnecessary to advert to its pristine situation, farther, than just to notice, that owing to these circumstances, to its delightful climate and luxuriant soil, and more especially owing to its advantageous situation for trade, Italy gradually engrossed the lucrative and valuable commerce with the east. Besides this very momentous advantage, Italy possessed within itself, various important resources, which, along with the foregoing, gave her immense advantages for carrying forward those reproductive processes which were then most profitable, that is, those which subserved the more refined wants of human nature. Besides this, Italy, being the domestic territory of the papal suprema-

cy, derived incalculable advantages from the influence which this pompous domination exercised over the rest of Christendom. To emblazon all its establishments with the most gorgeous monuments of art and genius, such as superb edifices for the service of religious worship, statues, paintings, and every emblematic trapping that could captivate the senses or enthral the imagination, was its direct object: Italy therefore, the former scene of Roman grandeur, and now of that of the priesthood, necessarily became the seat of such manufactures. Establishments for procuring these in the highest style of excellence, and in the greatest possible quantities, were accordingly everywhere set agoing. As the pontificate ruled in such matters, with the most uncontrolable sway; as Italy, both from its acquirements, ancient and modern, and from its superior riches, was in all respects, alike, the best field and the highest model of perfection in all these arts, and was, besides this, the centre of an immense and invaluable commerce; and as the numberless provisions and institutions, for the service of these arts, were all immediately impressed by ecclesiastical influence in subservency to this object; so Italy came, at length, to be the fountain head of commercial grandeur, and the centre into which that wealth and power which flowed from lucrative occupations, necessarily tended. Its reproductive processes were, accordingly, not only highly valuable, but extremely numerous; they were not only improved by the whole strength of native talent, but they were thoroughly provided for with every thing useful and ne-

cessary, and so completely established and organized in all their parts, as to be capable of producing the highest aggregations of excellence. And as these various reproductive processes possessed a most extensive range for their developement, they were also duly excited, and sustained in their highest excitations; having not only full, but incessant occupation.

Like Germany, Italy was divided into a number of petty states, each of which cultivated high excellence in the useful and ornamental arts, and enjoyed a certain share of that exterior commerce, which had become the basis of their acquirements. Like Germany, too, the developements and results of these processes entered deeply into the concerns of these several states; and they had, for the most part, certain public provisions and immunities secured to them, which served to exalt the character and condition of the industrious. Though generally confined within narrow bounds, these principalities possessed within their own direct control, a profusion of means, and a redundancy of capacities for drawing forth and exercising these means. An energy of character, an ardor of spirit, a peculiar subtility of genius, and an irrefragable sagacity in the management of all these advantages, characterized the people, and made them send forth results, that seemed to surpass the compass of mere mercantile enterprize. These states were, generally, more or less dependent on the head of the German empire; and they were all under the direct

influence of the pontificate. It is nevertheless certain, that it was more from their own innate power and courage, than from the protection thus secured to them, that their independence was preserved. These two supreme powers, in some measure, balanced and neutralized the influence of each other within these states; they also occasionally opposed themselves as barriers against foreign invasion; drawing thence, in return, invaluable supplies. The different patrician families in the aristocratical governments, (which form almost universally prevailed within these states,) were also connected together in a variety of ways, so as to constitute links connecting these states together; thus serving to insure concord and stability, on various important general points. It must be noticed, however, that all these implicated securities and impledgments were more frequently subversive of, than subservient to the cause of tranquillity. A kind of complex intricate species of management arose out of them, which split up the country, into factious distinctions; and though the patrician orders, in the end, came to possess amongst themselves the power of the state, yet this power could only be exercised by them, in subserviency to the worst passions of the multitude.

Although, therefore, in such circumstances, the general wealth of the community, and the mode of distributing this wealth, advanced the condition of society at large; these were far from promoting, so generally, the happiness and independence of

of individuals, as the same advantages were under German influence. The multitude were fond of dazzling public splendor, and of individual indulgence; but they were very careless of their permanent, personal interests. The more pressing wants of man, in these genial climes, being easily met and supplied, intered little into the view of these thoughtless parties. It was therefore, in pampering the fastidious desires of the great, in producing those resplendent objects, wherein taste and caprice unite, and in procuring attainments both splendid and costly, that the reproductive processes generally resolved themselves. These acquisitions, while they gratified the desires of the populace, exhibited the grandeur of those patrician families who could obtain them. It was under the authority of these families, and not of the state, that the multitude unhesitatingly arranged themselves; and it was in the influence and magnificence thus aggregated, and thus upheld and displayed, that these infatuated dependents perceived those fruits of their labors, that were to them most delicious. It must be noticed, however, that this resolution of the general wealth was not so useless, as we are at first inclined to suppose. The fruits of their industry had obtained such command over the general wealth of the world, that articles of a costly nature, could, no otherwise, be consumed, so as to reproduce to their owners their appretiated value. Abundance of those objects, which decorated and embellished social existence, was thus made to flow throughout the community out of the wealth of these patrician

families; the cause of the country was evidently implicated in their welfare; and its respectability in the splendor of the displays of this, which these could make. We cannot, therefore, wonder that a populace, whose minds and feelings were under the constant management of priests and parasites, should lose sight of their own individual claims, and those of their families, while fascinated with the magnificence of their chiefs; and imbibe the pure flame of patriotic ardor, while they were basking in the refulgent rays of their country's glory; even, although, these things only served to illustrate the more clearly, their own debased and helpless condition.

Let it be noticed, also, that these brilliant advantages were not only lustrous in their appearance, and the means of transfusing wealth throughout the general body, but they were also the direct instruments, of bringing forward public and private acquirements of every description; they were suited to the character of the people, and they served to exercise their talents and their resources, in that very manner, which coincided most directly with their own peculiar circumstances. In the commercial states of Italy, as mercantile ideas had a paramount ascendancy, personal prowess and public authority, if not emblazoned by magnificence, would have failed in producing their requisite effects: where mild and benignant protection were not expected, pomp and pageantry were necessary vehicles of that importance, which was held as apper-

taining to the superior class. Besides this, the character of Italian society, though highly refined, shrouded an innate subtility of contrivance, which led to such displays. Its industry, though consumate and indefatigable, was not inconsistent with systematic rapacity. We have all heard of the dark jealousy and vindictive policy of its governments. These were more impatient than ardent, more precipitate than enterprizing, and more prone to those things, which indicated their own attainments, than to those which diffused aggregate advantages. And let it also be recollected, that the authority of the state, immense marine and military establishments, and a multitude of public provisions and institutions were rendered subservient to commercial principles; and that all these things, necessarily develope themselves, most directly, in the personal grandeur and embellishment of the superior orders. Whatever, therefore, of what is good or great, resulted from the form of society that prevailed in Italy, must be attributed, in no small degree, to the modes by which this form was embellished and illustrated.

When we attend to the baleful influence conspicuously exercised by faction in the Italian states; and perceive that this influence arose, spontaneously, out of the general state of things, we cannot but be astonished at the momentous advantages that resulted from the operations of these comparatively small states. It must be noted, however, that in Italy, after feudal heroism had degenerated

into factious ambition, the industrious processes assumed a kind of concrete form, which bore some resemblance to that which had subsisted during the pagan era. Christian principles, no doubt, prevailed, and softened the asperity of the bondage thence induced, and along with feudal clanship, arranged a great part of the community, under the influence of chiefs, who were not devoid of kindred feelings to their dependents. Still, however, domination was exercised over the inferior classes, generally, in a most unrelenting manner, and their lives and properties were sacrificed, but too readily, to the caprice of their superiors. These things formed the basis, on which the ambitious and aspiring built their own fortunes. They gave to the powers of systematic developement redoubled force, wherever these powers could be brought into full exercise, and they afforded means, on which the aggregate skill and vigor of the superior orders, could, with every advantage, be fully occupied. It must be noticed, farther, that various principles of action, permeated the social body, which effectually precluded that lassitude or imbecility on the one side, and that aggregate oppression on the other, which characterised the epoch, wherein simple coertion was the great principle of movement in the industrious processes. These principles, gave ample scope to the emulative powers, and objects abundant for their occupation; these principles also conveyed this advantage, directly to every class of society, and they insured very generally the full developement of these advantages.

As it may be proper, to convey some idea of the principles, that became thus powerful in the progress of improvement, I shall here mention some of their sources. In the first place, it belongs to maritime employments, to take mankind, as it were, apart by themselves, to draw out with irresistable force and efficacy, their personal powers and faculties, and to exercise these vigorously, in a variety of ways; here talent is necessary in every situation, and here, accordingly, talent must have more or less of its due reward. These employments, it is well known, were the main business of no inconsiderable portion of the Italian population. In the second place, these states planted colonies, and obtained possessions in foreign countries. Such advantages are peculiarly favorable to the developement of individual talents; they remove these from under the influence of undue oppression, and place them in circumstances, wherein their developement must be alike advantageous, to the state, and to the individual. In the third place, Italy, the seat of the hierarchy, partook most directly and most effectually of all that patronage, which this powerful domination could bestow; and this patronage stimulated and rewarded talents of another class. Italy became the seat of learning, of intrigue, and high emulation in ecclesiastical and secular affairs, as well as that of the arts and commerce; for as the doors of the church were thrown wide open to genius of all ranks and classes, who were all invited to partake of these bounties,

which the hierarchy held in charge, so a powerful excitation was given to all such talent, as belonged to this cast. The independent spirit could thus extricate itself, from the hands of commercial and aristocratic influence, and become enlisted under the banners of the church, which gloried alike in the multitude, and in the splendor of its votaries. In the fourth place, it may be mentioned, generally, that commerce and industry, themselves, are high instruments for supporting and maintaining individual improvement. They meet directly the views of the industrious and enterprizing, and they gradually place these in circumstances, wherein their talents and means are displayed, and exercised, with most advantage. In the last place, let it be noticed, that the wars in which these states were incessantly engaged, the variety of talent necessary for managing the complicated affairs of the state, and the necessity that existed, for holding up these offices, as direct objects for individual competion, served still more to advance talent on the foreground, to exercise individuals on matters wherein their own interests could be best promoted, and thus to break through that concrete form, into which the movements of the social body tended constantly to resolve themselves.

It was under such influence, that the industrious and commercial processes proceeded in Italy. It was into the augmentation of such powers and effects, that the reproductive movements of the social body resolved themselves. The power and

wealth of the state, and of individuals, severally contributed to the extension and advancement of these influences. Unfortunately, however, the spirit of faction and dissension took such deep root in all these states, that their power and their wealth, seemed only to increase, in order to pamper that pride and ambition which were the operating causes of these turmoils. The states themselves, occupied in mutual hostilities, embarked their best energies in inveterate and sanguinary wars and contests; which wars, as they were conducted with a vehemence, and at an expence of blood and treasure that bore no proportion to the value of the objects in dispute, were totally inconsistent with their interests as commercial states. In these desolating contests, means and powers were engulphed, which had they been all happily aggregated under the influence of one steady well poised government, would, in all human probability, have raised Italy to the highest rank of European powers; have preserved fully for its use its immense internal and external resources and foreign colonies; have maintained its naval power, on a most respectable footing; and have set forward all these advantages in a course of incessant improvement and advancement. In such a case, the Portuguese and Dutch, might have extended their conquests and trade to the east at pleasure; the British and French, might have followed hard at their heels; while Italy, secure in territorial riches and high improvements, exclusively her own, would still have maintained a most exalted character.

It is chiefly, in the improvements in the liberal arts and sciences, that have been handed down to us, that we now value the progressions of industry, that prevailed within these states. In Italy, maritime prowess was displayed on a scale that, till then, had not been witnessed. To Italy, we are indebted for the basis of our funding system, the invention of bills of exchange; by means of which, general wealth can be aggregated, and remain secure in the hands of any individual, however insignificant and unprotected he may be; and by him it may be transmitted all over the commercial world, in spite of the tyranny and opposition of states, or of princes. To the discoveries and improvements of the Italians, in astronomy, navigation, and mathematics, we owe our present direct access to the Eastern and Western Hemispheres. In fine it was amidst the ardor excited, kept up, and preserved through so many ages, in this fine country, that many first principles in the arts and sciences, that have since been so much improved by the British and French nations, were brought to light and matured. When it is recollected, that these states possessed only a confined insecure territory at home, that they were exposed to powerful surrounding enemies, by whom their whole possessions were frequently pillaged and destroyed, we cannot hesitate in giving our tribute of regret at the dreadful catastrophe, in which that country, and all its concerns, are now sunk. In spite of the torpor and degeneracy into which they had fallen, the genius and spirit of Venice and of Genoa, still excited gen-

eral veneration. But now, when one tremendous ruin has overwhelmed their political existence and possessions, and destroyed and absorbed their colonial and maritime power; we must perhaps at length consider their name, and their character, as effectually blotted out of the map of Europe.

When we direct our attention to that country, which at present holds in its hands, the reins of unlimited sway upon the European continent, we perceive, that even the earliest developements of the feudal system in France, contributed towards the simplification of its government, and the aggregation of the results of its industry, in the hands of the merely dignified. Most of the useful arts, peculiar to ancient Rome, had taken deep root within her territory, and her natural resources were alike valuable and abundant. Her affairs at an early period of the Gothic era, were, in some degree, established and confirmed, under one set of conquerors. She had also the advantage of certain great and wise princes, who favored the introduction of Christianity, and all those institutions which contributed to the amelioration of the personal circumstances of man, and to his social independence. The climate and the soil of France were, also, both friendly to the advancement of the arts. The first was sufficiently mild and temperate, to render personal exercises grateful to the human frame, yet so severe, as to make these exercises highly conducive to constitutional vigor; and the last, while by its asperity, it called forth exertions of the most

strenuous kind, by its fertility and luxuriance, it abundantly repaid their value to those who were thus exercised. Hence France at an early period enjoyed internally much tranquillity, and externally much security. The minds and bodies of men, habituated to useful and interesting employments, were prepared for arduous enterprises, while the stability of her government, and the extent of its resources, gave her all that latitude in these, which the state of her improvement could occupy. Thus it was, that by the same process whereby her supplies were provided, her government and circumstances were advanced; and the manners and habits of the people were dulcified and harmonized, and its territory rendered congenial to improvement, by the very means, and at the very time, that its inhabitants were prepared for the enjoyment of these advantages.

Out of these very tendencies to amelioration, however, certain principles arose, which, in the end, were the cause of much degeneracy. The French monarchs, had extended their sway over a great part of Germany and Italy; but this power could only be maintained by means of coertion, internal and external; and it could only be of value to the nation, when it was wielded by a sovereign of redoubted courage and talents. Hence it was, that the spirit of domination, which was exercised over the French territory, gradually approximated more and more to that tortuous system, that prevails in those governments, wherein, caprice, intrigue, and dis-

simulation, occupy that place, which can only be advantageously filled, by a systematic arrangement and true vigor of mind in the supreme head. Charlemagne, whose powerful genius, and noble dispositions, enabled him to raise the French power to its utmost height, perceived, at the close of his life, the total inadequacy of such a system, to the great object of civilizing a rude race of people; he, therefore, split up his empire into three grand partitions; alloting one of these to each of his sons. Yet even, with these advantages, those various divisions and subdivisions of sovereignty, which characterize the feudal era, were seen to be still farther necessary. Mankind had then acquired the art of concentrating the experience and the sagacity of their chiefs in grand deliberative bodies; but they had not learned the advantages that result from those cantonments of authority, under one grand dominant power, and which are effected by means of committees for examination, and boards for execution. All depended on personal character, and as personal character may be unsupported and unbalanced, so it was found to be, at once, a most precarious and a most dangerous object for dependence; confusion and delapidation, being for the most part, altogether unavoidable. In such circumstances, it was an easy matter, for the great dignitaries, and feudatories of the state, to absorb that influence, which was delegated to them by government, and to fix the supreme authority of their own peculiar district, absolutely, in their own person; and in the end so to traverse the func-

tions of government, as to prevent its interference within their own precincts. And as such usurpations coincided alike with the spirit of the age, and with current circumstances, they soon became fixed and durable. Thus it was, that the feudal system evinced itself, to be as efficient in new-modelling the power of the general head, and counteracting the degeneracy of the age, as it had been in forming the general circumstances of rude society. This mere transference of power was, no doubt, but a lame succedaneum in such a deteriorated state of things; yet its regenerating efficacy was perceived in the wealth, splendor, and power displayed under its domination; while its complete establishment was evinced in the regularity of its ordinary procedure, within each particular precinct. These great feudatories, in the end, detached themselves so completely from the royal power, that little else remained, for the support of the central authority, but its hereditary appropriate domains. The vast weight, which the English and German monarchs threw into the scale of these detached feudatories, as grand dominant co-vassals, at once fixed the French monarchy within the narrow limits that had been assigned to it, and gave to these general usurpations of power, both stability and lustrous efficiency.

Thus the territory, as well as the power of the French monarchy, were compressed within very narrow boundaries, and even within these boundaries, the tenure, by which its remaining power was

held, remained for many ages, in consequence of the pretensions of the English nation, very insecure. It must be noticed, however, that it was chiefly during these contests, and particularly after the expulsion of that nation from the European continent, and the consequent forfeiture of their possessions to the French crown, that the renovation of the French monarchy took place. The general government, having at length obtained adequate power, was enabled to secure stability and concord, within the whole immense, and invaluable territory of France. Sometime, thereafter, by means of intrigue, marriage, and circumvention, the monarchy absorbed within its direct authority, all those possessions of the great feudatories, which had not been detached from its power and placed under superior authority. Amidst these various transmutations of authority, there arose, however, a class of individuals, whose influence on the general body, has contributed to replunge the French nation into general barbarism. As the circumstances of this class of individuals have not only entered into the great course of political events, and have given to the French nation, that characteristic proneness to usurpation and intrigue, to systematic oppression, and incessant warfare, by which it has for many ages been distinguished; but have even traversed the operations and results of the industrious processes, it is necessary, in this place, to unfold and illustrate their general movements, at some length.

It suited the policy of the French and English

monarchs, to interfere so far with the prostrate condition of their vassals, as to appoint towns, and cities, wherein these might exercise the useful and liberal arts, securely, under their direct authority and protection; and to favor such combinations of the industrious, as served to aggregate their proper interests, and to render them an essential part of the civil government. These measures, produced two most essential advantages to their respective realms. In the first place, they enabled the state to restrain the oppression, and consequent overweaning power of the great vassals; and in the next place, they introduced into the social body, that momentum, which was so necessary to set its reproductive powers in full motion, and to augment, in a regular manner, their fruits and the value of these fruits. The potentates of Christendom had been thoroughly awakened to the value of such attainments, by observing their effects upon the free towns of Germany and Italy. With the view, however, of excluding as much as possible, that licentious temerity, which was so repugnant to their thoroughly established governments, these potentates cautiously avoided every measure, that could serve to introduce, amongst the class of the industrious, any undue proportion, either of general wealth, or of enterprising ardor. They carefully followed the footsteps of the flourishing cities of Germany, in so far as they could thereby attract similar wealth within their own dominions; but while they did this, they burdened general industry with provisions, which served to bring both the industrious

and their wealth, most directly under their own influence. It is chiefly to the circumstances, into which these provisions resolved themselves, that England and France are indebted for that universal improvement in social and civil affairs, which have so long distinguished these kingdoms from Poland, Russia, and other great monarchies, into whose affairs such provisions were not admitted. It is also chiefly owing to the same circumstances, that the sovereigns of these kingdoms, though, in many respects, restrained in the exercise of their authority, have always been able to bring into action resources sufficient, not only to illustrate and enforce their own superior prowess, but to do this with comparatively little difficulty and hazard.

To these provisions there was, in France, another class superadded. Whether these provisions originated in some antiquated principles, or arose out of subsequent notions of expediency or propriety, may perhaps be uncertain. It is evident, however, that they have long been peculiar to the social organization of France, that they have been cherished by all its monarchs, that they have reached our days, and have only perished in the revolution, with the other parts of her constitution; and that they indicate more an extreme anxiety in the monarch, to preserve and extend his royal prerogatives, than a serious view, to the good of any class of his subjects. While they permanently raised the condition of the whole privileged orders above that of the lower ranks, they exalted the monarch to a si-

tuation, wherein he could always, with full and unbounded effect, influence the whole affairs of both classes, in that way, which best suited his own purposes. The provisions to which I refer, are shortly these. First, the privileged orders were exempted from taxation. Secondly, their numbers were so encreased, as to include within their pale, almost the whole landed interest of the kingdom. Thirdly, the usual claims of primogeniture were so far dispensed with, that heritable domains, and patrician honors and immunities, were communicated to all the members of every noble family; and lastly, each of these members, from custom or connivance, could, and frequently did, exercise a wantonly oppressive, sometimes a predatory influence over those of the industrious class of citizens who were more immediately under their authority. Here I do not allude merely, to their rigid exercise of that right, which is held to be inherent in the proprietor of the soil, of distraining, in the name of rent, the utmost extent of his regular claims. I allude to grievances much greater; the privileged orders in France, could seldom be authoritatively prevented from seizing, even where no such claim existed, in a direct manner, such portions of the property of the peasants as attracted their attention, and from appropriating these, without farther procedure, to their own purposes.

It is very evident, that in consequence of these provisions, the nobility of France would be prodigiously increased in number, and that by far the

greater part of them would be not only without heritable domains, but without any personal property whatever. It could not but thence follow also, that the people at large, and these nobles, would be placed in such direct opposition to each other, that neither their interests nor their feelings could be so harmonized, as to make them pursue steadily their common interests, or oppose their sovereign when he thought proper to invade these. This effect, it must be noticed, was augmented by the disdain, and repugnance, with which the lower orders of society, and their occupations, were always regarded by the privileged classes. As the general circumstances of the nobility rendered it necessary, even for the most illustrious of its members to stand firmly on the foreground of all their immunities, the whole body, individually and collectively, sought shelter under the most unconditional submission to the crown. Those of the more dependent class, and all who were destitute of property, being shut out from the exercise of regular industry, betook themselves to the army, to the church, and to the bar, in myriads. Nay, when these offices became overstocked, multitudes of them scrupled not to surrender themselves as abject tools to their sovereign's will, and as obsequious caterers to his, and to his ministers' pleasures. In all which circumstances, their constitutional vanity, and unalienable privileges, buoyed them far above the most illustrious of the lower orders, except in so far, as these last were beamed on, by the direct effulgence of royal favor and patronage.

At first view, we perceive, that the industrious processes, and all the advantages, that could arise out of these, behoved, necessarily, to be in a most depressed condition. The pressure of any durance, we also know, augments with the numbers, with the necessities, and with the imperious temperament of those whose office it is to give it force and efficacy. The exactions of taskmasters are sometimes diverted or mollified, from a consideration of the odiousness or unprofitableness of the task, or in consequence of some superior interference. In the case before us, however, countless thousands were present at every avenue through which the reproductive processes could introduce their fruits into the light; the wants of these parties were of a most peculiarly pressing kind, and could no otherwise be supplied, but from the results of these exactions; and their contempt of those, whose circumstances they thus depressed, was only equalled by the levity and self complacency, with which they enforced their demands. While the feelings of the industrious were thus outraged, and the fruits of their labors thus prematurely snatched out of their hands, the sovereign himself, whose business it was to have intervened suitable provisions for their protection, though precluded from assessing the privileged orders with the expences of his government, and thus compelled to writhe out of these overstrained sinews, the means necessary for supporting that enormous load of state which he thought proper to lay on their shoulders, was, however, on all such occasions, obliged, ei-

ther to veil his prerogative, or to superadd the weight of his authority, in order to quash opposition; and, as if to carry the measure of their burden to the extreme point of human durance, the poignancy of contrast was placed before them, in the total exemption from all such indignities, that was secured to those, whose besotted folly and niggardly selfishness was the great cause of all their calamities.

It must be noticed, however, that the class of the industrious, now in our eye, are the local peasantry, and those whose circumstances connected them with this class; that with all their hardships, this class still enjoyed personal independence, and the benefit of certain religious and civil institutions which upheld them in that personal independence; and that this state of freedom, embittered as it was by the severity of the privations to which they were subjected, was the source of much comfort and delight to their hearts, and rendered their condition permeable by that improvement, which sprung up to their assistance from another quarter—from these franchises, which had been provided by their monarchs in the manner already noticed, for the protection of the industrious. In consequence of the advantages thus secured to French industry, and of the deep root which the reproductive processes had previously taken in their soil; and in consequence of the irrefragable connexion that subsists betwixt Christian and independent principles, and general improvement; the renovating power

of the reproductive processes, attained the ascendancy. So energetic and elastic are such processes in their movements, when thus firmly established; and so transcendant is the power of that value, which they, in their developements bestow upon every other species of possessions to which they can be applied; that the evils above noted were not only mitigated, both in their nature and in their operation, and harmonized with the circumstances of a community enjoying independence on feudal principles, but these very evils were rendered eminently conducive to the progress of improvement, and they contributed to give to the French nation, that characteristic gallantry, loyalty, and animated sprightliness of disposition, for which they have so long been distinguished.

It will be recollected, that a government so great and powerful, and a nation so full of natural and acquired riches as France always has been, must bring forward, and consume a multitude of valuable commodities. The country, it has been seen, however, was striped of these productions, in favor of the privileged. But these personages, it is evident, could not consume those commodities in the rude state, in which they were produced. These commodities were therefore by them transferred to the merchant, to the fabricator, and to the ingenious and enterprizing, in whose hands their value could be substantiated and encreased; their privileged owners, contenting themselves with receiving in lieu of them, that accredited price in the me-

dium, at which in these tranferences, these commodities had been valued. The produce of the soil, being placed in such circumstances, proceeded to perform its proper office, of supplying the general wants of man, by a new tract; it was as little the business of the merchant, as of the land holder, to keep up and consume his commodities in the gross; he, therefore, as speedily as possible, passed these in greater or less quantities, to some other person, whose views it suited to disburden him of his load, and to give him in lieu thereof, some substantiated token of their absolute value. This person generally resided at some distance from all these parties, and it became his business, either directly or indirectly, to convey these commodities, in convenient proportions, to the immediate consumer; to whom the task of preparing and delivering the value of his purchases, either in absolute wealth, or in some article bearing that value, was again devolved.

We all know, that this is the usual way of commercial intercourse, and that these various merchants, by themselves or their accessories, collect and transfer to each other, or to other merchants or their accessories, those commodities rude or prepared, that enable and dispose them to transfer to each other, those tokens of absolute value, by which such transactions are expedited. And that it is by means of the absolute and received value of these tokens, (which in the course of a multitude of transactions these parties can aggregate or command,) that the amount of the relative wealth of each in-

dividual is ascertained. In the case before us, however, it must be noticed, that two very important and peculiar distinctions arose out of the circumstances in which these tokens of wealth were placed in France.—These, and the individuals who held them, were subjects of a great and extensive kingdom, by whose laws, measures, and circumstances, their whole affairs were necessarily regulated.

In the first place, it must be noticed, that the circumstances formerly stated, scarcely excepting that pressure upon the condition of the peasantry, which has been so deservedly reprobated, were favorable to those industrious processes, that were established within towns and franchises; for they pressed forward the means of the country into that state, wherein these could receive their highest value. In consequence of this, these processes became, at length, fully organized, provisioned and established, and sent forth their finished commodities, not only in great abundance, but in a state of great perfection. These improved means were, by the instrumentality of these towns, every where circulated and distributed, so as to draw back in return, means or tokens, corresponding to the increased value of these means. The variety and the immensity of the means, which the inhabitants of these cities thus aggregated, rendered it necessary for them to seek as extensive a field for the consumption of these means, and the repetition of their value, in some accredited shape, as possible; and as the whole French empire was

open to their intercourse, the capacity of that empire, for consuming these means and replacing their value to them, became, of course, their peculiar privilege. When the power of mechanism was not much understood, or generally introduced into the reproductive processes, and when, of course, these productions were neither superabundant nor exceedingly valuable, this privilege was a most decided advantage; it gave these cities a command of a market, wherein they could not only easily realize that absolute value of which they were in quest; but possess facilities, whereby they could again receive that absolute value in other means, in which its sum might be still farther augmented.

But besides these privileges, there was another advantage of a more general and extensive nature, which resulted to the community at large, from its mercantile interests being thus subjected to one great and powerful general government. The tokens of wealth, thus aggregated, had, to a certain degree, the command of the whole marketable means of this immense empire. The absolute wealth, which these represented and commanded, could be invested in rural, as well as in burgage, employments; it could command the possession, and, in many instances, the property of houses and lands, with all their dignities and immunities. In place of being pent up within the walls of a city, and being represented, merely by commodities, or by establishments for perfecting such commodities, as was generally the case in Germany and Italy; this

wealth was circulated all over the face of the country; it transfused its influence into every rank and class of society; animating and invigorating their exertions; advancing and improving their conditions; and exercising their powers and faculties, in that way, which was most conducive to general and individual advantage. The vast resources of the French empire, were, by this means, gradually more and more developed; their value, being perceived, became universally powerful; and the wealth, thus created, being protected by the steady arm of a powerful government, and substantiated in a variety of important establishments, throughout the whole territory a still farther and higher progression of improvement was set in motion, which reached to the circumstances of the throne, and of all its privileged dependents. The possessions of the nobility and gentry were increased in power and in value; their minds were gradually raised above that abject servility, which they had formerly through necessity exercised. The condition of the peasants, thus relieved, sent forth more valuable and more abundant fruits, which reaching and reinforcing those sanctuaries of freedom, in which their regeneration had arisen, enabled these to display and exercise still greater degrees of commercial power and influence. As these franchises continued to receive and distribute the fruits of foreign nations amongst their fellow-citizens, and to relieve and transport those superfluous productions which were beginning to encumber domestic industry, the power of the nation increased externally, as well as in-

ternally. This species of commerce, perhaps, never reached to any great height in France; but such as it was, it refreshed and reanimated her mercantile towns, and increased their wealth and means. The ingenious and enterprizing, found therein new fields of exertion; and the community at large being linked and connected together, and its interests conjoined with those of the world at large, a power and a range for their exertions, and a stimulus and support for the prosecution of these exertions, was obtained, which were of high importance to their farther advancement. The wants of the state and of the privileged, though constantly increasing, were abundantly and regularly supplied; the claims of the merely privileged, and those of the industrious, were amply and sufficiently provided for; and the whole arts of life, and avocations of society, were replenished with means, which prepared them for the highest undertakings. All these advantages, flowed directly from the firm compact circumstances of the French empire, and the stability of its government. Wealth was not only attracted, concentrated, and diffused all over its territory, as in the neighbouring loosely connected governments; but being substantiated within its limits, and exercised upon its soil, it was fixed in substantial expansive establishments. And, being every where relieved and protected, by a strong and effectual dominant power, it had for its developements, a degree and a power of extension, to which no aggregation of inferior states could ever obtain. And along with all these things, internal tranquil-

lity, and a harmony of employments, gave to the movements of this great machine, a momentum, and an effect corresponding to its magnitude.

These views more properly represent to us, the state, towards which French industry tended, than that to which it ever actually attained. The principles of degeneracy and corruption had struck their roots too deeply within the French territory, to admit of any very great approximation to universal improvement, upon such an exalted basis. While these ameliorating tendencies were thus developing themselves, the crown, which was always making advances towards a despotic sway, was incessantly engaged in absorbing the best fruits of these developements, for its own purposes. The French government had a decided propensity to unbounded magnificence; and in the indulgence of this, it stopped at no ordinary difficulty. Having acquired an uncontrolable authority over the whole kingdom, the influence of which pervaded every department of public affairs, the monarch hesitated not in giving full reins to his personal propensities. He drew forth the highest energies of the people, and he exercised these, strenuously, in his own affairs. Legions of privileged dependents, whose highest ambition it was, to anticipate his royal will; a multitude of institutions and establishments, both civil and military, prepared for his use; and a population disciplined in all things to the most obsequious complacency in his wishes, were all ready severally, in their proper places, to yield instant

obedience to his impulse, to enforce his pleasure, and even to promulgate his praise, however unjustifiable and perverse his conduct might be. All these, and many other means and resources, were employed in enlarging the French territory, in extending the royal prerogative, in augmenting the force by which the national prowess could be displayed, in establishing the superior splendor and majesty of the Gallic throne, and in administering most profusely to the royal wants and caprices. In this way, the wealth acquired in commercial and general enterprize was very frequently intercepted and consumed; and even those provisions, that were necessary for the support of the industrious processes, withdrawn. In carrying forward its measures, government adopted plans the most simple and efficacious; regardless of the misery and confusion which it created, it stood at no measure whatever that could serve its purpose. By deeds of insolvency it at different times annihilated the funded property of the nation; impatient of contravention, it ventured even to consign myriads of its best subjects to the sword; and at no time, did it scruple to wither up and destroy its most productive resources, and scatter their inestimable results to the wind, when wealth, sufficiently great to attract its attention, could thereby be procured for its own special service.

It must be noticed, however, that here as in the former case, some relief, for the calamities thus induced, was found in the establishments and in-

stitutions already secured to the community. These, the result of Christian and independent principles, with all the habits, customs, laws, ordinations, and provisions, to which they had given rise, had fixed themselves so deeply in the character of the people, and in the circumstances of the country, that the monarch's power over them, was, in general, both limited and imperfect. These presented themselves on many occasions, as strong barriers to the rights of humanity.

Amidst all their privations, the French people, individually, preserved their personal liberty; and they seldom were destitute of that sense of their private and public importance, which coincides with feudal principles. Gallantry, self-denial, and personal prowess, were qualities, which no one aspiring to eminence, could be without. Debased, in some sense, as the privileged orders of France generally were, they could not divest themselves of the feelings to which these principles gave rise. Having little else corresponding to their station to display, they carried these principles along with them, even in their exactions, although they thereby diminished their own private resources. The concerns of futurity troubled them little, for their hopes and fears were cut off on all sides by the intervention of others; the business of the moment occupied their whole thoughts; the pleasure of display absorbed every other feeling; and they frequently obeyed a generous impulse, without being conscious of its existence. A singular facility of

temper, and a giddy buoyancy of spirit, thence became habitual to them. These pleasing qualities, were enlivened by surrounding splendor, invigorated by their received importance, and exercised under a bewitching species of display. They not only blunted the edge of calamity, but they have given a permanent cast of gaiety and sprightliness to the French character, which no circumstance has yet obliterated.

A high sense of personal importance, no doubt, lay at the bottom of this magnanimous deportment; but this same sense, it must be noticed, is the root of most of the dignified propensities peculiar to the feudal era; and it is known, that this sentiment, when disciplined under suitable institutions, affords an excellent foundation for many noble qualities. Let it be farther remarked, that the animated vanity of the Frenchman, is not only less obnoxious to the feelings of others, but is more conducive to social intercourse and enjoyment, than many other developements of the same sentiment. The disdainful arrogance of the Spaniard, the pompous assumptions of the German, the overbearing self sufficiency of the Briton, are still more unfit objects of our esteem, than the flippant vanity of the Frenchman. This vanity, is no doubt, connected with a slavish attachment to frivolous sentiment, and an inordinate propensity to superficial display, which dispose individuals, frequently, to live and to act more for the sake of the figure which they may make in their neighbour's eye, than

from a regard to the dignity of their own sentiments; and it, sometimes, renders fruition, less estimable on its own account, than on account of its effect in display. But do not these very things, habituate a person to self-possession and sometimes even endow him with many virtuous qualities, that he would not otherwise have possessed? By assuming a joyous and animated aspect, the Frenchman became gay and sprightly; and by exhibiting a gallant and dignified deportment, he, in the end, acquired many heroic and magnanimous propensities. These, and similar endowments and dispositions, being called forth, and exercised under benign and independent principles, and being compressed by the existing state of things, within the limits of propriety and usefulness, not only circumscribed and moderated the evils inherent in the system that has been reviewed; but they have produced ulterior consequences, which neither the perversities of the government, nor the degeneracy of the nation at large, perhaps, can ever permanently affect.

Besides the relief afforded to the evils inherent in the French system, in the manner above noticed, another source of relief was found in the situation, in which the royal towns and franchises stood in regard to that system. These places, originally intended for checks on the tyranny and usurpations of the great barons, became at length indispensible instruments in the progress of improvement. Being the receptacle of the enterprizing and industrious, equal laws and ordinations,

without which these could not have aggregated together, were indispensable. Having obtained these advantages, these towns became the receptacle of those, whose wealth and talents required such a sanctuary; and these, taken apart from the merely privileged, formed a peculiar system for themselves. This system was necessarily an object of deep importance to the French government, The wants of every government must be supplied by the means of the people; those of a magnificent government, such as France, could only be met by such high improvement of these means, as could be produced within these receptacles. The peculiarities of his system, together with the general urgency of his affairs, for the most part, prevented the French sovereign, from using this requisite discretion, in cases wherein his conduct was not distinctly tied down by circumstances. These circumstances, however, intervened in a most imperious manner, in regard to these franchises. These were the engines for carrying on that commerce, without which the grandeur of his state could not be upheld; they connected France with the world at large; and as merchants and money holders would not transfer their property thither, without some irrefragable basis of intercourse, such a connexion could not then be despensed with, without an assurance of return, without the protection and nurture of the state, these merchants, in the nonage of commerce, would scarcely have adventured themselves or their property, within the grasp of a despotic monarch. In these towns, however, the

property of every individual was duly respected; improvement proceeded in its regular course; customs and institutions, favorable to the advancement of the personal character of man, obtained the ascendancy. The industrious processes sent forth abundantly their fruits; these pervaded the country at large; and they gave forth results, which disclosed, universally, the benign influence of regular systematic industry. Thence, the dominant parties were induced to accept of stipulated equivalents, in lieu of their arbitrary exactions; thus bestowing, on the country laborer, means and leisure necessary to improve and extend his own special establishment. It was needful for this peasant to increase its momentum, in order that he might thereby be enabled to meet the increasing exactions of his superiors; but having done this, the remainder was at his disposal, and his industrious processes could proceed without interruption, in their proper tract. The results of these advantages would have rapidly accumulated, had not the rapacity of government kept pace with the peasant's powers of satiating its demands. Although, however, his powers of increment were by these means kept low, he was able to send forth invaluable resources to the fountain-head of his improvements; and in re-animating the industry of the towns, he rendered these sanctuaries of liberty, these receptacles of improvement, more powerful, and more valuable than ever. There, the various resources of the country, were brought into contact, and exercised together upon the basis of improvement;

and therefrom, the substantiated energies of the community were again impelled into action, with a force, that enabled these to pervade and re-animate the whole social body, with their renovating influences.

From the degenerated state of things in France, these influences, however, were gradually absorbed into that mass of corruption and profligacy with which its affairs were overloaded; by administering plentifully to their occasions, these also tended much to the increase of that corruption and profligacy which were predominant. Ambition was the great leading principle of that government; to this, a most inordinate love of pleasure was conjoined. War, and selfish aggrandisement, were the objects to which it sacrificed every other consideration. The views, to which these things gave rise, comprized nearly the whole circle of its procedure; commerce, and other such matters, being only regarded as very subordinate parts of the system. The French government had completely within its grasp, the whole means of the country; those of the privileged orders, and some of those of the franchises, only excepted. With every increase of these means, its rapacity and profligacy gathered strength; for the reproductive processes were always kept as near the extreme point of pressure as possible. The degeneracy of the court, reached even these processes, and in many instances, destroyed their power; insomuch that the natural bands of society, were also, almost universally, weakened by the con-

tagion of corruption. This corruption and degeneracy received a vast augmentation of strength, from that vanity and frothiness that were peculiar to this nation; men became criminal, not merely from the love of personal indulgence, but from an emulative vanity, a desire of fashionable distinction, and a fastidious love of folly. They disdained the solemn ties of religion and decency, because these were held to be inconsistent with a high spirit; they picqued themselves on their want of regard to the nuptial vow, and to the rules of sobriety, and overwhelmed every serious consideration by the levity with which they treated it, merely because men of superior rank did the same. To such people, the regular avocations, as well as the serious duties of life, could have few charms; indeed, a very general propensity prevailed amongst people of all ranks, to make their escape from, or to force their way through these duties, at all adventures, whenever opportunities of so doing occurred. The royal family took the lead in this destructive course, and exhibited an example of profligacy and corruption, that could not but produce great public embarrassments; from which embarrassments they scrupled not to extricate themselves by practices, similar to those that were daily resorted to by the vilest of the people. The evils proceeding from this total dereliction of moral principle pervaded the whole system; in a certain view, they completely obscured those brilliant and magnificent results, that flowed from that fascinating developement of feudal principles, which took place in France; and they point-

ed out the necessity of a radical renovation of the general system. The attempt at effecting this renovation that was made, we all know, has led into consequences, which still awfully hang over our heads. Unable though we be, to make even an indeterminate guess at the ultimate issue of these consequences, we cannot but discern the close and irrefragable connexion, that has uniformly subsisted betwixt the moral evils in which these calamities originated, and the political disasters that have ensued; and it becomes us, with deep and serious attention, to fix our regard upon those special connexions.

The general circumstances of France, at the time when the states-general assembled, promised a peculiarly tranquil and harmonious renovation of her affairs. Her population, loyal almost without alloy, enjoyed the government of a mild and beneficent prince, whose throne had been established for centuries, and who was himself intimately connected, by the ties of blood and marriage, with most of the leading potentates of Europe. Habituated to pursuits of the most ingenious and arduous kind, the great bulk of the people had no desires that could traverse or frustrate the views of the state. Their occupations concatenated with, and supported by the circumstances of the country, led them to seek with earnestness a continuation of tranquillity, on any tolerable conditions. The commercial alliances which conjoined the general interests of industry in France, with that which existed in other coun-

tries, procured for these dispositions most energetic activity and most powerful efficacy. France was deficient neither in men of talent and enterprise, nor in means and resources, on which these could be advantageously exercised; she was the centre of civilization and politeness, and had become the grand resort of all who laid claim to elevation of sentiment, and elegancy of manners. To crown the whole, while those conciliatory propensities prevailed, the condition, both of the government and of the people, was such, that the renovation proposed, obviously arose out of their general interests; approximated to each other by mutual necessities, they seem not only to have created a coincidence and harmony in the views and sentiments of all, but to have prepared them for that magnanimous and decided class of measures, which had at length attracted their attention. A few, indeed, were bold enough to cry down the merits of reform on a great scale; but their voices, like the screaming of the owl at noon day, served only to evince the innate darkness of those minds, from which such sentiments could proceed.

Along with these inestimable advantages, however, it must remembered, that the French government was not only overloaded with embarrassments arising from the profligacy and incapacity of the members of which it was composed, and beset on all hands with difficulties in its financial and constitutional departments; but that the reigning power had most deservedly forfeited its character

for probity and good conduct. It had not only lost the public confidence, but it was incapable, by any measures that could emanate from itself, to retrieve or maintain the dignity of its situation. The oppression and corruption, which were the cause of this debasement, unhappily pervaded the whole community, and not only rendered the people at large, incapable of any vigorous, steady and consistent conduct in their proper sphere, but infused a fatal distrust in their minds against their own leaders. These incurable evils, originating in a total defalcation of moral principle, inflamed by a proneness to personal indulgence, which the arm of despotism with difficulty repressed, appeared afterwards in all their natural deformity, when a furious contaminating jealousy, set, not only, all parties, but almost each individual at enmity with each other. All were conscious that they had ulterior objects in view which they durst not avow; their own personal views and desires, they, therefore, as is usual in such cases, shrowded under an overweaning enthusiasm in the general cause; feeling the hollowness of their own pretensions, the most intimate confederates could seldom place confidence in each other. Serious and mature deliberation, dignified and resolute activity, being incompatible with such dispositions, every obstacle and difficulty acquired an active and virulent, as well as an obstructive efficacy. When men were thus isolated and paralysed, it cannot appear surprizing that the whole affairs of the state, should fall into the hands of

men, whose depraved propensities even outstepped the wildest suspicions of their cotemporaries.

That these were the principles, under which the French revolution proceeded, admits, I believe, of no dispute; and that while under the influence of such principles, the government and all constituted authority, tended infallibly to unavoidable destruction, in whatever circumstances France had stood, and with whatever measures its interests might have been managed, appears to me to be equally incapable of contravention. It is no doubt true, that the whole business was intricate and arduous, and that certain steps were resorted to, that could not but agitate the selfish passions of mankind. The proximate cause was the want of public funds; and while the measures, necessary for remedying the deficiency, necessarily set the people at large upon the alert, as to their own private affairs; the retrenchments about to be made in the public expenditure, and the abuses about to be rectified in the various departments of government, could not but alarm the rulers themselves, respecting their own peculiar concernments. The same unsparing hand, that was lifted up against all privileges and immunities, touched the intermediate classes of the commonwealth in a way not less sensible. As it was, moreover, evident, that as the work of reformation advanced, other interests would become implicated in its course, and as in its operations, its scrutinizing eye would constantly increase in severity and in precision, so other discor-

dant feelings might be expected to appear. These things certainly indicated the importance and the danger of the crisis, and they dispose us to make great allowances for any jealousies and turmoils that followed; but as they pointed out also, the vast magnitude of the duty that was imposed on the national congress, and as they evidently called for mature and serious deliberation, for dignified, vigorous, and decisive conduct, they lead us to expect from the august body, to whom this important task was delegated, an ardor and vigor of comprehension, an incessant application to the nature of the business in hand, together with an undoubted courage and perseverance in the framing and execution of their measures, that were commensurate with their circumstances. Along with these prerequisites, we necessarily expect to find that the authority and influence of the arm, that was thus constituted for renovation, should be recognized by all parties as inviolate, and that its force, directed, not by the dictates of expediency or accommodation, which are so liable to tortuous misconstructions and misapplications, but to the rules of equity, justice and moderation, which in their operation are alike salutary and immutable, would have irresistable efficacy attached to all its operations. Such considerations ought to have directed their full force to that obdurate insensibility to moral rectitude, which was the chief bane of the nation.

The advantages that must have resulted, from having such essential properties inherent in the na-

tional congress, will appear, if we attend to the following considerations. It was evident, that the government already constituted, corrupted as it was from its peculiar circumstances, and from that magnanimous regard to the interests of the people, which it had lately displayed by convening their natural representatives, behoved to retain the executive power, restricted and modified no doubt, but so framed, as to serve the ends for which it was ordained. As exact harmony, betwixt its office and its powers, ought to have been established at the outset, as a fixed point; it followed as a thing of course, that whatever these powers that were attached to the sovereign, were, they should have been fully recognized, and guaranteed to him by the legislature, and they should have been fenced with barriers, that were alike impregnable by the sovereign on his part, and by the people on theirs. It farther followed, that this government, should be relieved of the load of embarrassments, under which it labored, and that all that dignity, high authority, and supreme influence, which are necessary in governing a people, advanced in civil improvement, though sunk in moral depravity, should be attached to it. On the other part, it was evident, that the people debauched and wicked, as they were, not only constituted that great body, for which the whole fabric of government and legislation was constructed, but that these were themselves, the grand substantial foundation, on which the whole burdens of the state and of the community were necessarily rested; that

it was out of their labors and exertions alone, that every desirable good could be extracted, and that it was by giving a due regulation, and a suitable destination, to these labors, that the great work of reformation now begun, could be fully effected. To keep these accordingly, steadily to their duty, to draw out their minds upon objects becoming their own sphere, ought, therefore, to have been held as indispensible qualities in the measures that were to be adopted in regard to them. To illumine this sphere, to augment its influence, to extend its range, and, by suitable provisions and establishments, to make all the advantages thereby attained bear fully on the circumstances of each individual, were no less desirable. Both these considerations, were alike cogent, and alike obvious, and it furnishes us with a most irrefragable proof of the gross degeneracy of the whole nation, to find that they had so extremely little influence upon the national proceedings.

There remains one primary consideration to be stated, and it was by neglecting this, that the whole business of reformation fell so rapidly to pieces. As a duty which they owed alike to their sovereign, to the people, and to themselves, the members of this august assembly, ought to have assumed integrity, equity and fidelity, as the inviolate standard of their conduct, and to have adhered to these in all circumstances. That their proceedings might be conformable to this assumption, their measures ought to have been the result of calm, serious,

and mature deliberation; and whatever they gave forth, ought instantly to have been carried into full effect. In these things, both the nation and the monarch ought unhesitatingly to have concurred; for the sake of the complete establishment and confirmation of this radical point, all things else should have been held to be subordinate; and it should have become the incessant object of the assembly so to have conducted themselves, and so to have watched over their immunities, as to have caused both the king and the people, to receive the fruits of their labors, not only without hesitation, but with becoming thankfulness. If matters had been fixed on this solid foundation, although casual, and even important errors had found their way into their general procedure, the work would still have gone on, the people would have been improved in virtue and in talent, as well as advanced in their external circumstances; the monarch would have been firmly fixed in his proper station, and by degrees, the national assembly would have become that centre, towards which the virtue and talent of the nation would have been attracted. Thus situated, this august body might have calmly and deliberatively examined and revised every branch, and every view, of their complicated and extended affairs, and have given forth, and enforced their various declarations and enactments, with that firmness and composure, that became their own exalted condition, and befitted the relative importance of the measures, which had been adopted. In this manner, the execution of the

great designs of the state, might not only have proceeded without difficulty or turmoil, but in their consequences, they might been sedulously adapted to the whole circumstances of the community. We perceive at once, that in a business so vast, such procedure would have placed the fate of the reformation most effectually beyond the reach of its opponents. Why did it not take place? did it not imply a stretch of confidence of these several parties in each other, beyond what their several characters could bear?

The foregoing statements, in my opinion, render it abundantly obvious, not only that the particular situation in which France, and French affairs stood, at this crisis, was favorable to a tranquil and harmonious renovation of her system; but that all these circumstances, by which her operations could be regularly effected, might, by means of a sedulous regard to their own peculiar advantages, have been rendered highly conducive towards the same end. The dreadful reverse of this that has taken place, indicates sufficiently, that the default, whatever it was, was of a gross and fundamental kind; I have already stated it as my opinion, that this default arose out of a general depravity of manners, and an universal tendency to vice and corruption, evils which penetrated the whole social body, and which rendered it not only impossible for the parties to coalesce in any one great object, but made a convulsion amongst their jarring interests almost unavoidable. I am aware,

that the cause of the calamities, attendant on this great event. is generally sought for, in the unsteady steps of the executive power, and in the nature and properties of political reformation. Without pretending to say, that such things had no influence on the fate of the revolution, I will venture to assert, that there is an unbounded malignity inherent in universal degeneracy, when exercised on a great scale, and when endowed with the absolute command of those mighty energies that are produced by great improvements in all the arts of civil existence, which enables it to assimulate every object and every measure to its own nature; and that this cause alone can sufficiently account for all the miseries and calamities that have ensued. As I think it a matter of great importance to illustrate this subject fully, I now proceed to shew, that with the full consequences of their political misconduct in their view, the French nation precipitated itself, from a mere madness of profligacy, into this dilemma so correspondent to their character.

In the first place, let it be noticed, that with the example of England in their eye, which might have served in some instances, as a model for imitation, and in others as a beacon for cautious observation, the French leaders adopted the most extravagant of her follies, and the most atrocious of her perversities. They began with laying the whole power of the state prostrate at their own feet, and in order that this achievement might involve in it all the evil of which it was susceptible, they proceed-

ed to outrage every feeling of their mild and generous monarch's breast, and to involve in the same indiscriminate persecution, every friend of the state, and every person remarkable for his virtue, talents, or steadiness; and they carried animosity to that extent, that it became utterly impossible for the state ever again to assume its erect posture, or by any modification of its powers, or alterations amongst its members, to exercise its functions with dignity or effect. And it deserves notice, that in this deep political turpitude, all parties had a hand. It began with the moderate feuillans, and was completed by the savage mountaineers; and in the view of accomplishing this catastrophe, all these parties unhesitatingly appealed to the rabble of Paris, who thus enthroned above all constituted authority, became thenceforward, that sovereign, to whose taste and comprehension, all the subsequent measures of the general congress were levelled and adapted.

In the next place let it be observed, that these representatives disgraced their exalted station, by their mutual hostility and acrimony; they split themselves into parties, which avowedly sought the extermination of each other, and by attributing the most criminal views and motives to their opponents, they plainly unfolded the darkness of their own minds, and evinced how very unworthy they all were of that exalted power, and of that vast share of the public confidence which had been placed in their hands. Amidst the violence of their measures, they, with a singular fatality, called in that rabble

who were the abettors of their dissensions, to act as umpires in their diabolical controversies. In order to ensure this support to their own pretensions, each party successively soothed the people with largesses and indulgences; whetting their animosity against their competitors, by artifices of the most desperate description. Thus the first duty of this great intermediate body, that of manifesting the purity of its principles; and its supreme regard to justice and truth, and its next duty in point of importance, that of impressing the government and the people with the same principles, were thrown away. Their ruling passion, a thirst for illicit indulgence, with an abject prostration of principle in pursuing the means that were necessary for attaining the provisions requisite for gratifying this indulgence, led them to exercise the same servility to their new sovereign, the *people*, that they had formerly displayed before the *grand monarch*; and while they deliberately exalted the vilest of the nation into that conspicuous station, they contentedly sunk their own dignified office, into the mere function of administering fuel to the most impure propensities of their new sovereign.

Before leaving this subject, it seems to be proper to take a closer view of this scene of wickedness and folly. In an assembly, which represented the feelings and sentiments of a vast nation, though tumultuously or irregularly aggregated, we cannot but find the mind of the people at large. The people, it must be observed, not only expressed

their will in the choice of their representatives, but their opinion of the procedure of these representatives, in the approbation and sanction of their measures and plans, which approbation on various occasions the people solemnly adhibited. Uncertainty and vacillation, in regard to measures of less moment, might, it is acknowledged, even in such cases, occasionally prevail; but where life and fortune, the dearest, most fascinating, and delightful feelings of the ingenuous mind, are completely at stake; when every man, and the nation at large, felt and acted on the highest point of their peculiar character; and when during a struggle so arduous, and so long continued, so vast and so extended, both in its means and consequences, we perceive the same principles uniformly prevail; we cannot but suppose, that it was the real character of the nation, which constantly predominated. We are required to make allowances for the temerity of one man, and the timidity of another, for incidents and for intrigues, for the fervor, and for the consternation of the public mind; to consider that the people had no distinct apprehension of the nature of the changes that were going forward, and that amidst the overturnings and confusion which these changes occasioned, the whole objects in which their feelings and wants were implicated, were abandoned or overlooked. To all such remarks, however, I would answer, that when we perceive the general indignation, expressed, not against wicked principles of action, but against the unfortunate application of these principles; not against the heinous-

ness and aggravation of crimes, but against the unhappy consequences of these crimes; when we see all parties and all classes, clinging to the advantages which resulted from the commission of these crimes; refusing to give the smallest compensation or redress to the victims of their wickedness; and still determinately continuing the same rancorous and incessant persecution against their opponents, both at home and abroad, that ever they did—we must, I think, abate much of our inclination, for making very great allowances to the people, or for drawing very nicely our distinctions betwixt one ruling party and another. Their principles were all uniformly bad; their procedure may have been worse than the generality were disposed to approve of; but the results are merely the confluence of so many different streams, from the same corrupted source. I am far from wishing to insinuate, that we have any right to wash our own hands in innocency, or to stand up and condemn the French nation; we are not only unable, but utterly unworthy to discharge this duty; but, when the irrefragable connexion that subsists, betwixt hideous perversity and tremendous misery, is palpably displayed before our eyes, it does not become us to arrogate to ourselves more wisdom or benignity than God; it becomes us rather with deep attention and submission, to receive the instructions, which have been, thus mercifully accorded to us.

The previous devotedness of the French nation to the privileged orders, and their pristine

obsequiousness to their hereditary chief, have already been sufficiently illustrated. It has also been noticed, that the same servility of disposition accompanied the measures of the national congress towards the Parisian rabble, after that great body had recognized the people as imprescriptibly invested with the sovereign power. As this last position, may appear to some, to be a kind of quibble, I shall here proceed to illustrate it still farther. Those, who assume this opinion, rest it upon the lofty strain of patriotism which seemed to animate this rabble, and which, they may allege, intitled people even of the lowest class, to claim high marks of deference. For my part, when I know that the wishes of the nation were solemnly and repeatedly delegated to their representatives; that these representatives, from the constitution of the state, and the nature of things, had a power invested in them, equal to the duty imposed on them; and that this rabble never interfered but for the purpose of blasting and thwarting the best measures, I confess, that I perceive not only no necessity, but a gross impropriety in every such deference on the part of the representatives. Had they bent their dignity below the feet of any irregular collection of men whatever, their conduct had been execrable. How much more must this have been the case, when they thus humbled themselves before men, whose aggravated audacity was continually increasing, and whose wickedness and folly called loudly for their marked reprobation. When I see one popular party after another, resort to the same

shameful prostration; and true virtue and patriotism, though placed in the sanctuary of the nation, shew their heads only to meet the destruction prepared for them by these miscreants; I think myself farther warranted to conclude, that the whole frantic displays of enthusiastic patriotism and philanthropy, rung so incessantly in our ears, were merely so many ebulitions of the gross servility of the nation at large, to the governing mob. The fervor with which these professions were accompanied, and their long continuance, we know, were not proofs of their radical power in the minds of those who uttered them; they might prove that strong feelings of some kind agitated their minds; for though the conduct of these individuals and their professions had seldom much connexion, this conduct was generally bold and determined. Such protestations moreover evinced, the frothy temperament of those who uttered them. They indicated also that the characteristic vanity of the French nation, and its native buoyancy of spirit, were so intoxicated by excessive indulgence, as to have rendered the nation at large, incapable of sober reflection, or of consistent conduct; and that amidst the most awful circumstances, the deficiency of the moral principle was still most conspicuous. In following out those views of the measures that were adopted, and of those that might have been adopted, if suitable motives had governed the nation at large, into which our subject now leads us, the truth of these positions will more clearly appear.

There is no truth, more plainly revealed in the scriptures of truth, and there is none more consonant to the dictates of sound experience, than this, that mankind are more prone to that which is evil, than to that which is good, and that it is out of this malverse propensity, that the prevalence of misery and folly arises. We are farther certiorated, from the same infallible source, that the labor and solicitude, which men regularly exercise, in attempting to extricate themselves from these unhappy circumstances, have not only the direct tendency of procuring for them this object, in that way, which is most conducive to their advantage; but that these have the farther effect of preparing their minds for this deliverance, of assimulating their dispositions to their circumstances, and of exercising these together with strenuousness, in the direct line of rational enjoyment. That both the character and condition of the French nation were alike perverse, has been fully illustrated; that great and vigorous exertions were necessary for their deliverance from this state, is also abundantly obvious; and that these national exertions, suitably directed, and incessantly continued, would have achieved this deliverance, cannot be doubted, when we examine their character and circumstances, in respect to industry and commerce, as has already been done. The condition of the nation, however, was such, that no such exertions could be procured, without violating the majesty of that new sovereign, the people, to whom it had now become the business of the representatives to pay court. It was in this

strange state of infatuation, that that thing which we call the revolution, originated. In place of a renovation of their system, to be effected by means of labor and solicitude, the French betook themselves to the demolition and irradication of their system. The express object of all this destruction, was declared to be that of regenerating the character and circumstances of the people. That this object was completely frustrated, we all know. The following considerations will shew, that this deterioration proceeded from very ill-conceived, and ill-timed loyalty to their new sovereign, and from the consequences, into which fatal indulgences, bestowed under this principle, led the nation.

It has been noticed, that the expenditure of the state so far exceeded its revenue, that no exertions to which the state was competent, could make these tally, and that the propensity of the nation to consume, surpassed its ordinary rate of production, so far that there was, on the whole, a dearth of means, as well as of funds. As these were the great and leading objects, on account of which the states-general were assembled, and as they were obviously matters of vast importance, it became them, forthwith, to have taken them up in the fullest manner, according as they were laid before them; and if they had been disposed to discharge faithfully the duty that was thus laid upon them, they would have found three powerful instruments, all prepared to their hands, sufficient to have encouraged them to persevere in their task, until its com-

pletion. First, however inferior the ordinary rates of production were to those of consumption, there existed within the country, means and resources which, under the operation of regular industry, could have far outmeasured the utmost demands that could be made upon them. Secondly, there existed also in the body-politic all those powers and energies, that were requisite for these operations. And thirdly, the circumstances of the country, both internal and external, were so highly favorable to the developements here proposed, that it was only needful to study the natural course, into which these circumstances conducted the national industry, in order to obtain, in the highest degree, the whole relief necessary. There seemed to be some difficulty in giving these movements their first impulse, and in adjusting the demands of the state upon the people, and of the people upon the state. I apprehend, however, that here, as in every similar case, when parties are disposed faithfully to discharge their duty, it was only necessary to ascertain the line of conduct, into which the obvious duties of these parties most directly led them, severally, in order to fix the limits of their reciprocal obligations; every subsequent movement, that these parties made in this direct line, serving to bring their several claims nearer to a close, and to render subsequent difficulties both less important and less perplexing.

For in the first place, it was the obvious duty of the legislature, as already noticed, after fixing the

constitution of the state, on that basis in which the interests of all parties, coincided, to have received and recognised the whole burdens of the state, including its debts and pension lists, as well as its civil, military, and ecclesiastical establishments, and current expenditure; and although some of the burdens might be seen to be liable to reduction, on a plea of equity; yet this plea ought not to have been admitted, until the most ample grounds for the reduction of the claim, should be satisfactorily established. This procedure was implied in the convocation of the assembly, and it goes upon the principle, that whether these burdens were honourably created or not, they were created by a government, on which the claimant, and all others, had a good right to depend, and may be held to have warrantably, and with the most complete assurance, depended at the time when their claims were created; and from which therefore, under every subsequent modification of the same power, they could not but be exigible, until they were extinguished in a lawful manner. Upon similar principles, it was incumbent on the French government, in setting aside the obnoxious immunities of of the privileged orders, to have given these fair and honourable indemnification, for the losses to which they were thereby subjected. To all these unavoidable public burdens, it remained to add those of the expences, attending the erection and maintainence of new establishments, institutions, and provisions. It must be noticed, however, that in providing for all these wants, the new government,

would not only have secured to itself the friends of the old government, with all their resources and faculties of improvement, all subjected to a renovating discipline, but that it would have acquired an entire new set of means and measures for its support, of the most invaluable description, which the old government never could possess or attain to. A government, thus provisioned and confirmed, could not but command the esteem and confidence, of every respectable citizen, and dispose its subjects to rally round its interests, with all their zeal and energy, whenever these could be of advantage to it.

It remained, however, to procure funds for the discharge of these obligations, and for the execution of these duties. Here, England gave France a model, well deserving of her imitation. The influence acquired by that government, and the advantages derived by that nation, from their paper currency and funded capital, were obvious. Justice and policy required, that France should most faithfully meet her engagements; and these, also, pointed out the necessity of creating a free circulation of property on an extensive basis; for without this, neither the government nor the people could profit fully of their peculiar resources. France had few money-holders, but she had most extensive powers and faculties, and invaluable means for exercising these upon. Over all these advantages, the benign influence of a renovating government was diffused, and all of them, to its supreme authority were subjected; although, therefore, its re-

venues and income did not, at the time, afford any surplus funds for extraordinary emergencies; yet its circumstances afforded a basis sufficiently strong for any new financial system that might be necessary. That the new French government, therefore, possessed a basis of finance, sufficient to bear the whole superstructure that it was necessary to raise upon it, admits of no doubt. There were difficulties in its way, but these difficulties could have no regard, either to its stability, or to its resources. They arose from the circumstances of the community, which had gone into disorder in consequence of previous mismanagement; and, as a fair prospect of removing the obstacles that occasioned these disorders, was laid open, the government was fully entitled to calculate on the capabilities of the nation, and on the proximity of its renovation. Besides this, it was necessary in the existing circumstances of France, to institute certain public provisions for representing and circulating general property, and for expediting the operations of the industrious processes; and these required a collection and concentration of the scattered funds of the community for their basis, until the strength, resulting from the regular fruits of these processes, should endow the national capabilities with appropriate faculties. It was easy, and it was proper, therefore, for the government so to enlarge these public provisions, as to make them comprehend its own financial affairs, as well as those of the community. Their whole difficulties, in all their bearings, and in all their connexions, resolved them-

selves, accordingly, into a general measure of government, arising out of circumstances previously existing, which if wisely constituted, could not but embrace its own difficulties as well as those of the public.

In attempting to digest this measure, the example and the experience of the British government were before them. It was proper to attract the floating capital, and the accessible means of the nation, into one or more separate stocks; and to invest the public body or bodies, that might thence be formed, with the power of circulating their obligations, as the current medium of the country. In order to induce capitalists thus to adventure their property, two things were necessary; first, an assurance of return and indemnity; and secondly, a prospect of advantage. The resources of the state being unquestionable, it became the legislature, in this instance, to come forward, and to guarantee to the public and to these capitalists, the absolute validity of a suitable, but limited portion of this paper currency. This end the government could have effected, by taking up the whole amount of the paper to be thus circulated, on the security of a most substantial, and fully commensurate portion of the public revenue, which property, of course, fell to be set apart, and impledged to the issuers of this paper, as their security for the loan thus made; by setting the government mark, seal, and number, upon every particular note thus docqueted and ascertained, before it was again issued in circulation;

and by declaring that all the other circulating paper of the kingdom was ultimately resoluble into these notes or the metalic medium. For the greater satisfaction and accommodation of the public, a certain day of the week ought to be appropriated by the great privileged bank or banks, for the purpose of resolving a certain portion of the national notes into the standard coin of the realm; the government always contributing thereto, by providing these banks with coined money, in return for the precious metals. Upon this, as its foundation, the structure of French finance might most assuredly have been laid; and all that was necessary to attend to, after its complete establishment, was, to preserve with care and fidelity, the order and method that might, for the sake of the public security and accommodation, be instituted. It certainly, however, would have been proper at the outset, not only for the government and all its dependents, to declare themselves bound to accept of this accredited medium in payment of all the obligations due to them, but for each member of the legislature, and all the leading characters of the nation, to have given forth and docqueted a similar declaration. In order to keep the national feelings steady upon this point, it would have been necessary, at the outset, to be sparing in the emission of these docqueted notes. A general enactment against all surreptitious attempts to weaken the credit of individuals, as well as that of the state, might also be necessary for the general good order of a community, which

had passed nearly to the extreme point of moral delinquency.

As it was not necessary for the government to retain these accredited notes in its own custody, or even to make all its own disbursements in these, the money thus borrowed and secured by them, might be again deposited in the banks, and be by these circulated in the ordinary way of business; the government contenting itself with taking in lieu thereof from time to time such validated paper as suited the parties. Under such circumstances, political justice and political wisdom, might shake hands. The wants of the state, and those of the people, would stimulate both to betake themselves to that course of conduct, which could regularly procure the requisite supplies; while the substantial basis, provided for ascertaining the absolute value of the supplies thus produced, for distributing them, and for realising their amount in a substantial manner, would have given stability and energy to the courses of conduct thus adopted, and made these, in all their bearings and connexions, conducive to the wealth and prosperity of the individual, of the state, and of the nation at large.

But besides a good financial system, another class of measures was necessary for the purpose of taking off and employing these numerous high spirits, whose minds were aroused by the vast collision of men and objects that was going on around them; and who, inflated by high ideas of their own

personal importance, felt the range of employment, that had fallen to their lot, too limited for their restrained energies. Here also, the previous experience of Britain led the way. North America, during her revolutionary contests, served Britain no less as a sanctuary for the oppressed, than as a field for the expansion of her own latent energies. There, at a distance from the scene of their former turmoils, the turbulent of all parties obtained both scope and leisure, for calm and deliberate reflection: there too, a new impetus to their propensities, and a new line of direction for the gratification of these propensities was obtained. The faculties and acquirements of these, nurtured under the pressure of venerable institutions, and developed amidst arduous broils and conflicts, found an extensive, yet a secluded and appropriate sphere of objects to receive, and exercise them. The industry and commerce of France, though placed on a most favorable footing, in regard to its external relations, required an outlet to her pent up energies, of such a kind, that both her population, and their means, should be comprehended in its course. As her circumstances then stood, it could not but be wise in her, to provide some foreign support to her financial operations, whereon neither prejudice nor violence could operate. It was evident, that the results of her processes, would ultimately tend strongly this way; and although these processes were not yet so encumbered, as to render colonial possessions indispensably necessary, it became the government to avail itself fully of means that were

rising up into her hands for future emergencies; and by providing for the immediate wants of the unfortunate and disappointed, to mature measures, whereby the value of its resources would, in the end, be more fully unfolded. Such considerations, ought to have determined the new government of France, to have set immediately about the execution of some grand new colonial enterprise; and, having fixed on some plan befitting her condition, to have embarked therein, with a power and spirit becoming its circumstances.

The old Government of France, had many schemes of this kind already drawn up, and in a train fit for execution. Of all these, perhaps, that of colonising the great island of Madagascar, was the most eligible. This island, apparently set apart by nature for receiving the oppressed energies of some great and highly civilized nation, was admirably constituted for receiving that class of men, who might be expected to embark in such a project. Those would, assuredly, be of a very different character from the hardy simple hearted refugees, who left the shores of Britain for America, who could prowl their way through woods and marshes, and feel the sense of enjoyment under every privation, excepting only that of restraint on the developement of their peculiar tenets and principles. But the profligate sons of France, though ingenious in their minds, were debased in their dispositions; they were more ardent in their imaginations, than vigorous in their bodily constitutions; and it suited their

condition, to be placed under favorable auspices, and alongside of those, whose industrious propensities could readily bend under their mental prowess, and prepare to their hand these facilities which coincided with their more ordinary occasions. But, whatever project France might adopt, it became her to have in her eye, not only her own circumstances, but the misconduct of Spain and Britain, in regard to their colonial possessions; least by supercilious conduct, she should create enemies in place of friends, or by narrow policy, should involve herself in that penury and durance, which she had prepared for her expatriated children. France, like these two great kingdoms, ought to have devoted herself to one great undertaking of this kind. There, as at home, her supremacy should have been on all hands preserved inviolate ; but this sovereignty ought to have rested itself chiefly on the ground of paternal authority, and to have been maintained by arts, corresponding to that superiority in civilization and improvement, which marked her title to prior regard. She ought to have sought for no advantage, that did not naturally arise into her hands; she ought to have trained her sons to a high regard for those privileges which they enjoyed in consequence of their connexion with her, as well as with a dutiful obedience to her authority. And, while with a high hand she repelled every thing that bordered on aggression, she ought, most sedulously, to have cherished and promoted every respectable and worthy propensity that sprung up under her guidance.

The advantages derived by Britain, from her colonial possessions, both while these remained under subjection to her government, and after they had been disjoined therefrom, may convey to our minds, some idea of the multifarious advantages, that were then accessible to the French nation, had its government at that time adopted a suitable system of colonial policy. These possessions, while they would have received the efflux of means and of population, which were burdensome at home, would have transplanted them into a soil so rich and luxuriant, that masses of wealth, to which the parent state by itself was incompetent, would have speedily sprung up for the service of both, and enabled the community to exercise a power over the floating wealth of surrounding countries, that was no otherways attainable. But besides these, there were other advantages, particularly coincident with the existing circumstances of the French nation, that would have resulted from the same cause. The institutions of France, though apparently the same with those that prevailed in other Christian nations, were so radically corrupted, that something, tantamount to a separation from the mass of corruption at home, was needful for its regeneration. The virtuous efforts necessary in prosecuting an undertaking of this kind, and the salutary restraints thence laid on vicious propensities, would have been felt to be incompatible with gross depravity; and a course of things, which, while it absorbed the active powers of the mind, purified these from the baseness of profligacy, would also have been instituted.

On the whole, as such possessions would have given, to industry of every kind, a new and vigorous impulse, they would not only have accelerated the progress of individual, as well as of national prosperity; but, by exercising most vigorously the national faculties and resources on a grand and noble scale of general enterprize, and by bringing forward individuals of vast, though of peculiar powers, whose services would otherwise have been lost to themselves and to the country, these would have advanced and improved the general character of the nation, and have purged off from its leading institutions, that morbid influence, in which all their malignant operations originated. Thus, improvement, set a-going in remote regions, and chiefly effected by dint of high personal efforts, might have gone far in spreading itself over the whole empire; it could not but infuse into the body politic, great financial and commercial strength, and thus dispose it to these efforts; and since, along with this strength, the moral and physical powers of the nation would have been augmented and confirmed, the whole circumstances of the community, as well as the general condition of individuals, could not but be correspondingly ameliorated and advanced.

Let us for a moment suppose, that the renovation begun in France had proceeded under these auspices. And—as this is only supposing that the new government, in which was understood to be collected the whole virtual energy of the nation, enthroned in the plenitude of sovereign power,

could have preserved its ascendancy so far over an infatuated and slavish population, as to have repressed with a steady hand the force of corruption, at least, until the energies of the nation, now fully aroused, had found their way into that channel, wherein the best interests and highest concernments of the nation could have been taken up—we may, I think, without trespassing upon the rules of moderation or probability, and with much advantage, indulge ourselves in contemplating the consequences of such an hypothesis. Let us, therefore, suppose the people, emancipated from the oppression of a despotic government, and freed from the tyranny of arbitrary superiors, had acquired, under the influence of a paternal sovereignty, an abundant range for the exercise of their natural powers. Let us suppose them full of confidence in these advantages, and zealously solicitous to avail themselves of them to the utmost of their power; is it not very evident, that the state, and the community would be alike benefited by the change? Would not each individual in his place, and in the regular use of his means, have necessarily contributed his highest quota of services to his country? As no one could feel deficiency nor imperfection in the medium of exchange, the instrument by which individual independence is secured, and universal distribution effected, would not the improvement of the condition of individuals of all ranks, have gone hand in hand with this advancement of national circumstances? Let it be noted, however, that to this line of conduct, each indivi-

dual would be stimulated by the most noble and most powerful personal motives—by the certain prospect of enjoying, in peace and security, the fruits of his own exertions, and of attaining to wealth and estimation, under a strenuous persevering continuance of these exertions; and that numbers would be allured into the paths of lofty enterprise, from the more remote and uncertain hopes of attaining, by this means, to honour, dignity, and high renown. Immersed in a state of social existence that was every way improved and refined; and supported, on all hands, by provisions, establishments, and institutions, which served to substantiate and perpetuate the blessings thus induced; men, even of the lowest rank, would have sneered at the phrensical ideas that afterwards obtained the ascendancy; they would have looked, with horror and contempt, on the project of proceeding to sink with their own hands, the whole earthly abode of men into a state of barbarism, as a previous step to the realization of some golden dreams. Men would have fairly and fully met every difficulty in the face, and surmounted it by measures corresponding to its nature; and by so doing, they would have found, at each rencountre, their natural powers over all such opposition, only so much the more encreased and confirmed.

Let it be noticed, more particularly, in regard to the exactions made for the purposes of discharging claims against the state, and of meeting that long chain of public and private burdens,

which flowed from the high duties, assumed by the national congress; that these, being seen to be within the compass of the national means and so coincident with their circumstances, as to be directly conducive to their advancement, would be felt to be direct stimulants to the reproductive processes, exercising a reanimating influence over their languid powers, and augmenting that national momentum, by which the movements of these processes were expedited, and their powers of increment exercised. Those envied individuals, in whose favors these exactions were levied, would have appeared as commandants indeed of aggregations of wealth, but, by their circumstances, restrained to a use of their power, which rendered their influence beneficial, not burdensome to the nation. That equitable allotment of the public good, which was secured for the use of such personages, like that appertaining to proprietaries of every other kind, would be seen to be no more than a mere circulable burden, arising out of the existing state of things, and upheld entirely by that improvement with which it was conjoined, and vesting them with that portion of general wealth, which from the established order of things, was necessarily prepared to their hand, and which by the constitution of society, would never have appeared without their existence. This apportionment of general wealth, it could be remarked, they would, in obedience to those feelings that necessarily predominate in their minds, as members of a regularly civilized society, pass into the hands of those who could supply their own wants;

whose industry it would stimulate, and whose avocations it would support; and from whose hands, under similar circumstances, it would pass into the hands of others; at each turn tending to augment the national means, and to excite and reward the exertions of the ingenious and deserving. While the weight of this burden would thus disappear; the services of the exactors themselves would, in general be seen, in some particular shape or other, as a fair advantage regularly secured to the public body, remunerated indeed more directly and more authoratively than that which generally flows from the usual course of industry; but constituted in a way becoming their condition as faithful, zealous guardians of the public weal. The institutions and establishments, in which these services were aggregated, and into which so much of the public wealth was imperceptibly absorbed, would therefore appear to be doubly efficient. First, in attracting and concentrating the highest energies of the nation, and afterwards propelling these, with irresistable force and efficacy, throughout the whole community; and next by diffusing the wealth thus aggregated, throughout a class of men, whose services could no otherwise be suitably paid for, and through whom it again passed anew into public circulation. As privation and distress, would be found only when connected with inaction and perversity; and misery and contempt, with gross violation of public duty; we may fairly conclude, that corruption and profligacy, exposed and disgraced, would gradually have given way to superior prin-

ciples, and that these superior principles would have become more and more confirmed and extended, and productive of greater and higher public and private improvement.

The inducements which individuals, thus situated, would have to contribute their utmost exertions in their own peculiar sphere, would be augmented, on their finding in carrying these straight forward in the way of duty laid open before them, that they thereby at once secured their own and their country's improvement. As the dignity and welfare of the state would be seen to be not only implicated in, but inseparable from, this progression in social advancement; while each individual would be as zealously instrumental in upholding that form of society, from which so many blessings resulted, and as sedulously attentive to all these measures, by which abuses and grievances of every kind could be removed as possible, he would cautiously avoid all those measures, that could either augment these evils, or exasperate their operation upon the public mind. In other words, the reproductive processes of France, if set fully forward under such advantages, would have been like the flocks and herds of the ancient patriarchs, when these were placed in fertile meadows, and beside still waters; their power of increment, would have gone on with full force, most harmoniously, while the character and circumstances of the nation, renovated by their operation, would, under the influence of benevolent and independent institutions, have

advanced with corresponding steadiness. These views might be carried forward through a number of particulars, and the benefits resulting to the community in its civil, military, municipal, social, ecclesiastical, and other capacities, might be thence exhibited. In a case, however, which unhappily is purely hypothetical, this could serve no good purpose. It is only needful to remark farther, that as throughout the whole system, the industry of the people could not but be alike precious to the state, and to the people, both from the value and extent of its productions, and from its general influence on their character; and that as the measures of government would, in such circumstances, be regulated by no other views but those which arose out of rational principles; so in so far as the operations of government, could be implicated in these views; to that full extent, would its inherent power and dignity derive augmented lustre and strength out of those blessings which it could have produced.

In place of following a course so obvious, so direct, and one to which every concurrent circumstance seems to have prepared the way, the French leaders gave full way to the impetuosity of the popular torrent. The pressure of the wants, of the state, of individuals, and of the community at large, all pointed at the necessity of an augmentation of the general means of the nation, as the great object in which their labors were concentrated. Privations, retrenchments, well concerted enterprises, and incessant exertions, were the only ap-

posite instruments for the attainment of this object. Some powerful stimulus, some high momentum, was necessary to produce these effects. Of all the powers, thereto competent, the very pressure itself, which the public sustained, from its own incumbent burdens, was evidently the most efficient and most appropriate. In order to draw forth the requisite supplies, it was necessary to make this pressure bear fully on established reproductive processes; for it was evident, that these processes, properly instigated, under a liberal system of government, could have sent forth such supplies, to an unbounded extent; and that they could have sent those forth, only in that way which could subserve the great object of distributing them, and the wealth by which they could be represented, all over the community. The circumstances of the people, and their deficiency in capital, had rendered it necessary for the government to interpose its aid, in order to bear up these first exertions of the nation. This could only be done by docqueting and accrediting that portion of those circulating obligations, which was necessary to constitute a validated currency; and by following out this measure, in that steady, dignified method, formerly pointed out. But as all these measures would have been of no avail, unless the public confidence in the wisdom, fidelity, and energy of the state, had been nearly absolute, it was necessary for the state, to have maintained irrefragably, that line of conduct, which would have secured to it this character; and to have preserved inviolate, the connexion that naturally

subsists betwixt regular industry and its due reward.

The general congress, however, proceeded on an opposite set of principles; they began with levelling every thing to the capacity of the people; they, in effect, bestowed largesses on idleness, and destroyed every stimulant, and momentum, that could force forward regular industry. Labor and solicitude, of all things the most obnoxious to the populace were accordingly almost universally set aside. The claims of the state, of the privileged, and of the rich, were regarded as usurpations of the public right, which deserved no more favor, than that which was consistent with the public's views of its own interests. A paper currency, to which neither the state nor the people, could attach its designated value, was emitted with the view of neutralizing all these claims, and of bringing the whole property of France under the influence of these current principles. Having thus sunk the ancient government, and all its connexions and dependencies, in the eyes of the upright and discerning; they proceeded to give efficacy to these transactions by emitting their currency to an extent, that it was impossible for the whole means of the nation, and all its productive powers and resources, to have supported, or to have liquidated, by any contrivance whatever. And as they seized every opportunity of wresting, from those who had means, the last vestige of their former possessions, and of appropriating these to their own purposes, there was neither

reward nor incitement, sufficient to induce any one to set about producing valuable commodities. The whole establishments of the nation were thus dilapidated, its reproductive processes destroyed, and its population trained into a sovereign contempt for every thing that resembled regular industry. Not only were the means of the nation consumed with the most inconsiderate rapidity, and its powers of replacing them, desolated; but the right of commanding, and the privilege of requiring the feeble remnant of these means which had still a root in the nation, was augmented. Thus a right, which could only subsist in the hands of depredators, who, with a multitude of assignee-holders, were all ready to snatch from the industrious, the premature fruits of their labors, without bestowing upon them any appropriate circulable equivalent, was substantiated; while all the vast advantages, connected with this great attempt at renovation, were not only scattered to the wind, but their virtual energies were converted into direct instruments of destruction.

This will appear more forcibly, if we attend to this circumstance, that the people were most profligate and corrupted, and so prone to incessant indulgence, that every obstacle that could have disposed them, as a previous step, to seek this indulgence, in the regular, though restrained, and circuitous method of attaining the means necessary thereto, would have been, in their circumstances, a real acquisition. Thereby, the sweets of enjoyment would have been rendered not only innocuous, but

salutary; while the means of society and the general power of commanding a continuance of such gratifications, would have been, at the same time, perpetuated and increased. In place, however, of prosecuting this object, the general congress seem to have considered itself, as expressly constituted for the purpose of destroying this, and every other fence to the passions and humors of the people. It not only destroyed all the incumbent burdens that pressed forward industry, but it seized the possessions of the rich, in order that their claims might, in future, be dispensed with; and it even proceeded so far, as to paralyze the movements of the property in the hands of the state, by annexing to the tenure, by which it could be held, the whole weight of the burden then in circulation. But besides this, when the vicious propensities of men were thus let loose, and objects that were sealed from their use, by the obligations inferred by religion, honor, and decency, had attracted their regard; and when the national means, fast exhausting, had, in some measure, lost their power of excitation, these great rulers, proceeded to pamper the fastidious appetites of their new sovereign, with a fresh set of indulgences. For while they abrogated all religious duty, they proceeded to avail themselves of the faculties thereby left unoccupied; they sunk these in the common feeling of an overwhelming attachment to their own institutions; and thus threw open a wide door to the most unbounded licentiousness. Every infringement of prior obligations, having lost its character, when commit-

ted in their service, and every virtue or crime, being held to have changed its nature, whenever it could in any wise affect their views. Thus the whole passions, the strongest and the darkest, were embarked fully in the service of this anomalous system of things; they were vehemently exercised in its services; and the restraints which conscience, a sense of propriety, and a feeling of humanity, placed before them, were all swept away and destroyed.

The dreadful calamities that have resulted from this baleful course of things are well known. The licentiousness of the people long repressed, now found in their representatives, an accommodating disposition which induced them to adopt their own views of expediency, not the dictates of equity or propriety, for the rules of their conduct. Having, under those influences, beat down the barriers of virtue, and gratified the animal appetites of the populace to the utmost; having outraged every moral feeling, and violated every human and divine institution; the wildest, and most ferocious of the people gained the ascendancy, and maintained it with a high hand. Then, amidst that deficiency of means, which at length stared them in the face, these leaders next bent that fury, excited, to the utmost, against their accommodating senators against their own partisans and companions; so as in the end, to invert the powers of the state, and to fix the overpowering propensities of individuals, in direct animosity against each other. In the mean time, war, civil and foreign,

sprung up; and war, horrid as it is, by exercising men under one common set of feelings, served to relieve the social body, from the goading pangs of deadly suspicion. The truth is, the nation, from the one end of it to the other, was fitted for war, and for no other avocation; their feelings were all desperate, their tempers ferocious, and the habits of industry and sobriety, were more repugnant to their minds, than bloodshed or death. It is not here meant to say, that there existed in the nation no sentiment of disgust at these atrocities; on the contrary, it is certain, that repugnance at the excesses of the capital, was in many cases so powerful, as even to cause a momentary cessation in the national career of profligacy. Neither is it here insinuated, that the whole reproductive powers of the nation were dilapidated; for it is equally certain, that the agricultural, and other important processes, in consequence of the superior influence of begun renovation, were on the whole ameliorated, and more powerful than ever they had been. Such favorable tendencies, however, were all lost or absorbed by the predominance of fury and despair, they were animated by no sublime principles; and partaking strongly of the profligate character of the times, they were soon swallowed up, in the prevailing vortex of licentiousness, and thus assimilated to its nature and character.

Thus, the French became literally a nation of banditti; their internal means, and their faculties of producing means or equivalents that could have

procured these on a fair market, being continually greatly below their capacity for consuming these, they made up the deficiency, by the spoliations and exactions which they drew from surrounding nations. They could not, therefore, but form generals, armies, and military establishments, far exceeding in extent and power, those of the polished and industrious, yet decrepitated nations, that surrounded them. The fury of parties, and the despair with which these were agitated, when ranged under the terrors of military discipline, severally augmented their warlike impulse. The nation, thus provisioned, rushed into civil and foreign contests; and, carrying along with it, all its powers and energies, planted these in hostile territories for the purpose of compelling these to reinforce its strength. While at a distance from the ravages of war, the French nation thus exhausted the means of its enemies, it did not transplant their seeds of wealth thus appropriated, into its own soil; these perished with the using; or rather like the carrion, destroyed by the vulture and the wolf, they nurtured its ferocious spirit, by the strength which the spirit thus inhaled. In this manner, France again and again devastated Germany, Italy, Spain, and Holland; and although, in all its irruptions, warlike and financial, it always assumed, that the victim was the aggressor; yet, as it is well known, that its own hand behind the scene conducted all that false machinery, on which the victim devoted to fall before her was mounted, we perceive that her spirit was, if possible, worse than her deeds.

Although, on all such occasions, France took care to appropriate to herself, every thing valuable that came within her reach, it would appear altogether unaccountable, how amidst such immense national expenditure, and such crippled internal resources, her power still remained so great, and so entire, if we did not attend to this circumstance, that the French government always contained within itself, every power of commanding and apportioning wealth, that is usually transfused throughout a multitude of civil institutions. First, in virtue of its sovereignty, it not only appropriated to itself all the national revenues, the power of disposing of every situation, military, civil, ecclesiastical, and political, of holding each individual in every one of these stations, only as tenants at will; and propelling the national force, in whole or in part in that direction, which, for the time, suited its views; it not only so regulated the order of jurisprudence, and of municipal, and financial operations, as to render these, in all respects, completely subservient to its purpose; but it can, and it frequently did, in the most direct manner, seize every public and private possession, that attracted attention; and it can, and frequently did force into circulation its own obligations, without any intention of ever regularly meeting them. By doing this, the whole energies of the community, were in all respects so restrained, that their whole fruits, and even their entire substance, passed into the hands of the state, without turmoil or difficulty. The nation at large, and all its dependencies, thus finding

that they had no alternative, but to submit to the sovereign's will, proceed in the beaten tract that becomes their circumstances, and, goaded on by their personal necessities, persevere in their exertions, until supplies, sufficient to meet their own exigencies and the requisitions of the state, can be procured.

Secondly, this power of the French government, great and wonderful as it is, derives much strength and efficacy, from two very obvious advantages. First, every other constituted authority is beat to the ground, those which exist having sprung up under its own hands, and being merely emanations from itself. And secondly, every other oppressive or restrictive influence is so modified, and the order of things so simplified, that the operations of nature, and the exertions of the human being, can develope themselves fully into the public service. If we did not perceive, that the blasting influence of tyranny, thus concentrated, is more desolating than all the other evils that can be inflicted on our race, and that it is prone to the most unbounded deterioration and malignity, we could scarcely refrain from bestowing some eulogium on this condensed form of government. But knowing as we do, that in these pastures, wolves, not sheep, are procreated, vultures not doves; that here neither the sympathies nor the attachments, neither the beauty nor the excellency of our nature can prevail, we turn from them with disgust. We envy neither their verdure nor their luxuriance; and casting our eyes, with tran-

quil and grateful looks, upon the security of our own recesses, we humbly pray for a continuance of our lot.

The events, that we have been contemplating, are seldom taken up in any other light, except that of a revolution; and when we consider the importance of any violent irruption in a state, which in its progress, wrenches the whole power, wealth, and substance of a nation, from one set of hands, and transfers them to another, we must admit, that in this view, such events challenge our greatest and strongest regard. In the case before us, the convulsion was so great, that perhaps, every individual of the whole French nation may be held to have become radically changed, in his property, circumstances, and connexions. For it must be recollected, that besides confiscations, and direct usurpations of power and property, which have proceeded to a length, of which in this country we can form no adequate idea, and other greater and more prominent changes of condition, the whole fruits of these, and even their real value and substance were, again and again, wriggled out of the hands of their possessors, by means of discredited paper, forced loans, conscriptive levies, and by other such unjustifiable methods, which always induced ten times more oppression and spoliation, than they seem to import. And it must be further recollected, that this system of robbery, has been continued to a greater or less extent, for above twenty years, and that its course does not yet appear to have absolute-

ly terminated. Important, however, as such convulsions in public and private affairs in themselves are, yet as we know that these are merely results and developements of the established system, it becomes us, in our present review, to regard this revolution in that much more interesting light, in which it appears to us, as standing connected with the character of that system which it destroyed, and with the fate of those individuals, in whose malversations it originated.

We will be able to do this with better effect, if we compare the leading circumstances in this history, with the corresponding events, which took place in Britain. This island, it will be remarked, had previously emerged from the darkness of Romish superstition. By the free use of their own rational faculties, improved and enlightened by the exercises which this emancipation had induced, and under the direct guidance of heavenly truth, the inhabitants of Great Britain had generally ameliorated their institutions, improved their circumstances, and advanced their personal characters. These changes had taken place, chiefly under the auspices of the house of Tudor; they coincided with the views and interests of the state, and they were harmoniously adjusted under their sovereign's eye. These attainments, however, gave rise to farther changes, which, being opposite to the prejudices and feelings of the reigning family, were not achieved without violent animosity and bloodshed. It must be noticed, however, that popular

and liberal views, entered less into the measures of the Stuart family, than they had done into those of their predecessors; and that no small share of the virulence that ensued, must be attributed to this circumstance. Notwithstanding these circumstances, however, the series of events, that constituted the British revolution, were marked throughout their whole progress, (excepting only where the overweaning influence of certain leading characters, traversed its course) with a consistency, a candor, simplicity, and steady adherence to the fundamental principles of fidelity, honor, and truth, which we in vain look for in the French revolution; and we at the same time find, that a strong impression of the divine power and justice, of the obligancy of moral duty, and of the superior efficacy of benevolent and virtuous principles, predominated. Habituated to simple, and unsophisticated enjoyments, to personal privations and restrictions, and to the discipline of their own conscience and understanding, Britons had few inducements, either to violate the rules of fair dealing, or to consume the powers of their country unprofitably. Their struggles were all conducted under principles, which in their issue, could not but seal their rights, and confirm the virtuous efficacy of their characters, and which, accordingly, became thenceforward deeply rooted in all their establishments; extending themselves, throughout the whole stretch of their concernments, public and private, at home and abroad.

On the other hand, along with the depravity of

the whole mass of the French people, as already depicted, the Romish superstition, which tended not to asswage these propensities, was annexed. When ecclesiastical dispensations, and auricular confessions and admonitions, had more power over the mind, than conscience and a sound understanding, and could with effect and impunity, open the door to the suggestions of a corrupt mind, little could be wanting to induce the mob to overleap those feeble barriers, which such ceremonies and absolutions, could impose upon their inclinations. This little was, in a great measure removed, during the high tide of the revolution, by the allurements with which, even the poorest, were at that time surrounded, and by the sense of oppression under which they at the same time constantly groaned. It must be noticed, also, that the improvements of the age took part with its licentiousness, and that a race of refined libertines, smoothed the way to the depraved prejudices and licentiousness of the people, by dressing the fascinations of vice, and the charms of sensual indulgence, in the alluring garb of sentiment and pathos. It was here, that the profligacy and refinement, the exaltation and the corruption of the age, converged their baleful influences, and sent forth that spirit, which we now call Jacobinism, but which is merely the essence of Romish superstition, disengaged from its mummery, developing its tendency and spirit, without restraint. The Romish religion had told the people, that the connexion betwixt perversity and its punishment could be dissolved by means of

charms and incantations, without any radical renovation of character. Jacobinism, developed this principle fully; it said that vice was always venial, and at times innocuous. The Romish superstition had granted, that a good end might justify the means that were used in accomplishing it. Jacobinism gave this principle its full scope, by declaring that the greater the sacrifice of the moral principle, the greater the violation of natural feelings in accomplishing any great end, the more meritorious was the conduct of the party. These principles, have accompanied the French nation and government, in all their forms and changes, until at length, they have attained to a stability, equal to their enlargement. Indeed, when we reflect upon the absolute subversion of civil and religious institutions, and the complete irradication of these benign and salutary influences, that were produced at the very outset of the French revolution, together with the licentious and infuriated deeds and declarations, of the different dominant parties, we cannot but perceive, that the debasing series of events already reviewed, were so totally inconsistent with the nature and operation of these ameliorating and exalting principles, out of which improvement had previously originated, as to indicate its connexion with radical principles of a very different kind. For although, amidst the benign influence of Christian and independent principles, the seeds of primeval corruption were constantly disclosing their innate malignity; yet, it was not until the new system had arisen, and dispersed

its baleful influence, that the fair developements of this heavenly influence were blighted; that its texture was analysed, and its elements absorbed. It was under this new system, that the perversities and peculiarities of the ancient coercive system have been revived; that religion, and every venerable custom and institution, has been moulded down, into a conformity with the well known character of that system; that christianity itself, the parent of all the blessings, which so happily distinguish the state of individuals in our era, being regarded as a mere engine of state, had also her most sacred ordinations and appointments, either dispensed with or subverted, abrogated or innovated, according to the views of the ruling party; and that the nuptial vow, that grand support of all that is honourable and endearing in human nature, with every similar solemn and essential moral tie, were, in like manner, either set aside or modified, to suit the palate of the existing government. And although many of these most estimable and important principles of social union even while denuded of their glory and of their strength, having fixed their roots too deep in human affairs, to be thus suddenly and completely overthrown,—still send forth shoots, which illustrate alike, the power and the character of the parent stem; yet these, unlike the stamina that remained to Britain, after all its revolutions, which constantly developed stronger and more vivid shoots, merely indicate that the last struggles of that system, whence all its blessings arose, are not yet over.

Thus it appears, that the outrages committed under the British revolution, lose their name when placed along side of those of France. It must be noticed, also, that these, in so far as they were criminal, were the deeds of individuals, not of the British nation. For our country-men betook themselves not to the revolution, for the sake of mere animal indulgence; and there were but few, who used it as the instrument for gratifying their cupidity or revenge; it was a convulsion of principles, but this convulsion reached not to the moral and respectable feelings of our nature. Amidst scenes of death and desolation, the voice of humanity and the dictates of religion, were revered and obeyed. It was otherwise with France; the murders and devastations, the blasphemies and atrocities tolerated and applauded throughout the French revolution, are too horrid to be named; yet with these, though they were accompanied with aggravations of the darkest shade, the feelings of the nation always coincided; indeed, they seldom seem to have reached that point, which was congenial to their minds. Nor was this all, in order that their glory and complacency in these triumphs over religion, morality, decency, and humanity, might be complete, they dignified their crimes with the appellations and honours of virtues. Nay, in order that they might attest that this height of wickedness was not a mere ebulition of their characteristic vanity and flippancy, they immolated the scaffold and the dungeon, their infamous shrines, with the best blood of the French nation. In the annals of the

world, such a vast, extended, long continued, and audacious series of crimes, all committed deliberately and systematically, in the face of the sun, amidst every kind of diabolical triumph, is not to be found. Till then, the extreme depravity of the human heart seems to have been unknown, and the great dangers which by the goodness of God, our nation has escaped, to have been unnoticed.

But, as it was amidst the tumults of war and circumvention, that these desolating principles have been exercised and nurtured, so it is by attending to their operations, in these circumstances, that their character can be best discovered. Warfare and circumvention, may warrantably be held to have been the peculiar avocation of the French government and nation, ever since the overthrow of the monarchy; we will find therefore in their warlike and political transactions, the strongest, and most abiding features of their new system; for it is by means of these employments, in which our powers and faculties are most powerfully and incessantly engaged, that the character and circumstances of nations, as well as of individuals, are formed and exhibited. The impression made by such events, upon the French nation, derived vast efficacy, from the vehemence and intensity with which they were universally accompanied, and from the contexture of surrounding objects, all of which favored the most extensive developements of violent and desolating principles. The strength, as well as the character of these developements, appears very conspicuous-

ly, by following out some of the most important of these, from their earliest appearances, to their ultimate results. And in the first place, the proneness of the French to licentious indulgence, and the facility afforded by the revolution, for gratifying this propensity, even when carried to the most extreme lengths, not only led them to absorb every object that was meet for its gratification, but induced a wantonness of pride and vanity, which outdid the usual operations of corruption, and which fixed its contaminating qualities, so firmly in the character of all with which it came in contact, that it is held, to have produced greater desolation in subjugated countries, than even their most barbarous spoliations. "A short time," says an elegant writer, "may restore to the Hollanders, their former commercial greatness, and a few years may again fill their much exhausted treasures, and replenish their harbours with ships and with stores; but centuries will be unable to repair the injuries done to the morals and principles of the people, particularly to those of the lower class, and of the female sex, by the licentious depredations of the base renegadoes of France."

Secondly, the spoliations, exercised during the old government, under privileged influence, it has already been noticed, had produced a callousness to the dictates of equity, which co-operating with the licentious propensities above-mentioned, disposed the French to disregard the boundaries of law and of established regularity. From this indifference to

systematic equity, as from its proper root, we may therefore trace that long train of spoliations and devastations, which, after having overrun the whole French territory, has, in its course, desolated the best part of Europe. Licentiousness and rapacity, stimulated by aversion from regular industry, could not but produce a dearth of means, and dispose men to desperate actions, and to invade the possessions of their neighbours. As the multitude of individuals, who were in such circumstances, was every day augmenting and becoming more formidable, terror, and military discipline, became at length necessary, to retain them in their places. A nation, so desperate, required leaders of the same desperate character; the conduct of such leaders, could not but correspond with their circumstances and character. Polite or scientific attainments, in such a state of things, could be of little avail. To obtain a sufficiency of those things that were most necessary, was the great and primary object, which those leaders behoved to have constantly in their view. For this purpose, it was necessary, with a strong arm, to collect, to press forward, and to point the energies of the nation to that quarter, whence the requisite supplies could be attained, to value no acquisition short of the full attainment of these supplies, and to regard no loss nor difficulty as commensurate with failure or disappointment, in these radical points. This rapacious and licentious spirit was opposed by the regularly organized, but degenerate governments of Europe, who did just enough to provoke the hostility and contempt of

these marauders, but stopped short precisely when their exertions were beginning to be of avail. In a moment of indignation, these governments rushed into a contest, for which they had not sufficiently purified and prepared themselves; and when the consequences of their rashness began to appear, they, as precipitately, compounded for their own safety, by abandoning that great cause, in which their ultimate fate was involved.

The rapacity of the French, however, was only whetted by these foretastes of their success; and the short cessation of hostilities that ensued, was incessantly employed by them, in undermining the resources, and distraining the power of their devoted victims. This rapacity, now systematized, and bent towards extrinsic objects, took a wider and a higher, as well as a deeper, and a more tremenduous sweep of human affairs. To spoliation of means and possessions, such as was practised at home, national subjugation, and absolute usurpation of foreign territory was conjoined; and all these objects were avowedly pursued, by the most violent and degrading methods in preference to every other. It was in such exercises, that they deliberately embarked their powers, while they poured contempt on the employments of peaceful industry. Here the support and stimulus of their appetites were obtained; to these, therefore, as to their natural avocation, did this nation at all times instinctively betake itself; by the views therefrom arising, its government, in like manner, regulated its measures.

Neither in peace nor in war, do these active propensities slumber. When the sword is sheathed, the iron rod of oppression is laid heavy on the shoulder; and men and nations, feel themselves enwrapped in mazes of treachery and intrigue, from which they can no ways extricate themselves, but by repairing anew, under the influence of despair, to the ensanguined field. To make a common cause with their known destroyers, to place their best troops and their most precious resources, in the front of that battle, of which the successful issue seals their own destruction, and to receive into their bosom, fiends, whose business it is, to destroy and impoison every domestic and endearing enjoyment, are a few of the many sad grievances to which an intermission from warfare has all along subjected the nations of Europe. It is thus, that the powers and faculties of the French are strenuously exercised; and at present they know no natural bounds to these exercises, except those which our maritime power can place before them.

The effects of this state of things, upon the nations that have been unhappily involved under their influence, are admirably illustrated, by the following quotation from the author above noticed: but which, as it regards only the affairs of Holland, prior to 1802, must be held, to come far short of the true state of things at present. "Not content with ruinous contributions, which they every where levied; with having borne down their nation, from a height of grandeur and prosperity

never before equalled, the result of their indefatigable industry and perseverance; with doing away their ancient, and much venerated laws and customs, in order to make room for their own iniquitous regulations, and disgusting ceremonies; and with repeatedly overrunning their country with hordes of banditti, whom their treasury and domestic possessions were successively distrained to maintain; the French, actually plundered Holland of all that was worth the taking away. Not only their ships, military and naval stores and arsenals, but the palace of the Stadholder, and his numerous and valuable cabinets of collections, and the house of every individual, that was so unfortunate as to contain any incitement to avidity, shared all in the same fate." That the latter German wars were, all concerted, conducted, limited, and restricted by the views, which these representations imply, appears to me, to be self evident. These wars were all sedulously courted by the French. They all procured for them, that financial and territorial spoils, of which they are so covetous; they have converted the native princes of that ill-fated empire into government officers, through whose hands men and money, are now thence drawn for the French service; and they have thus rendered that immense territory, a still more convenient field for exercising their desolating and debasing system upon, than formerly. Having attained this object, the French leave the old system of Germany to its old course; the same exasperated tyranny and corruption, (with the accessions imposed by

France,) still predominate throughout its whole extent.

Thus it is, that the French revolution, the grand developement of the system of feudalism established in that country, has resolved itself into a great military government, founded upon coertion of the simplest kind, and maintained by a concretion of her powers and means ; and that the boundaries of this government, have been so augmented and extended, that it now comprehends a territory, population and resources, that render it capable of commanding unlimited, and almost universal submission to its plans, wherever our superior national influence cannot be exercised. It is indeed, restrained by the ocean on one side, and by the immense Russian empire on the other, in so far as its immediate operations are concerned. But by its intrigues and machinations, there is no throne nor dominion secure from its influence. It belongs to this government, to involve distinguished individuals, and constituent members of distant kingdoms, in its schemes, for the purpose of drawing these, and all their connexions into acts of turpitude ; and of involving these in its affairs, so as to paralyze their *arms* when these ought to be exercised, most strenuously, in behalf of their own best interests ; and thus to secure in the country of others, an ascendancy of high avail, in the execution of its gigantic plans. France seems at length, to be engaged in preparations, which are meant to give to all her former attainments, an operation of the

most unbounded nature. She has, in the first place, so concentrated all civil and ecclesiastical influence, under one irresistable paramount domination, as to secure to the utmost for her own purposes, the consciences, persons, and property, of the whole inhabitants of her immense empire. These she has sealed to her service, by converting that great instrument in civilization, the press, into the abject tool of all her designs; and she is now proceeding to confirm this advantage, by usurping the province of educating, under military discipline, her whole male population. She has already so far succeeded, in bringing down the minds of her people to her schemes, that privations and severities, political and personal, that could not formerly have been mentioned or thought of, are put up with, not only without complaint, but with singular complacency. Commerce and industry, as well as every great and national institution, move as upon a mechanical pivot, at her command; insomuch, that the plans and the measures of men seem to attract and to meet, to neutralize and to repel each other, almost in perfect coincidence with her views. The very hardships to which she is subjected on account of her deficiency in naval prowess, enable her to exercise her whole tumultuous population, upon a common principle, under her own eye and authority; and to excite, almost universally, an aversion from British views and British measures, that is almost insuperable by our most unexampled generosity. In the mean time, by removing obstructions, and creating facilities she

exercises her different nations under one great design, she is gradually destroying those bulwarks, which nature had opposed to the union of their jarring interests and dispositions; and while, by means of conjunct hostilities, and grand military and desolating enterprises, she is assimulating their tempers and habits to her own system, she fixes their repugnance to us and our designs, on principles that seem to render it needful for us to surmount all this aggregate power, upon that very ground, and upon those very principles, which she has chosen to assume, as the basis of our contest, before we can either overthrow her system, or ameliorate its nature. We cannot doubt of her intention to fortify and extend this system to the utmost; for all these measures are followed out in a way completely correspondent with the known character of that concrete system, which she labors to establish. The conquered are transported out of their own territories; Helotism and domestic slavery are instituted; barbarities formerly unknown in Europe are practised; and the ears and minds of men daily familiarized with turpitude and bloodshed, are systematically preparing for that furious and desolating warfare, and for that oppressive and overwhelming governance, which she has determined universally to maintain.

As it is into these circumstances, that the several developements of the feudal system, all over Europe, have at last resolved themselves, it is proper, before dismissing this subject, briefly to no-

tice that line of connexion betwixt the political conduct, and subsequent fate of its several nations, wherein, the resolution of their fatal misconduct into these consequences appears. It was not, perhaps, to have been expected, that all parties should have been prepared, and at their post, when these great events began to disclose themselves; nor amidst the tumultuous and opposite sensations which prevailed, that the leaders of the nations should have found at once that precise attitude, by maintaining which, their own and their constituent's best interests could be secured. But, surely, after the character of the revolution had been unfolded; when it manifestly appeared, that the better sense of mankind was overwhelmed by opposite parties, who set forth their pretensions, merely as covers to their own wicked designs; when it had it become evident, that it was only by rallying the sincere and the upright round one common standard, that security could be obtained; we might expect, that the importance of the crisis, would have so composed the minds, and regulated the procedure of the great potentates of Europe, as to have inclined them to betake themselves to measures, correspondent to their situation. From the example of Britain, they could not but see, that their true happiness and security was perfectly consistent, with having their conduct subjected to the regulated control of the collected wisdom, virtue, and wealth of their subjects. From that of France, they must also have observed, that it was needful to have proceeded to work, in this business, with a steady resolute demeanour; and cal-

culating and relying upon the high character which this demeanor portended, to have drawn forth and exercised the highest energies, and the utmost resources of their subjects, under this influence; repelling vigorously every attempt to interfere with, or prevent their magnanimous measures. In doing this, the German princes, might have rested most securely upon the moderate temperament of their own subjects. By thus enlisting the highest and best interests of the people, in the cause of a common legitimate sovereign, they would at the same time have attained, at once, to an authority over their persons and means, incomparably more valuable, than any that despotism or anarchy could have procured for them; an authority which would have expedited the reproductive powers of the nation, at the same time that it preserved these and all the means of the country, steadily in their country's service; and which would have endowed the capabilities of every individual, with redoubled energy, while it placed these firmly under their country's banners. A view of such high virtue, would have paralysed the audacious arm of French licentiousness; it would have given such high countenance to all the wise and moderate of that nation, as to have brought even that people, gradually to a state, wherein, the greatest degree of political and civil liberty, consistent with their character, could have been procured and enjoyed; and thus have saved mankind at large from much misery and wickedness.

The truth is, however, that the same dispositions

and propensities, which predominated in France, had also acquired the ascendancy in Germany, and indeed all over Europe. Men were prone to indulgence, regardless of moral obligation, and little disposed to encounter hardships or difficulties in any cause, but that which coincided with these tendencies. Their governments saw this, but puffed up with empty notions of their own importance and self sufficiency, they threw out of sight the plain and obvious duties which arose out of such circumstances; and while abhorrent of the judicial murder of a mild and merciful prince, they proceeded to gratify all their own furious prejudices and propensities, as if their sole duty had consisted, in being the ministers of God's wrath upon earth—they, at the same time, discovered themselves utterly unfit for this duty, by the base aggrandizing projects, with which they accompanied their transactions. Without pretending to reprobate too severely, feelings so natural to our race, it must, however, be noticed, that such conduct too evidently implicated the fate that has followed it, for us to administer to them that commiseration which is only due to unfortunate virtue, or to underrate that infatuated criminality which prevailed. When these sovereigns were about to shed rivers of their own subject's blood, did it not become them to have thought upon what they owed to their subjects, upon the instability of all earthly things, and upon the high responsibility of their trust? After they had been again and again checked in their desperate carreer, after the warfare had assumed

that desolating character, which it has since retained, and was proceeding without end in the same destructive train—did it not then become obvious, that their subjects might be rallied round their throne, if wise and vigorous measures were adopted, if a high interest in its stability, that which results from personal freedom, independence, and security, had been accorded and guaranteed to them, in in every legitimate shape? But the sovereigns of Europe, either could not or would not, take a full and complete view of their condition. They trusted to their own arm, and to their own political wisdom, and turned a deaf ear to the clear though mild suggestions of heavenly wisdom. Rather than undertake the task of renovating their own system, they had betaken themselves despairingly to that of crushing an enemy, who had already far transcended that sphere, in which they thought proper to meet him; and now that the certainty of this had become palpable, they resorted to the hopeless task of defending, and of quibbling about obsolete rights, all of which were lying at their conqueror's feet, in place of manfully and conscientiously raising their claims to their country's confidence, upon the glorious and exalted foundation of their direct labors in its regeneration. I am far from meaning to say that these sovereigns should have levelled their measures to the capacity of the people. On the contrary, I think that they ought, with a steady hand, to have adopted only that plan of reform, which coincided with clear and full views of equity, and of the general interest. I am equally far from

wishing to insinuate, that these or any measures could, of themselves, have been of much avail in procuring the requisite deliverance, otherwise than as preparatory means for exciting, unfolding, and exercising the highest services of the people; for it was thereby alone, that this deliverance could be atchieved. Besides, I hold it to be self evident, that the governed, as well as their governors, but too much needed a variety of endurances and exercitations for the improvement and amendment of their general character and deportment.

The consequences of these things are now fully before our eyes; the German nation, the mother of nations, is now in a manner dissolved, or if not thoroughly dissolved, it is, at least, so completely permeated by the influence of the destroyer, that it seems to exist, only by his tolerance. He does not chuse as yet to rest the whole weight of his authority upon the feelings of those, out of whose influence his power has arisen. The fictitious buoyancy of kindred despots, still appears to him to be necessary, in order to balance his power amidst his usurpations; and to enable him to overawe and dazzle those compeers, whose services are alike essential and formidable to his fortunes. While such apprehensions remain, Bonaparte may still set reins to his projects of aggrandisement, he may curb the voracity and impetuosity of his subjects; and, for the sake of a convenient triumph, he may also occasionally exercise his sagacity and his prowess, in traversing movements, that seem to coincide

with his plans. Such conduct is so congenial to his system, that it neither retards its progress, nor militates against its tendency.

Many people, I believe, are of opinion, that the connexion, betwixt Bonaparte's plans and his people's propensities, would be dissolved by his death or deposition. The foregoing statements, I think, ought to go far in shewing how great the coincidence, betwixt their principles and his, is; that there is a similar harmony betwixt their feelings and sentiments, can as little be doubted, if due allowance is made for the relative situation of this despot, and his slaves. He, no doubt, pushes his plans generally to an extreme length, and resorts to measures which are severe and oppressive; but he always spares French blood, and French treasure, when this can be done, even while he destrains those of his allies and dependents to the utmost; and he thus effects his conquests, and prosecutes his spoliative usurpations, by one and the same means. Sometimes, also, his plans outgo the national propensities so far as to seem to invert their operation. In all such cases, however, he steadily maintains that line, wherein these propensities naturally proceed, and he never fails to conduct these, in the end, to their appropriate object. And, on the whole, he conducts the national energies, in that course, which his predecessors had laid open before him. It belonged to France, age after age, first to desolate by its wars and pretensions, the petty adjoining powers, and then after oppression and ty-

ranny had become a relief from such miseries, to absorb them into her empire. Bonaparte is prosecuting this plan, now in its full developement; and he now desolates Germany and Poland, Spain and Italy, for the same purposes, that the Bourbons devastated the petty states upon the Rhine. Neither Bonaparte's destruction, nor that of his party, would therefore, I apprehend, materially affect the measures of the French government, nor prevent it from pursuing directly or indirectly, all those great leading objects, towards which its strength is at present bent. It would not make them relinquish the usurpations, that they have annexed to their territory, nor abandon the influence that they have acquired in Europe. And from what we saw, during the late short peace, and have since seen and known, we may also, infer, that until a new and radical change in the principles and government of that nation take place, neither the danger, the difficulty, nor the criminality of the enterprize, would prevent the whole French nation from overwhelming our country and our race, if a full opportunity of so doing presented itself. These are awful and most impressive considerations, and they ought to enter deeply into every great political measure, into which our circumstances may conduct us; for on this head, we are not left to wander, in our conjectures; the fact itself, being every day rung in our ears. A merciful Providence, has placed barriers to our safety, which, while we stand at our post, are to our enemies impregnable. By maintaining this advantage, we shield many nations from the

desolating tyranny of the French. Shall we dismantle these bulwarks, lay open the path to our destruction, and give a full vent to French principles and French usurpations, for the sake of an insidious truce, in order to gratify our covetousness and love of indulgence? Once we experienced the smart of our supine neglect of this advantage, and we cannot but perceive, that the usurpations and machinations of peace, were, at any rate, not less destructive than those of war; our cause having been thereby rendered every way more hopeless and hazardous; and that it is by discharging our obvious important and pressing duties, and not by shrinking at their magnitude, that our ultimate safety and security is to be attained. This matter requires some farther exposition.

One age after another, has attested the restless ambition of the French nation. The charge of aspiring to universal dominion, ascribed to it under the Bourbon family, though implying a conspiracy against the rights and liberties of the whole human race, was too grateful to the vanity, and too congenial with the sentiments of the people, to be seriously disavowed, even when their resources and power were altogether unequal to the object. A series of wars and treaties, however, were always kept in motion, which tended constantly towards this object. But Britain, was always at hand, and always prepared to controvert these movements; and though frequently unsuccessful, as to the direct point at issue, she incessantly displayed her su-

perior prowess, by overshadowing the highest exaltation of the French nation. The mild, though licentious reign, of Louis the Sixteenth, threw France far aback, in her ambitious carreer; but it gave birth to that revolution, wherein, her warlike propensities and territorial resources were unfolded with tenfold efficacy. Here the French nation, now disengaged from law and from order, gave full scope to its national propensities. Every successive party, that reached the supreme power, (the Girondist perhaps only excepted, who thereupon became unpopular) pursued successfully the same object, and amidst their excesses and fanatical abuses, they steadily carried forward a train of measures, that advanced their highest pretensions; for it is a very curious fact, that even their wildest and most extravagant vagaries, implied an unequalified assumption of universal domination. Great Britain, however, still supported her superior character, and although her allies have successively perished in the contest, she still wards off that final destruction and absorption, which France has prepared for them; holding out at the same time, to their view, the prospect of future restoration. Thus Britain stands as the guardian of those rights, which France tramples on the ground; and her beneficence is displayed by the very means, which illustrate the converse character of her foe. Such conduct, in its principle, as well as in its consequences, has excited against us the unbounded hostility of the French. Their diplomatic skill and martial power, now whetted to the utmost by un-

interrupted success, and goaded beyond the bounds of nature by an insatiable vanity and thirst after ambitious display, are both on that account in full array against our country. Under such influence, the whole power and resources of this immense nation, concentrated into one stupendous system, in which every principle of hostility is combined, with all the devouring and overwhelming energies, that are peculiar to it, instigated by despair, ambition, and a consciousness of transcendent prowess, are incessantly pressed forward for the purpose of effecting our complete destruction. Our name, our nation, every moral and religious perception, all that we have attained of what is valuable and desirable to man, have been long since thus devoted by the French nation. That Carthage must be destroyed, is their favorite theme. Now, however, this destruction is deemed incommensurate to our deserts; our persons, our characters, our faculties, must all pass through a most degrading process, in order to prepare us for that humiliating station, which has been allotted to our race and nation. This bold declaration of Bonaparte, if ever his power were competent to his threats, would be found to be only a mere echo of sentiments, that have long since been prevalent in France. And from what we can discern of their procedure, these threats are no other than what he and his nation would most scrupulously carry into full effect.

That such have long been their intentions we cannot doubt, when we bring to mind the proced-

ure of the French nation, immediately after the revolution, and during the subsequent short armistice. Then, French consuls had different districts of our country allotted to them; wherein, they exercised parties under French influence; plans and surveys of our harbours and fortresses, being at the same time made out by individuals under their authority; and the measure of lawful subordination, stretched, for the purpose of impressing the power and principles of France, upon our character. These, and many other considerations, that arise out of the above statements, I think, lead us to conclude, that a mere change of dynasty, without some more radical reformation of character and of circumstances, than any thing that such a change could imply, would not by any means preclude the chance of an immediate renewal of hostilities. What events, are in the womb of Providence, we know not; and into what consequences, even the most trifling contingency may lead us, we must confess ourselves to be utterly unacquainted; for during the whole of this great revolution, changes, the most important, have ensued from most unseemly causes. None of these changes, however, materially altered the reigning character of the nation, or interrupted that profligate career, into which its powers and faculties were directed. On the contrary, although the opinions of this nation have changed so far, as even to be in direct opposition to those, for which they at one time contended at the expense of all that was dear to man; yet for these others again, they are now making similiar

sacrifices. In all these circumstances, the reigning character of the nation, its insatiable rapacity and licentiousness, its contempt of every thing sacred and respectable, and its lust after unbounded dominion, constantly advanced. Nay, we can trace at each of these great changes, a steady progression in desolating principles, and a renovation of energies and means, accompanied with a more fixed determination to abide by their former conduct. Thus it appears, that in all these successive changes, a new momentum was given to the leading principle; that every other principle in their civil constitution, was only subsidiary to the grand leading principle, and to the object towards which their energies were bent; and that it is in establishing a military despotism, by which their government may control the whole human race, that the whole tendency of the French system consists.

The sound of peace is so grateful to the human ear, and that of eternal or indefinite war, so horrible to all our feelings, that it seems necessary in this place, to state two or three considerations, in order to shew, that it is only by persevering in the duty that has thus devolved upon us, severe and ungracious as that seems to be, that we can successfully pursue that peace, which all of us desire, and secure ourselves against that warfare, which is so repugnant to our nature.

In the first place, as it is now abundantly manifest, that the object of French policy is, to extend its au-

thority over the whole globe; so it is no less so, that, for this purpose, they will deliberately consign nations to destruction, to desolation, and to every calamity that can prepare them for absorption into their military empire; and that in the attainment of this object, they will institute interim governments of such a simple structure, that while through their instrumentality they can draw from the people the utmost extent of exactions that they can bear, they may be able at pleasure, to annul the constitution, that they have formed. It is farther manifest, that all the crimes and corruptions, peculiar to despotic governments, in ancient and modern times, are not only consistent with their system but will be anxiously and forcibly introduced, into all its departments. What could be more absurd, or unnatural, than for this military Emperor to surround his base-born satraps, with all the gorgeous pomp and luxury of a Turkish bashaw? Yet these things are, not only awkwardly fitted to the person of his lieutenants, but they are paraded with all that vulgarity of display that coincides with a thorough contempt of higher institutions. This is the system forming by France for the nations; and from what we know of its tyranny in ancient and modern history, we may form some idea of its tranquillity, should it ever be introduced into Europe. That it may become established, unless firmly opposed by our nation, may be inferred from the preceding statements. When the press, the education of children, the modes of thinking and acting, are subjected to the immediate

and incessant inspection, of a powerful, vigilant, indefatigable government and police; all sedulously exercised towards one object, we can scarcely doubt of its tendency to success.

But secondly, these tendencies are by no means so much dreaded by mankind, as their malignant nature seems to import. Of this the French Emperor is fully sensible; for he bitterly regrets the incapacity to which he is at present subjected, of mixing his subjects, on equal terms, with the enslaved nations of the east. Such is the state of things in this world, such is the corruption and weakness of human nature, and its proneness to seek relief from its sorrows in external changes, that even in our own country, the individuals who would, or might be led to favor the innovations which he desires are numerous. We are threatened with complete irremediable destruction by the French; and yet we know, that there are British subjects, who scruple not to espouse and defend their grossest pretensions. Can we therefore suppose, that these individuals, and many others, if beset with French arts, and enveloped in French licentiousnes, would be proof against the seducing snares of that destroyer, who effects his measures. by peaceful as well as by warlike measures? Like wildfire, the spirit of profligacy and rapacity would spread itself, until it had superceded those habits which arose out of industry and the discipline of a virtuous intercourse. Thoughtlessness and improvidence are closely connected with these propensi-

ties; and these, while they lead people to undervalue present advantages, fix their regard upon others that can only be attained through a series of crimes. Such matters are unfortunately too obvious to all of us, yet as they lead directly to the following important general remark, they could not in this place be passed over.

By the goodness of God, we have attained the power of confining the range of French influence, and of French principles, if not absolutely, at least so completely, within the precincts of the ocean, that it is as yet incompetent, to effect its daring purposes. That power we cannot long possess, unless we exercise it in direct opposition to the French government; for it is only while we thus strenuously and incessantly avail ourselves of the advantage thereby secured to us, that we are able to protect ourselves, and the world at large, from the desolating tyranny of France. While we thus exercise it, we not only preserve the nations from French domination, but we give stability to our peculiar system, and we unfold the exalting nature of its general principles. Nor is this all; for we maintain in reserve for the advantage of mankind, as a door of hope and source of comfort, the former attainments of the civilized world; a task to which no other kingdom is at present competent. Hence we may warrantably expect, that all nations of men, will sooner or latter cling to our cause with enthusiastic ardor. Let it be farther noticed, that our enemy himself declares, that he has no desire to

conclude any thing like a permanent peace with us, though he might consent to an insidious truce, that would enable him to collect and spread his desolating influence. Indeed, his projects are confessedly so great, as to be evidently inconsistent with our national independence. Besides this, he is aware that his power consists in stimulating and exercising human corruption; and that if he could but come fully in contact with some of our own most valuable possessions, he could find means for introducing its influence amongst them, so as to institute a propinquity betwixt these and his own schemes. And as he is little scrupulous, in sacrificing the blood of his subjects, on such extraordinary occasions, so if any such entrance into our possessions, was once fully laid open to him; or if his hand were but fairly introduced amongst our concerns, he would, whatever sacrifices it might cost him, persevere in in his practices, until he had thereby achieved, either our destruction, or his own. The question, therefore, comes to be, shall we continue to fight this enemy of our name and nation, full-handed and strong-hearted, or shall we allow him to wriggle out of our hands, our invaluable character and resources? Shall we stand forth boldly on that impregnable post, to which the power of this enemy cannot reach, or give him an influence, within its walls? Shall we preserve all that is estimable and virtuous, on our side, and within the sphere of our domination; or allow Bonaparte, to have a full chance of involving these in his system, as a previous step to our destruction.

These considerations derive irresistible force from their exact coincidence with the former procedure of this nation, in every analogous situation. It was, while all Europe was hushed into profound tranquility by the peace of Amiens, that Bonaparte overturned the venerable commonwealth of Switzerland, and brought that virtuous people under his iron yoke. It was then, also, that he annexed the kingdom of Italy to his titles; and although neither Tuscany, Naples, Rome, nor any of the petty principalities of that country, had given him the smallest pretext, for denuding them of their independence, he, at the same time, set agoing a maze of intrigues and pretensions, which has, in the end, converted this title into a possession. The fate of Toussaint, waylaid into an insidious reliance on his protestations, took place during a pacific overture. The destruction of Prussia, first insulted, then beat to pieces, because she relied on his assurances, and the latter treacherous circumvention of the royal houses of Spain and Portugal, were accomplished, amidst professions of the most cordial attachment, and of the sincerest friendship. And, although these were preceded and followed by crimes correspondent to the indelible infamy of the transaction, France seems so insensible of their extreme turpitude, that it consoles itself amidst its disgraces, and shrouds its apostacy from all that is honourable, by vaunting exhibitions of superior tactical skill, and of transcendent military strength. If, in such circumstances as these, when the incitement was comparatively trifling, France, could

burst asunder every moral and respectable obligation, what will she now do, if a similar opportunity were afforded to her? When the possession of the immensely rich, populous, and extensive empires of the east, and the no less precious treasures of the west, are all at stake, can we suppose, she will be more scrupulous? At present, what would she not do to obtain those colonial possessions, from whence the most invaluable productions can be drawn to an incalculable extent? Would she then be at a loss for pretexts, to lay her hand on objects thus brought near, for which she so earnestly pants, and towards which her licentiousness and rapacity, repressed only by the terror of certain death, are ready, at every turn, to burst forth with unbounded fury? Let it be recollected, however, that to all those incitements, the secure possession, and full enjoyment of all that has been already surreptitiously acquired, would be added; that maritime power, the glory and the pride of every great nation, would thence ensue, and give Bonaparte a new counterpoize, against the influence of his rival compeers; and that with all those, and many other advantages, the sweets of revenge against Britain in the triumphant exercise of that power, which so long kept his fortunes in suspense, would be conjoined. Let it also be recollected, that as of all men, our countrymen in the nautical service, are least connected with the parent state, and as it is evident, that Bonaparte would proceed to avail himself of the opportunity of drawing these, by every incitement, into his service; so we might here sustain irreme-

diable loss. And as of all our resources, those that appertain to our naval department, are most loosely connected with our own territory, so there also we might expect attacks. All these would not only be great, but leading objects with Bonaparte. Finally, let us remember, that while we most scrupulously tied up our hands, by our engagements, the characteristic violence and treachery of the French would, in a moment, burst asunder all such entanglements; and seeing that they have got a leader, fitted in all respects, to lead them on in their unprincipled career, their whole energies and faculties would start off, at every point, and, regardless of the covenant, under which they have been brought, they would not only seize upon that empire, which we had left vacant to their hands, with all its implied advantages, but, without ceremony, direct its full force against ourselves. As we know, that however, great we may be, while we wield the trident of the seas, we would, without this empire, be of all nations the least able to stand our ground, amidst our immense possessions; so it behoves us either to maintain all our advantages, or to bend ourselves at once under Bonaparte's feet, in order that we may thereby avert the extremity of our destruction, by the submissiveness of our deportment.

There is a third consideration, which it is proper here to state, because it discovers to us the nature of the advantages which we possess in our present conflict, and because it lays open to the humane and reflecting mind, the high importance

of the duties in which we are now engaged. The warfare, which we now wage is, in its nature, character, and effects, altogether different from that, which occupies the French nation. The Frenchman, for the sake of obtaining the means necessary to his warfare, must tear asunder every bond of social union, he must outrage every principle of human nature, and, after he has thus collected and embodied his strength, he must make it bear full upon the vitals of his enemy. His myriads are poured forth in the shape of a great torrent, which successively levels with the ground, all that comes before it. Every individual, the most tender, as well as the most enfeebled, the man of science and of peace, as well as the embattled warrior, feels the weight of the Frenchman's arm. Having thus overwhelmed his enemies, in the same way that Attila and his Huns destroyed theirs, he, in like manner, devours and tears up by the roots, every substance and every establishment, that stands in the way of his plans. Not only so, but while oppression crushes the misery which it occasions, and blights the face of nature with its baleful influence, the faculties of the human being, are bent into a state of corresponding abasement; turpitude is superadded to calamity, and despair to consternation. On the other hand, Britons betake themselves to the ensanguined conflict, with minds harmonized by religion, and animated by generous feelings. At a distance from the abodes of men, upon the wide expanse, they seek their deadly foe. There, without lacerating the heart, or convulsing the frame

of the tender or of the affectionate, they join the gallant conflict, and amidst deeds of high renown, in which every individual exhibits personal heroism, they achieve that generous victory, which is the grand object of their desire. A triumph, which seals the security of countless thousands, and which fixes the enjoyments of the whole human race on higher and nobler ground, may be thus obtained, with comparatively little bloodshed. At all times, the least possible injury to our species is inflicted; for whenever the vanquished ceases to resist, the sword is sheathed, and the bowels of compassion administer that relief to the afflicted's sorrows, which indicates the highest tone of Christian sympathy. No intrigue, no treachery, no licentious rites, no cruel and humiliating degradations, mark the conqueror's footsteps; the lamentations of the helpless and forlorn are never heard; no domestic comfort, no paternal enjoyment, is traversed by British victories; and the tear, that is wrung from the unfortunate by doleful tidings, is not embittered by the recital of deeds of brutality or revenge. Hence, while amidst these victories, supreme gratitude to Heaven, and the genial warmth of patriotic cordiality, accompanied with a consciousness of personal exaltation, are the predominant feelings amongst the conquerors; a complacency in the benevolent regards, thus administered to their sorrows, sooths the calamities of the vanquished.

Let it now be noticed, that this high national spirit, and these characteristic feelings and dispo-

sitions in our countrymen, particularly in those of the maritime class, constitute a order of civil virtues, to which in our present situation, we cannot attach too much importance. Our institutions, our education, our general habits, prepare us for active and useful employments; they enure us to obedience and regularity, so that in all cases of public emergencies, as well in our ordinary affairs, we can be brought to conform ourselves to our circumstances; for these have, in general, so disciplined our propensities, that in a joint capacity, and even under a military leader, as well as in the business of life, all of us can on suitable occasions, discharge our duty, with full effect. But it must be remarked, that neither these habits, nor that constitutional love of enterprize which is peculiar to Britons, nor the terrors of invasion, nor even the advantages of commerce, can form for us seamen, or give us nautical warriors, of that fine edge of character which we now possess, if French principles, and French habits, should once permeate their lines. This consciousness of superiority in all that is excellent, this love of virtuous triumph, this animated ardor and confidence in their country, friends and endearing connexions, which make the seaman throw himself in the front of every danger, for the sake of obtaining acclamations, of which his conscience approves, would be all lost if any thing like a sense of general degradation, and of enfeebling licentiousness, should relax his efforts. How necessary is it then to preserve our advantages! How superior are these to all the resources and means that we could

collect during a fugitive peace, and to all the force, that we could prepare, in any extremity! When we fix our attention on the conflicts of those nations, who under every advantage, have attempted to support a defensive warfare against the French; and while we recollect the consequences of an overthrow, we cannot but perceive that it is by maintaining our present advantages alone, that many nations, and our own amongst the rest, can be preserved from being implicated in similar conflicts, and overtaken by a similar overthrow.

There are two difficulties, that seem to be inseparable from our naval superiority, which we must not pass over unnoticed, because they involve in them, matters of the utmost magnitude to our prosperity, as a great and as a commercial nation. The first of these is, the necessity under which we are laid, of obtaining, by direct violence, those sailors that are needful for our service; the second, the repugnance which neutral nations uniformly display to our exercise of these rights, which this assumption implies.

With regard to the first of these, it is perfectly evident, that as our fleets at present can no otherwise be supplied with seamen, we have no alternative, but to abide by our present practice, and to maintain it at all hazards, until a better can be found. We may, and we certainly ought, and I hope in general we do, not only asswage the severities to which this brave race of men are unavoidably ex-

posed, by every indulgence and favor, that it is consistent with prudence to bestow; and also respect and protect all those rights and privileges, to which either as men, or as warriors, they can lay claim; but we ought, in all extreme cases, to relax the rigor of the conscriptive laws, and to restore to families and to society, those whose circumstances call loudly for such a concession. But besides these mitigations to personal hardship, it appears to me, that something more radical ought to be attempted. That by regular and graduated means, we might bring ourselves out of this oppressive system, upon some plan, analogous to that which was proposed by an eminent statesman, (who is admitted on all hands, to have understood the constitution and the true interests of his country, better than most people) for the purpose of ameliorating the condition of the soldiery, is very evident. Could any disadvantage ensue, although draughts were made out of the army, upon the same principle, that they are taken for the regulars out of the militia, for this very purpose; their services being limited to a term of years, and a discharge in the first instance, and thereafter, for farther services, an annuity and certain privileges, being allotted? This plan, though, in part, carried into effect in the army, has, there, it seems, been judged inexpedient, because it is held to convert the warrior into a selfish isolated being, who looks with such earnestness to the day of his discharge, as to lose sight of his honourable employment. But surely coertion could cure these, as well as every other propen-

sity, inconsistent with the personal character of soldiers; and when a suitable mixture of ages and classes is made, any solitary instance of this kind that might occur, could not possibly have any general effect. In whatever way, however, this plan might operate in the army, a-shipboard, and more particularly during a naval conflict, such feelings could have no place, scarcely even with the merest coward or novice; they would be abominated by such veterans as those, to whom length of service had brought their discharge close into view. As mankind cannot be supposed, to give preference to a life which is surrounded by death, without any prospect of deliverance, or any hope to cheer the hour of danger, I confess, that I see incomparably greater hazard, in the present circumstances of the world, in relying solely on a system founded in despair, than in any thing that could possibly follow, from introducing this animating beam of hope into our own system. Every country, that we know of, admits this principle more or less into its military organization. Even our own, while any thing like a definite term to our warfare could be contemplated, admitted it in substance, in the universal discharge of soldiers and seamen, that always took place at a general peace. Now, however, when the prospect of interminable hostility is before us, it becomes us, to administer the soothing consolation of hope to our gallant defenders; thereby, while we diffuse renewed energy throughout the whole military and naval department, we will accord relief to the anxiety of friends, rational remuneration to patriotic

adventurers, and appropriate grounds of confidence to the young and enterprizing *.

* The adoption of this plan would forthwith lead to a registration of seamen, a measure that could not but be of essential service to our maritime system. The following sketch of its operation may, perhaps, be alike useful and necessary in this place. A book of record is kept in every port, where there is any branch of the custom-house, in which the name, birth, parentage, age, and general designation, of every person who goes to sea, is entered; a running number being affixed to his name at entry, and a docquet given to the seaman. It is understood, that twelve years service, in a ship of war, taken from the day of registration, (two years for one, being always taken for one half of this time employed in merchant service; and every period, exceeding two months spent otherwise, than on ship board, being deducted from the account) shall exempt a seaman from the conscription, and entitle him to all the general privileges of corporation freedom; that five years more, spent in his majesty's service, shall give a right to an annuity of ten pounds for life, and other five years service, to an annuity of twenty pounds a year, for life. Ship officers being under severe penalties, obliged to attend to the registration of their men, and to the duties implied by their registration. There are two difficulties in carrying this plan into effect, which require consideration.

The first of these is, that of ascertaining the justice and validity of the claims above noticed. Now, as it is well known, that not only war-ships, but all merchantmen must keep a muster-roll of their crew, which is occasionally examined, in an official manner, it is only necessary, to have this muster roll regularly entered, both at outset and return, with the custom-house reports, taking into the entry both the port and number, as well as the name of each mariner, all for the sake of method, in separate columns. Amidst these recording officers, a regular correspondence could easily be maintained, which could establish to the satisfaction of the appropriate court, the claims of each individual, without any very great trou-

These views of our duty coincide so fully with the general principles of our social organization, that it seems unnecessary to defend them in a gen-

ble; it being received as a general principle, that where there is no palpable deficiency, the most favorable construction must always be adopted.

The other difficulty arises from the addition that this would make to the national burdens. Here, in the first place, I would remark, that from the very nature of the case, from the casualties to which seamen, above every class of men, are incident, and from their being also peculiarly prone to change, the probability is, that the burden, of supporting those who had passed through such lengthened service, would not be so very heavy, as at first view it appears. Secondly, that the wages, and other allowances, made to seamen in the regular way, in consequence of the superior competition, induced by the honor, privilege and profit, attached to their calling, would also, most probably, fall so much in amount as to compensate, in some measure, for this burden. Thirdly, this plan would, of itself, throw open a door to improvements in the navy; it would be a check on false returns, and other abuses; and it would throw the light of day, on the improper conduct of superior officers, in their ordinary duty; a circumstance, which would go farther, in advancing the condition of our navy, than any other. These considerations are daily rising in importance, and in case of any convulsion in the maritime world, they may become tantamount to every other consideration. Fourthly, this plan is so consistent with the whole frame of society, at present subsisting amongst us, that even although the sacrifice were very considerable, we ought to encounter it. Fifthly, it would for ever set at rest, the difficulties that take place, betwixt the American government and ours, regarding their rights to detain our seamen, when these enter their service. Seamen enregistered as British subjects, are as much the property of the nation, as the ships which they navigate, and as those may not be alienated by the deed of a foreign legislature, no more can the seamen who appertain to them. In this case, con-

eral point of view. With us, every man is understood to have a centre of his own, from which and for which he acts and thinks; his circle of friends, of connexions, of affairs, are understood to be dear to his heart, and paramount in his estimation to every other consideration, excepting only a clear sense of duty or of obligation. It is to this centre that our incitements and retributions must be directed, if we wish to preserve to our nation, its virtuous ascendancy. Immediate, unbounded, licentious, rapacious, gratification, are alike repugnant to our

sent cannot be obtained by the act of the seamen, for he is only one of the parties, the government of the country being the other, to whom he stands in the relation of a pupil under guardianship, or an apprentice under an indenture; one in whose person and services, besides the claim of paternity, we possess the right of direct or implied property.

In order to give full effect to the registrating system, all who are not yet registered, ought to be instantly impressed, and recorded in the register of the ship to which they are carried. If this plan should be thoroughly adopted, although it may perhaps be impossible, in the mean time, to dispense with the conscription laws, the hardships of these laws would be, in a great measure, removed, and a door of hope thrown open, in the view of all maritime adventurers, sufficient perhaps, to induce a great a part of our population, to betake themselves to this highly useful and honourable service. Besides this advantage, we must recollect, that we would always have at hand, and ashore, under our direct command, a body of men, who, in case of any very great emergency, would be as ready to serve their country in the sea service, as their other fellow citizens would necessarily be, under a similar emergency, in regard to the land service; and who would be at all times strenuous advocates for their country's cause.

system, and to our character. Above all things, it becomes us, to maintain good principles inviolate in our nautical heroes, for to them, above all others, these are congenial and essential. Unlike the mere soldier, who has his intervals of ease and domestic comfort, and who is daily surrounded with gay and fascinating objects, the sailor is cut off from the sweets of society, and fixed down in the midst of his indispensible duty; a duty, which is incessantly pressed upon his attention by the perils of his situation. His nautical skill and discipline are every moment in exercise; and his hours of sleep and refreshment, are short, disturbed and uncertain. In the hour of danger, neither address nor presumption will avail him without true intrepidity and persevering ardor and alacrity. Even the most fortunate contingencies are of no use to him, without high displays of personal valour and talent. Victory, which terminates the labor of the land soldier, and which puts a stop to the effusion of blood, only enforces upon the sailor a new set of toils and duties, equally serious, and equally severe with those which he has completed. The element, in which he is enveloped, is armed with new danger, through the disasters of the previous conflict, which burden him with increased duties, resulting from the loss of assistants, and the damages sustained by that vehicle, in which his fate is contained. His enemies' misfortunes, and the cares which Christian mercy and forbearance devolve upon him, add to his burdens. Must all these severities and privations be borne by these self-poised heroes, without

either the hope of indulgence, or the prospect of enjoyment, and without the possibility of relief, but through the arms of death? The seaman, let it be recollected, from his habits, is so far from being insensible of the social feelings of nature, that perhaps, he is of all others the most susceptible of them, and often, in imagination, anticipates the prospect of gratifying his friends, in some propitious hour, with his interesting narrations. In fine, do we want to fire our youth with the love of such exploits? What more proper method of so doing, than to plant among domestic scenes, venerable warriors, whose appearance, whose circumstances, and whose representations, must inspire their opening minds with high views of the glory of their country, and of the delights of adventure! At present, neither the pleasures of festivity, nor the attractions of gorgeous apparel, nor the clangor of gayful sounds, nor the fascinating influence of female smiles, are employed to emblazon this severe service, nor to enchant the youthful adventurer into its lines. The harsh coertion of the ancient concretive system, is its solitary prop. Is not some such rational prospect of ultimate remuneration, as that now noticed, not only congenial to, and highly necessary, in such circumstances; but in all respects, well becoming the paternal solicitude of a dutiful parent, towards such well-deserving, yet such improvident children, as our naval warriors are known to be?

Although, however, these, or some such legis-

lative provisions, might remove or moderate the difficulty above stated, and every other difficulty that can arise out of our system, it is evident, that with regard to the other class of difficulties, those which arise from the opposition of neutral powers to the exercise of our maritime claims, no such appropriate remedy is at hand. The question, in which these claims are involved, when viewed in its simplest form, seems incapable of much tergiversation, and on full investigation, even in its present complex and intricate appearance, it is seen to derive its imposing aspect, entirely from the audacity and subtlety, with which our enemy presses his own assumptions. Nothing can be more indisputable, than that a great belligerent power has a full right to oppose the interposition of neutrals, in its regular plans of hostility, and to counteract all those operations, which tend to circumvent its plans. Though therefore, it is but fair and reasonable, that neutrals should traverse the seas, the channel of universal intercourse, and avail themselves of every contingency, either of war or of ordinary calamity, by which their services to their neighbours can redound to their own advantage; and though it be proper and necessary, for the government of those individuals, whose adventuring spirit thus leads them in the way of profiting by these contingencies, to stretch forth their protecting hand, over the heads and over the properties of their subjects, yet it is but just and equitable, that the high belligerent parties should watch over the exercise of this right, and satisfy themselves,

that no undue advantage is taken of it. Their circumstances are such, as to press this matter close upon their attention; their dearest interests, their very existence, may force them to examine every particular business of this kind, with indefatigable assiduity, and to take strong and decisive measures to repel those practices, which militate against their interests. It is held, that the sea is the common property of all nations; if it is so, why are belligerents to be precluded from exercising a right, which unquestionably appertains to them? It is held also, that neutral flags ought to protect all that property, which they cover; but is that flag neutral, can it be held to be any thing else but a concealed enemy, which is every day found covering property, which not only belongs to an enemy, but which goes far in counteracting the most justifiable modes of warfare? Is it not enough, if the regular course of distributive justice be uniformly applied, in that way, which corresponds to the circumstances of the case; and that no sweeping class of measures or principles, which would frustrate the object of this application be resorted to? As it is impossible, however, by these, or by any such methods, to avoid inflicting hardships and distresses on the fairest trader, it becomes neutral nations, to look well to the conduct of their own citizens; and not only to take care, that nothing militating against those rules and practices, which the belligerents have laid down for themselves, be tolerated within their own domination; but to restrain, with a high hand, the exercise of their obvious

rights, whenever any disposition to pass those barriers, within which the conflicts of hostile passions are avowedly engaged, is indicated. To neglect this obvious duty, to call for favor when their subjects are directly or indirectly abetting or thwarting the measures of either party, is to require toleration to the culpable; it is to give a government sanction to illegal practices. To destroy the boundaries of neutrality, to display an overweaning anxiety in favor of neutral interests, for the purpose of protecting interlopers, is to commence hostilities against belligerent rights, and to court a place in the ensanguined conflict.

That such are clearly and necessarily the principles, on which the conduct of neutrals ought to proceed, appears to me to be altogether indisputable. A most tortuous policy, however, (already so much reprobated in other cases,) has long actuated the views of neutral states, and disposed them to bend their conduct to existing circumstances. The conduct of neutrals during the harmonious revolution of Poland, and in that of America, evinces that their own aggrandisement, and the abasement of our exalted character, but too powerfully influence their general procedure. The appeals which they affect to make to inductions from a crude experience, and to abstract principles, connected with apposition of circumstances, scarcely deserve notice. For although principles may be deduced from practices, that coincide with their views, yet unless these principles embrace all the circumstan-

ces of the case, the conduct of the one belligerent, as well as that of the other, it must be held to be unjust, to insist upon the application of the rule, thus inferred. In the case before us, it is evident, that the conduct of the French is so contrary to the whole rules and laws of civilized nations, that not only no precedent exists, whereby to comprehend the rules of warfare, which it could admit of; but that a latitude is given to the measures of their adversary, at least commensurate with the latitude assumed by that nation. For it must be noticed, that it is the constant practice of the French, to set at nought all neutral claims, and to assume a paramount ascendancy over every instituted form, that may impede her measures. Even the unnatural neutrality or rather friendship of Prussia, could not save her territory from devastation, when it happened to intervene betwixt their purposes and a favorite object. In order to be on equal ground with Bonaparte, Britain ought, not only to have a full right to controvert his schemes, by every consistent measure, but to have an election amongst the whole class of measures, that may oppose his interests. This is but fair, and as it is allowable in every supposable case, why should it be refused in one that implies the preservation of all that is dear and sacred to man? Although, therefore, it were possible, which it certainly is not, for neutrals to prove that Britain exercises rights, that are altogether uncommon for belligerent nations to exercise, in regard to the intercourse maintained betwixt neutrals and her adversary, it would still re-

main to be proved, that the conduct of her adversary did not admit of such an extension of her rights. But as it is altogether indisputable, that the conduct of France not only renders all the measures, resorted to by the British nation, necessary; but would justify an extension of belligerent rights, far beyond any thing that has yet been pretended to by that nation; and as neutral nations, not only tolerate, without remark, and even without complaint, the much severer measures of France, but in the most direct and unequivocal manner, add their sanction to them; is it not absurd as well as unjust, to attempt tying up the hands of the opposite party, according to obsolete forms? In all such cases, it is necessary to recur to a higher set of rules and principles, such as will embrace the whole circumstances of the whole case; and if the principles adopted for this purpose, be correspondent to the best feelings of our nature, and be applied with a sedulous regard to the rights of humanity, and of a common beneficent religion, the party resorting to these principles, may not only supercede every inferior consideration, but insist upon it, that all who may be affected by them, shall conduct themselves upon correspondent principles.

These considerations are not stated, because it is usual, or necessary for Britain, to resist the application of absolute standards of national right; for in all respects, her conduct breathes the purest spirit of these; but because it is absurd to subject a nation, whose principles, circumstances, and gen-

eral procedure, challenge alike the admiration and esteem of the world, to far-fetched indigested maxims, formed amidst darkness and oppression. The truth is, when Britain and France bring their mighty energies, into hostile contact, fragments of wealth and of power, fly off in all directions, which serve to bewilder the perceptions of the rapacious and licentious. For the sake of profiting by such accidents, neutral nations scruple not to lend their flag to cover hostile property. Hence, alone, originates the plea that neutral bottoms protect all that they carry, and that the guarantee of a government is a full passport to every trading vessel. Britain has swept the sea of her enemy's ships, and thus the immense trade, which these ships supported, is left open for the occupation of neutral powers. Here, therefore, a bribe is put into the hands of neutral nations, which carries all their favor into one side of the question. It is in vain for Britain to appeal to the arduous and desperate nature of the conflict in which she is engaged, to the magnanimity and liberality of her conduct and views, to the impolicy of supporting the enemy of the whole human race; it is equally fruitless, to demonstrate the absurdity of requiring a toleration in doing that for an enemy, during hostilities, that would not be permitted in peace; or to point out the absolute incapacity of the interloper to execute, without this enemy's assistance, one tenth part of that duty, which he, as a neutral, professes to accomplish; or to appeal to the enactments and ordinances of the enemy, which fetter down these operations

to his own service; all these pleas are set aside, and the neutral arm is raised with threats, against all such claims and assumptions. The capture of the Danish fleet, however, arose out of circumstances, still more imperious than those; the northern powers, coalesced and concentrated, had already made a common cause with the enemy of Britain, in the hopes of dividing with him, her immense spoils. Necessity may have made these powers set forward their claims, thus vehemently, in the last instance; but this necessity was induced by pretences formerly set up, and deliberately defended, while no such necessity existed.

The circumstances, which led into these events, are well deserving of our pointed regard, because they disclose to us, in a very prominent form, the line of policy, which that crafty tyrant, who now governs Europe, pursues towards his assumed friends, when these happen to be within his power. Russia had concluded a calamitous war with France, and entered into bonds of alliance with that power. In doing this, however, she was necessitated, first, to become a party with Bonaparte, in despoiling their mutual, tranquil, but now forlorn and helpless ally, Prussia; and, secondly, to turn her arms against her magnanimous kindred friend, Sweden, for the purpose of wrenching from her the best part of her dominions. These manœuvres, and the course of events that was going forward, induced Denmark to throw herself into the arms of France; whence arose our hostility to that power, and our

capture of its fleet. Thus we perceive, that in consequence of the artifices of France, Sweden was severely afflicted, and that by the hands of the power, with whom her connexion was closest, and by means that greatly embittered the severity of the blow; and Denmark became subjected to a similar treatment from Britain, her natural ally and protector. It is thus, that France always avails herself of her advantages; she renders her allies, the direct instruments of her most odious designs. While she envelopes them in her schemes, she takes care also to assume a control in their affairs, which is even more useful to her, than their complete subjugation to her yoke, could be. It was in this manner, that she served the different continental powers, during their disastrous conflicts with her, inspiring them with mutual jealousy or hostility, towards each other; and it is thus, that she is now attempting to serve us, in regard to America. As the various events and circumstances, into which the affairs of neutral powers have now been led, have in a manner swept the seas of all neutral vessels, excepting only the American, it is proper now to advert to our situation, in regard to that power. This is, in many respects, different from that in which we stand, in regard to every other neutral.

Before I proceed to trace the relations, in which the Americans stand, in regard to our concerns; I judge it proper, to make a few remarks upon the general character of this nation, and upon that very

peculiar situation which it occupies, in regard to us, and our great continental adversary.

It will be remembered, that the inhabitants of the United states, have sprung from our own blood; that they make use of the same language, laws, and institutions; that their manners, customs, and propensities, are still very little different from our own; that until within our own days, they lived under the same government, and in the closest habits of intimacy and connexion with ourselves; and that it is into their territory, that the best part of our superfluous wealth and population, still resolve themselves. Let it be farther recollected, that their separation from us proceeded, in no small degree, from our illiberal conduct towards them, and that they preserve, in a purified and improved state, many of our highest civil privileges and organic establishments. These considerations are not stated, with any view to palliate that ungracious and licentious spirit, in which their rebellion against their natural protector arose; for though the mother country had unquestionably no right whatever to tax her colonies, without their implied consent, nor to restrain the expansive energies of their growing power, within the bounds of a narrow monopoly; yet America can never be vindicated for overlooking the natural connexion by which she was bound to Britain, nor for forgetting the vast sacrifices made during a war, begun for her safety, in which the best blood and treasure of Britain, purchased for her, a tranquillity and profusion, which ought to

have thrown the petty sacrifices that were required on her part, entirely out of sight. Her turning the blessings thus derived from the bounty of a parent, into the hands of the known enemies of freedom and independence, and her consenting to become a party with them, when their whole force was directed against the country of her ancestors, throws a shade over the transactions of the revolution, and over the characters of those who stood in the front of its dangers, which no misconduct on our part can justify. Neither are the foregoing considerations meant to plead her cause on the ground of propinquity; for America has long since forfeited all claims on our indulgence, in that point of view; at this very time, she is levelling, without ceremony, every hostile weapon that she can wield against the vitals of her august parent; while this parent is in the very act of sheltering her from the deadly attacks of the most envenomed ruffian, that ever appeared in human shape. These, and the foregoing considerations, are merely stated, in order to bear it fully on our minds, that in the case before us, there exists the strongest necessity for examining the whole ground on which our transactions with this power proceed, and for digesting well the measures which we may in consequence adopt.

For this purpose, it is proper to begin with remarking, that the successful issue of the American war, the tranquil establishment of its new government, the rapid progress of general prosperity that took place under its influence, and the advance-

ment of general freedom and improvement under its auspices, raised the American states high in the estimation of all nations, and diffused the principles on which its constitution was founded, all over the world. They had their ambassadors in every court and their consuls in every great commercial city. Their enterprising spirit gave an eclat to all their peculiar qualities, and to the institutions of Britain, under which they were formed. The resources of the nation had a range of action, and a capacity of expansion, that had never been obtained, under the aristocratic commonwealths of Europe; and these received constant supplies from every country under heaven. The Americans, however, having given a notable proof of their deficiency in a sense of moral obligation, at the revolution, have most unhappily for themselves, and for all their connexions, continued to encrease in the same malverse propensity; they, like the French, under whose influence they have for some time formed themselves, have little scruple as to the means that they use, provided only, that the attainment and the display be such as are acceptable to their taste. On the whole, however, they, as a nation, are more industrious and serious, than corrupt and licentious. They are more prone to boisterous activity, than to superficial display; and better prepared for following out, under the dictates of plain sagacity, the direct road to substantial attainments, than to find their way amidst the wiles of subtlety and intrigue. And it must be remarked, that a variety of acquisitions, agricultural, com-

mercial, and institutional, are constantly forming within the American states, which, while they indicate the good sense of the people, and augment the strength of those stamina, in which the national power is seated, contribute to improve the morals, as well as the circumstances of the people. Here, the nations of the world perceive individual advancement, going hand in hand with public prosperity; and personal acquisitions incorporated, in the regular course of things, with national aggrandisement. Here also, a direct proof is obtained of the power of the developement of the human character, in a situation, wherein, the freedom of the rude state is incorporated with the refinements of the civilized; and the direct tendency of such advantages to amelioration, without the aid of political restrictions, or qualifications, is perceived, by the most stupendous processes developing themselves, without either embarrassing or disturbing the community, or any of its establishments.

As the advantages, thus obtained, have arisen out of their separation from Britain, and in consequence of the aid and support which they received from France, it can be a matter of no great wonder, though the Americans should, in general, be disposed to give to the French interests the preference, when these come in competition with ours. And it must be noticed, that although we do not infringe on their national independence, yet as the interest of our contiguous empire and theirs are constantly coming into contact, all our subsequent commercial

connexions, never could allay the animosities excited during the revolutionary contest, nor bind up the political wounds, that we had inflicted, in that manner, which, from the known sentiments of all parties, might otherwise have been expected. To this cause of discord, others arising from the peculiar circumstances and character of America and Britain arose. While we poured into their hands our abundant treasures, it became literally the business of the Americans, and of their governments, to defraud us of returns; the independence of the several states of each other in a judicial capacity, rendering this not only an easy, but a secure mode of acquiring property. The property, thus writhed from us, served to maintain that intercourse with other countries, that suited their purposes; and thus America, without real substantial capital fitted for circulation, contrived to render our immense capital the instrument of her aggrandisement. A strange fatality induced our nation to consent to the admission of American traders into our Eastern possessions, while we were excluding our own private traders therefrom; and thus, the Americans could procure their productions upon terms, that enabled them to undersell us at every foreign market, and even in our own, when the coercive arm of the state could not be intervened. Thus we were placed, in a state of commercial rivalry with our former fellow-subjects, from the mere impolicy and inaction of our own government; which, by repressing our energies at home under absolute monopolies, forced the best part of the

capital and industry of Britain, into the service of a power, that turned these acquisitions against ourselves. And as this was done, at the very time, when our political bickerings, and the blandished artifices of the French nation and government were rendering our nation and its interests, constantly more and more disgustful to the Americans, the marked predilection now shewn by that people, to the cause of our enemies, is, no more than might have been expected. Nay, as things were going on in this manner, at the time when the French revolution began, perhaps it ought rather to be a matter of surprize, that the Americans exhibited so much supineness at that great event. For although the Americans are not very tenacious of their sense of obligancy, nor prone to return the value of the services that they receive; yet as the fire and spirit of the revolution of France, were well calculated to kindle anew a similar flame in America, and as the whole powers of the old world were combined with one accord, to crush the genius of freedom, a great deal more, than the mere feeling of generous sympathy, might have been expected to have been aroused in every kindred breast. But, though it may be uncertain, whether, it was the excesses into which the French were speedily hurled under the eye, and even within the territory, of the American states, or the incapacity of these new states for encountering external warfare, or the favor with which, as a commercial nation, they were now every where received, or the experience acquired of the superficial, yet insidious character of the French nation, or some or all of these

things, or, merely, that constitutional apathy to the concerns of others, which is very soon confirmed in characters, in whom the prospect of advantage absorbs every other consideration, whatever may have been the cause of it, one thing is clear, that this great event no ways increased their animosity, towards Britain. On the contrary, while our intercourse was thereby extended, those circumstances which had formerly been matters of high importance were sunk out of view; and in spite of the assumptions and pretensions of the French agents, their influence in the general affairs of the American states, was neither augmented nor extended, in consequence of this great change. Out of all these circumstances, however, connexions of another kind arose, which, for the time, reconciled all parties to the neutrality of the American states. These it shall now be my business to explain.

There are three very important advantages, which Britain has obtained over France. First, she has driven her ships off the seas; second, she has dispossessed her of her colonies; and third, she has secured to herself the most valuable part of her trade and industry. These advantages are all of essential service to Britain, not only as a great belligerent power, but as a commercial and highly civilized nation. As it is not necessary for me, to take these matters into consideration as advantages resulting to Britain in its warlike capacity, more than as they are connected with commercial concerns, I shall only briefly notice, in regard to all such advan-

tages, that, as things now stand with us, whatever benefit might result from the attainments above stated, in a private or commercial light, these are utterly unworthy of our notice, if they at all compete with those higher considerations, which arise out of our fundamental belligerent interests. Our attainments, public or private, may be alike valuable and momentous, but if we do not hold them by a sufficiently secure tenure, if, while they may be wrested from us by our enemies, they in truth prove makebates to the Frenchman, urging him forward in his desperate conflict, and deceitful lures to ourselves, by inducing a listless activity, where our substantial strength ought to be exercised—then, we ought to consider them merely as obstacles on our way, as things utterly unworthy of our attention. In stating these considerations thus strongly, it is proper to remark, that with us the means of enjoyment, the substances that we possess, constitute the basis of our national superstructure, the source whence our supplies, naval and military, must be drawn; and as for this reason, to mar the value of these, is not only highly impolitic, but in every point of view, absolutely pernicious; so, it is only, therefore, when the circumstances of the case require us, to bring our general security, and our means of aggrandisement into mutual competition—it is only when our resources burden our system, in place of administering to its strength, that the value of such objects becomes disparaged, and that the desperate nature of the warfare, and the tremendous consequences into which a neglect of its interests would infallibly

lead, set every countervailing principle into the shade. We may still therefore, thank God, enjoy in peace, all that abundance that has been brought within our reach ; but both these circumstances, the denudation of France as a commercial nation, and the restraints under which the commercial operations of Britain were necessarily laid, in consequence of the paramount ascendancy of its belligerent interests, threw into the hands of all those neutral nations, that could avail themselves of it, accessions of wealth and of power, of the utmost importance to them, both as states, and as aggregate societies of enterprizing individuals.

But, the trade thus forced into the hands of neutrals, was advantageous not only to them, but to both great belligerent parties. The circulation of wealth, is necessary for the support and excitation of the reproductive processes. These processes, thus excited and supported by the intervention of neutrals, from the varied circumstances of the different possessions of these belligerent powers, were rendered subservient to the universal good ; they were enabled to bring forward those supplies, to which their circumstances were severally competent, by which means these powers, though sedulously employed, in the work of destruction, could still go a great way, in compensating to the world at large, that general injury which their hostilities induced. As the commercial intercourse, thus stimulated and supported, was impressed by circumstances, which made it coincide exactly with

the wants and circumstances of the country, thereby affected, so the exchange of commodities, that was produced, could not but be peculiarly adapted to the welfare and advantage of each country. In France, the stunted reproductive powers, that still remained, and could maintain their ground, in spite of the progress of destructive principles, could only receive a moderated excitation and support; but this support was equivalent to her circumstances. In Britain, however, the case was otherwise; her very extensive, and thoroughly established reproductive processes, received her national powers, and exercised these, under such advantages, that any excitation whatever was sufficient to render them so highly useful to the nation, and to the world at large, that the general advantage, obtained in consequence of every excitation, was felt all the world over. This diversity of circumstances, in the condition of the belligerents, gave rise to many peculiarities of operation. As these may all be classed under several distinct heads, which, in the questions now before us, are of very great and of universal importance; and as it is only necessary for us, to have a general apprehension of their diversified operations, I next proceed shortly to take these into consideration, and to pursue them in that light, which coincides most directly with the general subject now before us. By so doing, we shall attain to a satisfactory apprehension of those general conclusions, which the conduct of the American government naturally presses upon our attention.

The first object that strikes us, on casting our eyes upon this subject, are the advantages that result to British industry, from the facilities afforded to it by neutral carriers, in the disposal of its productions. The reproductive powers of Britain, being, as already noticed, highly improved and concentrated, it is therefore only necessary to make them feel the stimulus of external and general support, in order to render them competent to every demand that can be made upon them. Disciplined into the most incessant and efficient modes of exercise, and repressed by the state of things in which they are enveloped to these operations that are most truly useful and valuable, inaction is, to them, worse than any privation to which they can be subjected; and a regorgement of their productions, equal to destruction itself. When the movements of the belligerent powers were so formidable and so desolating, the intervention of neutral agents, whose condition exempted them from their destructive influences, was indispensible to all parties. The wants of nations and of men require regular supplies, in whatever condition they are placed; and if it is in their power, to bestow any thing that can be passed as an equivalent, neutral traders will, in most instances, find the way to supply their wants, and relieve them of their equivalents. The French nation, at the commencement of the revolution, could be at no great loss for equivalents, when the whole property of their country was put into circulation; a great part of their means, from the circumstances of the times, could not but find their way

through the hands of spoliators, into those of neutral nations, from whom again, they passed into those of the inhabitants of Britain. According as the French spread their devastations, the multitude of the equivalents at their disposal increased in number, and in value; and as their own reproductive powers, and even those of their continental neighbours, could afford but scanty supplies to men whose occasions were alike violent and incessant; so their destructive operations, constantly distributed the means, which could be circulated wherever these supplies could be found; and these means also, for the most part, found their way almost directly through the same channel towards the shores of Britain. For it is a curious fact, that according as the French revolutionary career advanced, so the mass of property in circulation, particularly the precious metals, constantly increased, and constantly tended into the coffers of the industrious. In this way, the paramount influence of Britain, over the wealth and power of the continental nations, increased; until at length, it became paramount to every other species of stimulative influence that could be regularly exercised upon the European continent.

Thus far, all was manifestly favorable to British industry; but it must be noticed, first, that the value of this influence, was of no farther advantage than as it could be regularly exercised; and second, that this advantage, in so far as the interests of the industrious was concerned, was restrained by

the natural course of things, within very narrow limits. We will attain to a satisfactory apprehension of this matter, if we attend to what necessarily follows, from the regular movements of productive industry. When any marketable article is produced, its value must, in the first place, be fixed by the application of the market standard; it must either pass, or be held to have passed into the hands of those, to whom it is in truth of this comparative value; and this object the European market, when placed in the circumstances above mentioned, could serve in the most complete manner; for there the merchant who was ready to receive commodities at their accredited value, was to be found. But it was further necessary, that the equivalent, or the powers of the person obligated to deliver it, should be equal to this value, in the hands of the industrious. If the equivalent was delivered, and was gold, this object could be effected at once, by the transportation of the gold; but if, (as was most generally the case,) this equivalent was a personal obligation to deliver, at a fixed time, the stipulated value, in the accredited medium of exchange; then, it was evident, that all these difficulties and dangers, that could intervene betwixt the creation of this obligation and its discharge, remained to be discussed, before this received value could be held to be absolutely delivered. And farther, if, in the third place, this stipulated value was delivered in another marketable commodity, then all the hardships and hazards, attending the realization of the received value of this new commodity, remained, in like manner, to be encountered, before the British

capitalist could hold in his own hands, the absolute value of his own commodity. In a state of furious and savage warfare, the value of personal obligations of any kind was seldom equal to their received import; for it must be noticed, that though the interponent was neutral, his merchant was involved amidst the excesses of French violence. Moreover, as the introduction into Britain of any new article of consumpt would, for the most part, merely traverse the movements of some native reproductive process or establishment, the sale of the produce of which, it precluded in the home market; and, as it was in those, that is in personal obligations of doubtful import, and in consumable commodities, that by far the greatest part of the value of our exports, behoved ultimately to be realized; so it is evident, that the absolute value of all the intercourse that could be supported and carried forward by neutrals, could only be beneficial to the general industry of the British community, in so far, as that value could be resolved, with advantage, into the service of the British community.

This will appear more manifest, if we attend to the general effects of this resolution of this wealth, that takes place within our own community. Whoever becomes possessed of such personal obligations, or of such commodities, as we have been considering, may circulate their value, in virtue of that commercial credit, which is held to be attached to the circumstances of the holders of substantiated wealth.

This value, he naturally passes, directly or indirectly, into the hands of those, who have establishments or reproductive processes, to support or institute. Thereby, the reproductive powers of the community being augmented, have their hold over foreign and domestic wealth, confirmed and increased. Whence it happens, that the quantity of commodities may be augmented, at the same time, that the general demand for these commodities by the consumer, may not be proportionally increased; or where this demand is increased at all, it may not be accompanied with a remunerative power, sufficient to compensate to the general holders of these commodities, the value that has been invested in them. The power of production is concentrated in one set of hands; that of consumption, is placed in another; unless therefore, the circumstances of the consumer are such, as to enable him to replace, constantly, the value of what he consumes, to the producer; and unless the circumstances of the producer continue in such a condition, that the value of such returns, as his consumer can give him, can be preserved and circulated at their proper standard value, then the advantage of all these different accessions to the reproductive powers of the nation, must quickly diminish; and the result must be, that the producing party, not having sufficient inducements to continue or extend his reproductive operations, these will rapidly fall off. It is probable that the consumer's means and circumstances will at the same time, fall off with equal rapidity; for, the value of the commodities, which he himself

can produce will, generally, in like manner, decrease. But whether this last effect be immediately produced or not, it is evident, that until some kind of equal proportionment become established, betwixt the producing and consuming powers of the community, sufficient to preserve an equilibrium in its movements, the condition of society must remain constantly retrograde.

The circumstances in which Britain was placed, with respect to her allies upon the continent of Europe, during the early part of the present contests, served, in some degree, to moderate the operation of these obstructive tendencies. The magnanimous policy of her cabinet, led it to contribute liberally to the exigencies of the distressed nations of Christendom, and as the greatest hardship with these nations was the low state of their funds, the financial aid of Britain was frankly accorded to them, in that particular. The vast balances that were constantly forming in her favor, in consequence of the operations aforenoticed, placed at her disposal a sum, that was particularly appropriate for such purposes. This British wealth, substantiated under the authority of the subsidized powers, when transferred into the hands of native bankers, or accredited agents, constituted a basis of finance, that met the views, both of the subsidized and of the subsidizing state; and it enabled these bankers to intervene their empledgments or bills of exchange, as a new circulable capital, for the service of the commercial world; which empledgments, being re-

gularly discharged from the deposits of the British government in London, served to relieve the industrious, without the hazard and difficulty of a substantial remittance, and to place, in the hands of the subsidized government, its stipulated aid, without any direct transfer of bullion. Out of these extensive, and peculiar financial operations, others of a more general nature arose; and new capitals and new incitements to trade sprung forward, for the service of the industrious, both at home and abroad. On the strength of these, bankers could emit their articulate obligations, all of which went to augment the circulating medium of the commercial world, to support the reproductive processes, and to cherish the spirit of enterprize. The prosperity, which these general and diffusive advantages produced, have not only compensated to us, in many respects, for the burdens which they induced, but they mitigated the horrors of that war, into which Christendom was then universally involved.

From the peculiar circumstances of the European continent, the paper currency, that could be thus harmoniously and profitably emitted, was not only much restricted, but, even, under these restrictions, it required a more than ordinary support of metallic currency. Military business, above all others, from its urgency and importance, and from the multiplicity of details and transactions, which it must comprize and permeate, with precision and with promptitude, requires a most copious supply of the precious metals. Indeed, in

consequence of the suddenness and violence, with which confidence is withdrawn and destroyed; amidst the ravages of war, gold must necessarily have become an object of general appetency. These circumstances, together with that jealousy of our commercial prosperity, in which our subsidized allies indulged themselves, in common with our professed enemies, made these, at length, require their subsidies in bullion. Britain, led into the subsidizing system from the support provided, as aforementioned, by her industry for its maintenence, consented to this deflection of her resources. Gold, for this purpose, was drawn out of the hands of her industrious citizens by every aperture; and these, again, were set adrift all over the world, to procure supplies to replenish their constantly exhausting stores. In such circumstances, as it was evident that this concession, necessarily, embarrassed the movements of British industry, and rendered the subsidy-remittances, a dead weight upon the nation, which, not only drained it of its treasures, but circumvented the movements of those reproductive processes, out of which alone, supplies of this treasure could be found; was it not but reasonable and politic, that the powers thus subsidized should so far meet the exigencies of the case, as to give full access to, and unbounded circulation within, their own territories to the fruits of these reproductive processes? It was evident, (and it was the foundation of their policy,) that these fruits should be thus circulated, because these alone, could bring back to Britain, (the grand receptacle from whence their own stores were continu-

ally provided, and whence the vast supplies necessary for the support of their general cause were drawn,) that bullion, of which they and all parties were so eagerly in quest. Was it not therefore proper to preserve this grand receptacle always in a full and overflowing state? If any thing like good-will to our nation, or even sincere zeal for that cause, in which their all was embarked, had prevailed, the subsidiaries would have met the wishes of the British nation, in this respect, with forwardness. In place of this, however, their old cold-blooded restrictions upon trade, remained still unaltered; and the ingenuity and patience of our merchants were kept constantly on the rack, before they could either introduce their commodities into, or draw back their value from, the territory of these subsidiaries.

The ostensible reason of all this was, to encourage and protect their own native industry; and this it was held, gold promoted, and our external supplies repressed. If our trade had been productive of no other effects, but that of supplying the wants, and sparing the labors of their subjects; and if gold were the only stimulant to industry, the sole object of desire, such policy no doubt, might have been justifiable; but as we know, that every object of desire held forth to view, that can only be obtained by dint of regular industry, stimulates industry; and as we know also, that a continuation of such stimulations is, of itself, sufficient to create industrious habits, and to facilitate the process, and augment the value of such industry; so, it is very evident,

that our commodities, if really in themselves desirable, (and if they are not desirable, their introduction must be absolutely nugatory,) must produce industrious habits; that these habits can only be exercised on objects, that are generally useful and marketable; and that the industry, thus stimulated and exercised, will find its way into establishments, wherein the powers of individuals, and their improvements in the arts, being collected and organized, will render them, progressively, more and more efficient in the public service. Let it be noticed farther, that these establishments, can never be supported by the metallic currency alone; because these require an extension of commercial intercourse, and a circulation of confidence, which implies an universal facility of distributing every article of value or of desire. Gold is an invaluable accessory in such procedure; but gold, to the requisite extent, can never long be awanting in such circumstances. To nations in a low, but rising state of improvement, the protection of those processes, which it is their determination to establish, is indispensible; but when this object is once attained, it is equally absurd and unjust, to fetter that intercourse, to which these or the circumstances of the country naturally give rise, by any other rules, but those which arise from the whole circumstances of the case. In the case before us, no industry required protection more than that, which was connected with the circulation and distribution of the fruits of the soil, and with the established habits of the people. As the circumstances of the British merchants led

them to relieve and confirm, not to circumvent, the operations thence induced, the British intercourse thus precluded, was beneficial, and the repression of it, detrimental to the improvement then going forward. By their overweaning anxiety about the retention of bullion within their domains, these powers, not only frustrated these beneficial operations, but they thereby laid themselves still farther open to the artifices of the common enemy, who found it no difficult matter to extract out of the hands of these short sighted politicians, the glittering acquirements, which they were thus so warily appropriating to their own sinister purposes. As this matter has been sufficiently illustrated, in a preceding part of this treatise, it is only necessary here to add, that the burdens thus laid on the capabilities of Britain, for meeting the continental exigencies, no ways overpowered her strength: the masses of wealth under her control formed all over the world, which her superior prowess still enabled her to command for the use of these allies, fully met all their demands. Whatever internal injury she sustained, and whatever external sacrifices she made, for the attainment of these means, the wants and wishes of these allies, reasonable and unreasonable, were always fulfilled and anticipated. If the continent is lost, it is not from the illiberality or the incompetency of Britain, in fulfilling its part of the general duty. Whether there was any defalcation in the cabinet, in the discipline or formation of the armies, or in the management or procedure of the chiefs of these nations, may still re-

main uncertain, but that it never could be held to lie with the party engaged to procure them financial and naval assistance, is unquestionable. No one, therefore, can, with any pretensions to justice, say, that the blame of this loss, can be attached to our commerce, our industry, or our financial operations.

The propriety of these remarks will appear, if we attend to the comparative procedure of the different belligerents. We perceive Britain, oppressed with a national debt, that was universally held to exceed not only her capabilities, but the capabilities of every other nation in the world; yet relying on her industry, effectually providing for her own, and for her allies' support, even while traversed in the operations of this industry, by those very allies. Amidst all these distresses, however, she not only bore up under her burdens, but she most scrupulously accommodated herself to the wants and feelings of all, with whom she had any intercourse or connexion. Shall a nation, thus conducting herself, be accused of violating the rights of others, because she calls in question the pretensions of those, who think proper to declare themselves neutral in such a cause, and who it is evident, do this, for the mere purpose of palliating malversations and inconsistencies of her adversary, which are, in truth, repugnant to common sense? Now, what is it, that this adversary has done, on the footing of universal equity, to merit all this favor from neutrals? In the first place, let it be noticed, that he has relieved himself of his national debt, and of every in-

convenient obligation, by a mere act of his will. In the next place, he lays his hand hard on the whole property that he can grasp, both foreign and domestic, and appropriates it, without ceremony, to his own purposes. How is it, that France treats her allies, her neutral friends? Switzerland, Holland, Spain and Italy can tell this; she drains them alike of men, whom she places in the hottest part of her desperate conflicts, and of means, which she wrenches from their hands, in the most brutal manner; and then she gradually tears them to pieces, in order to incorporate them effectually with her own essence. Even America, herself, must confess, that year after year, she is defrauded of her returns, insulted, degraded, and then obliged to become the base instrument of inflicting those wounds on the person of her august parent, which the power of the inveterate adversary of this parent, cannot reach; that she is necessitated to express triumph, at the success of his crimes and atrocities; and, that to prevent worse usage, she must, in the accents of exultation, shutting her eyes on her odious situation, proclaim that conduct wise and salutary, which only denotes her own subjugation to his nefarious system.

We are so accustomed to these things, that they now pass over with little remark; but where is the reason, where is the pretext for favor, to a nation, which has outraged every principle human and divine? Bonaparte is pleased to tell us, of his allies, of his neutral friends, of his paramount ascendancy over our system; and he boasts of the spontanc-

ous, zealous, services of his friends in his cause; yet in the midst of their good offices to him, he systematically denudes them, one by one, of their independence; and placing them, more and more under his military government, at length absorbs them under his own autocratic sway. How has this been effected? was it by conquest? If it was, this conquest was achieved, while these, thus denuded, were fighting under his own banners, and laying his enemies at his feet. Was it from the incapacity of these nations to govern themselves? then this incapacity was induced by himself, and he alone ever attempted to avail himself of it. Are they, and is the world at large, merely baubles given him for exercising his foul and furious passions upon? Where is the consistency of levelling every thing to his will, while that will attempts nothing, but to destroy? Something, beyond the existence of his system, it is said, is still looked for, even by his most decided partisans; and that this must explain the enigma, which arises from so many individuals, blindly adhering to his monstrous system. While his power, however, triumphs over such a large portion of the human race, no such pretensions inferring remote jesuitical contingencies, deserve our consideration. The conduct of Britain, throughout the whole of this arduous contest, towards all nations, has been most generous and condescending; meekly and wisely accommodating herself to the feelings, as well as to the necessities of the weakest, and also to those of the most powerful,—she has raised for herself a monument of Christian forbear-

ance and moderation, that is glorious to the cause of humanity. Amidst the dark abyss, into which the assumption of Bonaparte and his abettors have sunk the nations, a glimpse of future relief and restoration is thus accorded to them; and a high example and support, to their most strenuous exertions, is seen to be provided; so that an age, which above most others, has been fertile in crime and perversity, appears irradiated with the brilliancy of truth, and with the energy of genuine virtue. How any nation can, in such a cause, deliberately set its face against such tendencies, or vauntingly place in opposition to these, the hollow fallacious claims of neutrality; and, while placing its ultimate hopes in overreaching an insidious destroyer, systematically subserve his cause, must appear wonderful to posterity. That such conduct, however, does not proceed from a mere callousness of disposition to truth and virtue, but from a sordid and blind attachment to the same principles, in which the whole perversities of the French revolution originated, will appear, if we follow out, at some length, the conduct of the American nation, in the exercise of its neutral rights.

Let it be noticed then, that, making every allowance to the feelings of the Americans, arising from their prior connexions with France, and otherwise, and from their prevailing dissentions with Britain—we must take along with us, countervailing circumstances, which place all such considerations in the shade. It must be still farther recollected, that America, being placed at the distance of two

thousand miles from France, and being every where surrounded and protected by the arms of the British, has chosen that line of conduct which she now follows, and which after full and mature deliberation, she perseveres in without intermission. Other nations were so beset by the French arms and influence, that their subserviency to French measures, and their conduct, may be held to have resulted most generally from necessity; for certainly their hostility was moderated by all the forms that their circumstances could admit of. Whereas, in America, the spirit of both government and people have gone hand in hand in aggravating and outraging the hostile feelings, which their conduct had excited. Even before France had manumitted her colonial slaves, and turned their arms against their masters, there was a general deficiency of colonial produce; which deficiency, as the propensities of the French nation to consume such articles still remained, and as their ravages procured for them equivalents sufficient to induce neutral adventurers to procure the requisite supplies, early transferred that trade to the Americans. As it coincided with the views of the French government, to employ its population in belligerent exercises, in preference to every other, it set aside, in favour of the Americans, those ancient laws and customs, which fixed the trade betwixt the mother country and her colonies, in the hands of her own citizens. Hence it happened, that the interposition of these American traders effectually preserved, for belligerent purposes, a multitude of seamen and soldiers, who would otherwise

have been engaged in such services. The American government, for this purpose, not only permitted these adventurers to interpone their neutral claims, which, amidst a variety of devices, she contrived to render effectual, for the great purpose for which they were interposed; but it being understood, that West India produce, transferred in neutral bottoms from a French colonial port to America, was neutral; and that the same property was also neutral, if but landed at an American port, and re-shipped for France; even this small tribute of deference to the belligerent rights of Britain, was systematically eluded, by double sets of shipping entries, which such vessels at all times carried along with them, whereby, the Americans were enabled, for some time, to carry their produce directly from a French West India port, to its ultimate place of destination in France; and strange to relate, this claim was at length set down, as a fair and regular mode of transfer. Not only so, but as the deficiencies of France were constantly extending, and came, in the end, to reach to almost every necessary and useful article of life; and as the flag of America, was constantly interposed to protect this trade, this flag became, in the course of a few years, an indispensible instrument in the French system. Even the transferences of commodities, from port to port, within the territory of old France was sheltered under this convenient subterfuge. The American ships, by these means, soon covered the seas and crowded the ports of France and all her dependent nations, so as to render the naval superiority of Britain, near-

ly nugatory; a burden, not an advantage, to the nation. Britain never did, and never could recognize such practises as neutral; but her hands were then too much engaged, and her hostile sentiments too much exercised about other objects, for her to reprehend such procedure as it deserved. She repressed it, however, by general regulations, which went to declare her disavowal of these practices, and her determination to prevent them.

As America received these intimations with all the indications of hostility, that were compatible with a consciousness of her incapacity to impugn or oppose the execution of these regulations, conjoined with a fixed resolution to circumvent them, we may fairly hold her, as having given her solemn protest against them. What did she do, however, when Bonaparte, in order to follow out, ashore, (though in a most preposterous manner) the same principles to their extreme length, declared it needful for all neutral vessels to bring along with them, a certificate from one of his own consuls, as to the place of origin of the commodities which were imported, as the only means of preventing such goods from being seized as British property? What did she do in that case? Why, she did nothing at all; she did not make a single effort in defence of her commerce, until the British orders of council met the artifices of the enemy of civil order, by rendering all American vessels, who did not visit a British port, in order to give a full proof of their reprehension of such principles, lawful prizes. Then, but

not till then, did the Americans assume any thing resembling neutral ground. Yet still, they made no distinctive provisions, correspondent to the different conduct of the different neutral powers. They made no remarks, but those that were directed alike against them both; they perceived not the necessity of controverting the French decress by British orders of council; they discerned neither the order of promulgation, nor the characteristic properties, operations, nor consequences, of these great belligerent measures. They did not even observe, that the French decrees were to be executed ashore, implying the subjection of neutral nations; while the British orders of council could only take effect at sea, in that arena, whereon all that is pacific, and all that is hostile, have alike, the full right of exercising all their rights. The Americans drew no line of distinction whatever, for with one sweeping class of measures, they set both belligerent powers at defiance.

Before we can duly appreciate the merits of the conduct of the Americans in this instance, it is necessary to take along with us those peculiarities in their circumstances, which distinguish their case. In so far as any thing like reciprocity remained, it might be pled, that though the American flag had been, out of all comparison, more beneficial to the French than to the British interest, yet that this arose more out of the circumstances of the case, than out of any undue partiality to France. It might be stated, that if Britain had been placed in the same circumstan-

ces with France, the conduct of America towards her would have been similar. America was in the condition of a bystander, who could profit by the misconduct or misapprehensions of two combatants, who were engaged alongside of her, in working out each others' destruction. To both she frankly offered her services, upon the condition of receiving a fair and equitable compensation. Though Britain happened to have little occasion for these services, yet to that extent which subserved her purposes, Britain unhesitatingly used them. If to France, on the other hand, these services were indispensible; if in following out these peculiarities, various questions arose; was America to be subjected to the consequences induced by these opposite circumstances of belligerent parties, merely because one of the powers felt itself more aggrieved, or less benefited, than it expected or wished to be, by this neutral interference? It is admitted, to be as lawful for either of the belligerents to intercept the supplies belonging to the other, as it would have been to destroy those supplies, when these had entered their enemies' premises; but does this at all imply a right to interfere with, or repel the acknowledged rights, possessed by neutrals? In the circumstances of the case, it is evident, that neutral services had become more detrimental than beneficial to our interests; must we, therefore, assume a general right to set these aside, or, on any pretext whatever, to deny their existence, because it appears evident that we would thereby, the more effectually promote or extend our belligerent interests? Although, in the cir-

cumstances of the present contest, we may warrantably infer, that it is bestowing no compliment upon the moral or rational feelings or perceptions of the Americans, thus to tolerate their assumption of neutral ground; must we, therefore, arrogate to ourselves, the privilege of contravening, in a direct manner, their neutral operations? All these circumstances, most distinctly press upon our attention, the necessity of watching, most sedulously and incessantly, over the exercise of neutral rights. To this full extent therefore, let us receive them, but while they admit of nothing more, let us respect, on our part, the limits that we ourselves have expressly recognised.

Let us, however, see into what circumstances all these peculiarities have led; and then we shall perceive, not only the character of the principles on which they proceed, but that general line of conduct which they lay open before us. The French, we know, are not to be restricted to partial or implied advantages; it is their fundamental maxim, that their system must, in all cases, be displayed as paramount. A little serious attention to this point, under these views, will, I think, unfold the whole mystery of the American neutrality; and while it brings down our contempt upon the imbecile movements of a power, only half immersed in wickedness, it will lead us to such views of our own interest in this particular, and of our own duty as connected with it, as will enable us, here, as in every other instance, to preserve, with a high hand that general line of conduct,

which, is most correspondent, with our circumstances, our character, and our best, and our highest interests. It is necessary for us to take fully along with us, our highest principles; but having done so, it is only necessary to apply these to our own kinsmen; ungrateful and polluted indeed, but still dear, and connected to us by ties which we cannot, with impunity, dissolve. As by a close and assiduous attention to the whole particulars which these things involve, we must attain, not only to a due apprehension of our present circumstances, but to a general idea of our future procedure. I shall endeavour to bring these fully before us, making, as I go along, those incidental illustrations that arise out of, and are connected with, our current circumstances.

In the first place, let it be recollected, that America, during this contest, has thought proper to transmit to France, the whole of that immense debt that had been contracted by her to that power, during her own revolutionary contest, and that she did this in commodities, which were, at the time, of more consequence to France, than if she had placed the whole of her population, and all their means, at the entire disposal of the French government. America thus recognized, in the most ample form, the new government of France, and bestowed upon it all that aid that was consistent with her circumstances; and she did this in the face of all that armed Europe could do, to revenge the injury done to their cause. In the second place, the consuls, and

other agents of France, were permitted to hold courts, for exercising juridical power within the American states, in respect to prize vessels, and certain privileges claimed by French citizens; such as were inconsistent, not only with the neutrality but the real independence of the country. And this was done, at the very time, that British subjects were subjected to every hardship and indignity, in the exercise of their ordinary civil rights, that the feelings of the American people themselves could bear. Thirdly, while the Americans repelled, with a violence and scorn more indicative of hostility and vengeance, than of a sense of right, every hardship and inconvenience sustained by them, from the exercise of our maritime rights, they tolerated, or rather they permitted themselves to be sunk under, the spoliations and exactions of the French government; these having been exercised without end, and almost without measure, and the American government, scarcely venturing to express its sense of wrong. Fourthly, the American government entered so far into the French plans and principles, as to accept of the Spanish provinces of Louisiana and Florida from France, although it was evident, that France had no more right to bestow these upon America, than America had to seize them at her own hands. In return for the service of wrenching these provinces out of the hands of their rightful proprietors, America again assessed her resources, and poured these into the hands of France, of a kind, and to an extent, that were out of all comparison, more valuable to France, than the most ac-

tive co-operation in belligerent measures. To mention no more, in the fifth place, the American government prostituted the sanction and authority of a great and free people, to the sacrilegious and iniquitous procedure of the French government and people, while it deprecated, without ceremony, the mild yet dignified, the condescending yet commanding and meritorious, deportment of Britain. America even basely exercised herself, in culling and extracting from the multiplied intricacies of the extensive transactions of the British nation, matters that could serve her, in making out something resembling a case of aggrievance, in justification of her partiality to France.

In order to have a proper apprehension of the magnitude and importance of these different indications of hostility towards Britain, and friendship towards France, it is necessary to take along with us those adjunct circumstances, wherein the character and import of these transactions are made more fully to appear. Although this has already, in some degree, been incidentally effected, yet the following particulars will serve to set the subject more fully in its proper light.

First, let it be noticed, that the accommodation, thus accorded to France, was virtually distrained from the sinews of British industry. Here, I do not allude to the ungrateful return made by America, for the security and prosperity antecedently purchased for her, by British blood and treasure,

nor to any thing connected with her relative condition, though these are matters highly deserving of pointed regard even in this more confined view of the subject; but to that perversion which takes place, of the vast balances due Britain, in the way of trade, to the service of the enemy of Britain, and to the defraudation of the merchants of Britain. This matter has already been, in some measure, explained. It is necessary, however, to notice farther, that when the industrious processes of Britain have been thoroughly excited by an external and appropriate agent, that these not only move in such circumstances, with a celerity and with an effect that is competent to the highest demands that can be made upon them, but that they give rise to new, sometimes to greater and more improved establishments, which speedily render the amount of the national productions, far beyond the consumption of any regular market that can be provided. This vast and unnatural accession to the reproductive powers of the nation, originates in the peculiarly tranquil and harmoniously fixed establishments, and organization of Britain. An impulse, which sets in motion the reproductive powers of Britain, at once animates the hopes and consolidates the energies of that great nation. Commercial credit, and high prospects of continued success, thereupon, buoy up its exertions to the highest pitch, and produce that mutual confidence, which is the cause and consequence of superlative and exuberant exertions. The great misfortune is, that this unnatural production runs all into a pecu-

liar set of objects, which, with their concomitant provisions, draws away from other sets of objects equally or even more essential to the public good, their requisite resources. In order to manufacture on a scale sufficiently extensive, muslins, or woollens, or cutlery, the agricultural, the military, and the naval departments are drained of hands, of capital, of means. But although this new destination of labor sends forth a numerical value, far beyond that, which any other species of domestic industry could, for the time, procure; yet, from the unnatural accumulation of the productions of this labor, the real value of these productions, and amount of that aggregate sum of money which can be drawn out of these for the service of the country, effectually fall off along with this increase. Nor is this all; to this unnatural production, an unnatural consumption is soon superadded, whereby, even the reduced value of the articles, thus depreciated, is, in a great measure lost to the producer, and to the country at large. This arises from the incapacity to meet the demands which they have created against themselves, to which, in such circumstances, merchant adventurers become liable. The vast accession of commodities, for which no regular merchant can be found, allures into the fields of commerce, a new race of adventurers, who have no adequate capital to cover the risks which they profess to undertake; and these, while they attempt to force their goods into every accessible market, squander away or destroy that value, which ought to be remitted to the producer; and thereby, they not only induce ruin

upon themselves and their connexions, but they completely destroy those chances of success, which the regular trader would otherwise possess.

That the loss which Britain has sustained, by this course of things is immense, is attested by the various tremendous shocks, which the circumstances of her American traders have, of late, so frequently undergone. Indeed, if we attend, for a moment, to the real situation of things, we must perceive, that it is impossible that the matter can be otherwise. When the spirit of the nation is high, and commercial adventure has been for any length of time successful, the credit of the mercantile world becomes equal to almost every undertaking, of which the transfer or investment of property is the object. The credit which can be upheld by the man of property buoys up, along with it, the circumstances and the credit of the mere adventurer; who again, on his part, by removing out of the way these commodities which are ready to obstruct the course of reproduction, and by introducing his credit and commercial reputation into the service of the fabricating establishments, gives a new stimulus and support to the reproductive processes. In such circumstances, the mere transfer of commodities, or even the nominal transfer of these, by the exchange of personal obligations, serves as a medium of intercourse, a basis of support to the progression of improvement. Individuals, even of slender capitals, may, by this means, set agoing, and maintain, a concatenation of estab-

lishments, sufficient to enrich a whole country. It is necessary, that these establishments be mutually subservient to each other, that they bring forward commodities, that will bear a value in the general market, at least equal to the whole value of the materials, labor, capital and skill, that is bestowed upon them, together with a suitable surplus to cover the risks and troubles, incident to management. When these appear to be secured, the course of things, may for some length of time be upheld, merely by means of mutual confidence, without adequate and direct returns. Thence a profusion of commodities for every accessible market is provided. Such advantages, however, soon work out their own ruin. These successful movements of the reproductive processes, not only overload the market with commodities, but they give such facilities to the mere adventurer, that a multitude of establishments are instituted, which no possible augmentation of the market of consumption could embrace; along with these, others, dependent and connected, spring forth; and they give to the advancement of prosperity a consistent texture, which, for some time, assumes the appearance of solidity and security. As all these appearances, however, depend on the stability of a foreign market, and on the certainty of adequate substantial returns; things which of themselves, must rest on a most precarious concourse of incidents, on the good fortune of desperate adventurers, who are every day becoming more and more daring in their enterprises, and on the continuance of a certain train of mea-

sures which no one can affect or restrain, we cannot be greatly surprised, at the fallacy which these appearances occasionally disclose. Happily for us, the general circumstances of the country maintain in security those essential processes, on which the best interests of the community depend. The fruits of these have generally been at hand, to meet our higher and leading exigencies; the fate of adventurers, however, and of all their varied classes of dependents, is involved in a much more tremendous ruin; their means, their wealth, and their establishments, fall to pieces, amongst the hands of those, who have acquired a paramount interest therein; so that the country has nothing arising out of all its exertions, but a multitude of obligations, personal and real, and of depretiated commodities, which, in various ways, overload the country without producing any real support to the remaining independence of the community.

There is, in the circumstances of America, a class of advantages that draw thither with peculiar efficacy these tendencies; no other country, ancient or modern, having ever attained these to an equal extent. Agriculture is not only the glory and the support of her population, but it constitutes the pole-star for her guidance in every great political measure. To this paramount object, the views of the state, and of every member of the community, are alike sacrificed; the manners, feelings, temperament, and pursuits of these, being all severally bent forward in its service. Does an individual acquire wealth

in the way of trade? he values it only as it can enable him to find, amidst the retreats of rural felicity, a patrimonial possession, in which his name and his family, may find an established and perpetuated habitation. Does another return unsuccessful from the paths of adventure? the manners and circumstances of his countrymen will bear him out, although he should snatch from the property of his creditors, the means of effecting a similar retreat in some distant province, wherein, a new civil and municipal establishment, like the barriers of the cities of refuge, can draw lines around his person and possessions, which are impenetrable to the attacks of justice. There, shrouded no less amidst the subtilties of legal procedure, than the deep recesses of the forest, he invests in the improvement of the general territory, that value, which was originally extracted out of the sinews of British industry, and thus contributes at once to the strength of the general empire, and to the resources of the community.

These same tendencies, are farther promoted by certain peculiarities in the internal policy and external relations of the British government. Agriculture, though evidently the first of the arts, and the most essential to man in every stage of improvement, is itself intimately connected with, and dependent on a free circulation of its fruits, on an unencumbered exchange of its productions, with those of the humbler and more dependent arts. In America, commerce, the handmaid of a-

griculture, distributes its produce over the whole world, and brings back the riches of every clime and country in the world, with a profusion, that outdoes all the ordinary powers of consumption of this extensive territory. But the commodities of Britain entering very generally into this process of intercourse, from their condensed value, augment the profits of general trade. The policy of the British cabinet, has drawn a strong line of separation betwixt the direct interests of the industrious, and those of the superior orders of the community, that is highly favorable to American enterprize. While the whole intercourse, that subsists betwixt Britain, and three fourths of the habitable globe, must pass through hands, wherein various other motives, besides those of the interests of the industrious, prevail—motives, which generally countervail, and at all times traverse the movements of the commercial spirit—the trade of America, can freely absorb the greatest part of the productions of British industry. There, the intercourse is direct, effective, and established on a known basis, which corresponds alike with the circumstances, and the propensities of both countries. The losses induced to the British merchant, from spoliation, and circumvention, being divided amongst the adventurous, do not immediately occasion a cessation in the movements of that industry, from whence this trade draws its support. The hopes of better fortune animate other adventurers; these the general credit of the country bears up; the calamities that ensue from disappointed expectation, and ill concerted enter-

prises, are thus speedily repaired, and fresh commodities for consumption replaced in greater and greater quantities. The bankruptcies, that ruin multitudes in our country, make way for similar multitudes, who soon take their place at the head of the overwhelmed establishments. Upon higher ground, that is, with all the former facilities and advantages, with the same general provisions and social organization, procured on more favorable terms, and exposed to less competition and hazard, in the exercise of their advantages, this new race of adventurers proceed over the same, perhaps over a more extended tract of commerce; continuing to bring back those supplies, that are necessary to bear them up in their procedure. And although these supplies, frequently, in a general point of view, add neither to the wealth of Britain, nor to the stability of its resources, but merely enable the merchants to pass the value that has reached themselves into the hands of others, with advantage; yet, as all this time the dependant population, and the fruits, which this population sends forth for the service of the community and of the state, not only receive their nourishment and support, but obtain an augmentation of staminal strength and energy, and increased means of expansion and of exercise, the country at large, amidst all these losses and privations, advances in improvement and in power.

In the mean time, however, none of the productions and commodities, that are sent to America,

can fail in advancing the progression of improvement, set agoing within its territory. There, systematic industry is enthroned, and though the forms of legal procedure, and the usages of the country, sanction many gross and palpable acts of fraud and rapine, yet the spirit of the commercial world is so favorable to fair and equitable proceedings, that these acts of injustice occasion no very important cessations in the operations of trade. The value, transmitted to America, may not be fully remitted to Britain, but still it performs its offices within the American territory; its substances in passing into the hand of the American consumer, stimulate his industry, and enable him to bring into the general market, an accession of means. Nay, as this stimulation and support powerfully affect the improvement of the territory, every dispersion of substances, which thus stimulate and support American industry, adds to the radical strength of the American nation; and this it does, as often as the value of these substances is passed through the hands of the industrious. With the fate or responsibility of the merchant, into whose hands the British adventurer has consigned his property, the value of such property, in so far as Britain is concerned, rises or falls. If his fortune perishes, Britain loses so much of her accessory strength; if he returns her this value, she recovers it; but all this time, the property itself will perform its regular functions of stimulation, and of support, within the American territory, most completely, whether Britain loses or recovers her accessory

strength. Thus the acquirements, possessions, and privileges of the American citizens, ultimately resolve themselves into the improvement of their own country and territory, into the augmentation of their radical strength, and into the extension of their resources. Their population, and their means of supporting it, of improving it, and of expanding the general range of its operations, are at once increased and established. If we did not know and feel, that along with these high tendencies to improvement, the baleful vices of ingratitude, rapacity, and overweaning boyish pride and conceit, implanted at their revolution, had grown up and gathered strength, at least equal to all these ameliorating influences, we might prize above measure, these invaluable advantages, attending the circumstances and organization of the American states; but knowing as we do, that the same nourishment, which is forced forward in the developement of precious productions, finds its way with equal readiness into the most detrimental, we feel our complacency cooled, or rather, from the general aspect of the case, changed into alarm and disgust.

This appears more clearly, when we fix our attention on the commerce that is going on betwixt France and America. France receives thence not only American but British commodities, and these, from the overstock of the markets, at rates so low, as to enable the American merchant, to maintain the command of the French market, and to draw thence all those supplies that his occasions

require. The necessity under which the Americans have been thereby laid, of accepting of French wines and other productions, has occasioned a vast consumpt of these all over America, and rendered them essential articles in their general economy. It is evident, however, that after this supply has satiated the American consumpt, and such outlets as the American trade can command, it would, if left to its natural course, fall in value. France, however, prevents this, by its seizure of American property, by its demands on the American government, and by the system which she maintains, which is so unfavorable to internal industry, that the price of her native produce never can fall below a certain rate. With Spain, Russia, the Mediterranean states, and the East Indies, America maintains an intercourse on an equal basis; and this intercourse, being less clogged with embarassment and traversation, is both more lucrative and less hazardous. In France, the demands are more steady and more extensive. In these other countries, the returns are more certain, but less valuable. With France, therefore, America stands in a similar predicament that Britain does with America. France is always deeply indebted to America; and America is so to Britain. Britain feels her dependence on American commerce precarious, yet such as in a great measure, to tie up her hands from hostile movements. America does the same in regard to France. The two extreme agents, Britain, the great producer, and France, the great consumer, have betwixt them forced America forward in the course of national

importance; but they do it by opposite means. Britain regorges America with wealth; France relieves this regorgement. The losses, which ensue from French spoliation, are more than made up by Britain. Is it not evident, therefore, that the superabundance of Britain serves to maintain the dependence of America on France; and in making good the general losses of that neutral country, enable it directly or indirectly, to pour into France, all those extensive remittances, that are so essential to her civil existence? This brings into our view, two very curious facts, that however rich in commodities and power we may be, commerce obliges us to part with them to those, who have need of them, whether they can pay for them or not; and that when we want to prevent this tendency of our means, we must resort to most decisive measures in order to cut asunder those commercial liguments, by which we are thus entangled.

It is upon this ground, and upon this ground only, that the American sweeping prohibitory decrees can be justified; but as it is evident, that the intercourse, maintained by America with the rest of the world, is nearly as much supported by British means, as that maintained by her with France, the impolicy and injustice of the measure stares us in the face. The commodities of Britain, owing to the restrictive policy of her government, seldom reach consumers in a direct manner, and never in sufficient abundance, to meet the demands of those foreign states that have real occa-

sion for them, are seriously disposed to accept of them at their accredited price, and are in circumstances, to give these returns that their accepted value imports. Of the trade, thus forced into the hands of the Americans, those sweeping decrees, completely denude their whole citizenship. Nor is this all; a great part of her own native productions are in a similar predicament with those of Britain; these also perish along with those other extrinsic advantages, in consequence of her blind reverence for French claims. America feels and knows the full extent and value of these blessings; she is acquainted with the beneficent genius of British industry, and of her own when regularly stimulated and supported; she has enjoyed the command, which these can give over the whole floating trade of the world. What therefore, but that infatuation, which never fails to attach itself to habitual debasement of character, can induce her to accommodate herself to the imperious power and insidious policy of France? a policy which crushes the slightest, as readily as the most tremendous opposition to its course; a power, which is equally regardless of the claims of gratitude and of fidelity, which cuts asunder without hesitation every knot that embarasses it, and resents upon the heads of its insidious abettors, these vile and distressful artifices, by which they may have beguiled their natural friends, for its sake. Do we not here perceive, the irrefragable connexion that necessarily subsists betwixt perfidiousness and debasement, betwixt political profligacy and national humiliation?

This matter will still more forcibly appear, if we attend to the operation of those very measures, in which this political tergiversation originates. Our productions reach the American territory in a profusion, that has enabled the American government to bear the whole weight of its extrinsic burdens, that has augmented her internal capabilities in every direction, and that naturally resolve their value and effects, into her aggrandisement and security. The rapinous structure of her jurisprudential policy, however, has given this profusion a new direction; what she cannot consume regularly, she can convey irregularly into the hands of others. That wealth, these means, which, through the instrumentality of base and fool-hardy adventurers, are transferred out of the hands of their rightful possessors, into the custody of those, who are prepared to abet their doleful procedure, creates a ligument, which binds up American advancement with interests, which can be productive only of ruinous degradation. Bonaparte makes America regorge into his own hands, not only the productions thus writhed from British industry, but along therewith those superior advantages, that have arisen from her former iniquitous appropriation of these advantages. Her own jurisprudential policy had enabled her, to usurp wealth and means for which she had as little direct occasion, as lawful title. These rapinous dispositions, however, are hereby leveled to the will of the great spoliator, who seems to have obtained a paramount influence over all that is acquired in an unlawful manner. That high

exaltation of national character, which arose out of institutions matured under every advantage, he in the first place degrades, by making their general affairs, pass under that humiliating ordeal, that prepares it for his purposes. He next entangles the national procedure of America, with his peculiar plans; and then, makes the government itself, undergo a long train of disgraces and calamities, which exposes every weak and every despicable principle in its general character; which discovers the national proneness to vicious gratification, and its apathy to virtuous renovation; and which harmonises it with his own system. In the meantime, these dispositions and propensities, become universal all over its citizenship. The American state is not only habituated to this debased mode of civil existence, but the propensities of individuals are made to concord, more and more, with this condition of public affairs. Americans, become dependent on these French luxuries, which they had formerly through necessity accepted of, as returns for their supplies. French wines and oil must be had, although the best fruits of American industry, should be destrained anew, for their sake. Nay, although twenty times the amount of that value, which these wines could command in a fair market, are lying hopelessly in the hands of French subjects, in the shape of debts and obligations due to American citizens, these must still remain untouched; the luxuries of France, must have a new price paid in hand for them; and the subjects of France must enjoy undisturbed, the fruits of their

jurisprudential spoliations. Thus it is, that the power of France remains unaffected by considerations arising out of general justice or fitness; it must display, in all cases, its hideous ascendancy.

These statements bring clearly before us a most important fact. It is not enough, that a state be generally rich and powerful; its citizens must be placed, generally, in circumstances that render it alike their duty and their interest to meet all the fair demands that can be made upon them. This implies an impartial jurisprudential policy in the state; it implies also a deep sense of moral obligation, a just regard to personal character, and a liberal and extensive mode of thinking and of acting, in the community; advantages, which are utterly incompatible with a vicious or a despotic government. We may hereupon notice, that America, taken by itself, is neither so despicable nor so wicked, as she is when taken in connexion with France. She is not only rich in resources, and powerful from her commanding position, but she has realized within her territory, wealth and means, national and individual, that render her general circumstances and character, in many points, respectable. Like the flocks and herds of the patriarchal ages, her reproductive establishments have, from their innate energy, become great and valuable. Her wealth is transfused amongst her citizens, by means and stimulants at once beneficent and powerful. The medium of exchange, the emblem and the instrument of independence, with correspondent means to support

its operation, is no where more plentiful, and more powerful, than in America. Her wealth, unlike that of the German and Italian principalities, passes not off in luxurious displays of exotic strength, it enters into her general system, it increases her physical strength, and, after enriching her citizens, it becomes concentrated in processes, which augment the radical stamina and energy of her system. Her ample establishments, her invaluable national institutions, the abundance of her means for exercising, gratifying, unfolding, and replenishing the corporeal and intellectual endowments of man, sufficiently evince the superior efficacy of American improvement, and attest, that these advantages have not been altogether lost or perverted. Thus, we perceive, that it is Britain, and her daughter America, who perform the labor, and execute the drudgery of the civilized world. And, although this is done without those fair and candid acknowledgements, which such high obligations evidently import, yet we observe, that neither of these powers can be defrauded of that peaceful security, and of that abundance of every thing that is desirable, which coincides with the exercise of useful industry, with the faithful discharge of paramount duty. Along with this, we discern a degree of respectability and authority, attached to these powers, that is correspondent to their relative characters and circumstances, and that indicates at once the superior efficacy of true virtue, and the various difficulties, to which defalcations in it, expose nations as well as individuals. Both these powers are, indeed,

somewhat bent down, under the durance of their incessant exertions; and they are severally exercised under auspices, which evidently augment in place of relieving their difficulties; but entangled though they be with affairs, which indicate more a peculiar solicitude for honorable deportment, than any aptitude for the dignities, which necessarily flow from such a deportment, neither Britain nor America, can be held as averse from high and extensive views of the general good, nor as buried amidst the abstruseness and complication of their affairs, nor as constitutionally propense to rapacity or licentiousness.

But secondly—Let it be recollected, that it is not our means, our superfluous productions only, that are thus perverted, under American influence, to the French cause, to the service of that power which delights in destruction—our naval ascendancy, our maritime interests, are also endangered, and are already in some measure undermined, by the very peculiar deportment of America, towards our nation. Here, I allude chiefly to the base artifices used by the Americans, for decoying our seamen into their service, and thereafter employing the power and influence thus attained, to to the prejudice of our country, in its belligerent, as well as in its commercial, capacity. Every one knows, and regrets the necessity under which we are laid of compelling this brave class of men to leave their homes, and to pass their lives hopelessly, in fighting the battles, and extending the strength

and glory of their country. To deprecate, in our circumstances, the severity of their fate, is alike cruel and absurd. Let it rather be noticed, that repugnant as this plan of recruiting our marine legions is, it is not more horrid than that of ensanguined hostility itself, the business for which they, and all our warriors are expressly drawn out. Indeed, compulsion seems to be a mode of constituting bodies, thus destined, more congenial to our feelings than allurement; in as much as the ideas of contention and violence are more naturally conjoined with martial movements, than those modes of fascination and persuasion, which are usually adopted in the land service. In beating up for volunteers, we play on the feelings and on the fancies of the necessitous, and we as effectually entrap these into a condition that is foreign to those sentiments, which we have previously excited, as if we actually impressed them. In seizing their persons by force, and dragging them to foreign services, we merely carry into full effect, that measure which seamen must have had constantly in their eye, from the moment they put themselves a-ship-board. I never can mean to defend this system; for in the preceding part of this treatise, I have already laid down a plan, for rewarding the exertions of seamen, that I think, would not only enable us most completely to dispense with the conscriptive system, but which would also bind our sailors unalterably to our service. If this plan were once fully adopted, and carried into effect, I apprehend, that neither impressment nor deception would be necessary to recruit our

legions; but as until that or some such method be adopted, our navy and army must continue to be filled up under the conscriptive system, and as all those rights and privileges, that are connected with it, must be firmly maintained, I shall proceed to expose the nefarious and iniquitous measures, by which the Americans have attempted to defraud us of this our natural means of defence, and to appropriate to their own use, this most invaluable portion of our national treasure.

At first view, it must strike every one, that it is a direct act of hostility, to attempt to raise troops within the dominion of a foreign state. But our seamen, when employed in the national service abroad, are not only within our dominions, but they are as precisely in that station, and in those circumstances, which it becomes them at the time to occupy, as if they were ashore and at home. If these have any right to be where they are, and no one will pretend to say that the case is otherwise, then the absurdity of pretending to any right to inveigle our seamen out of our employ, is equally self-evident, with that of pretending to raise troops within our territory; and as long as the services of our sailors are ours, and these (from their known circumstances, and from our sacrificing our general principles of freedom and independence, for their procurement,) are ours during their natural lives, and in as far as our power can warrant our assuming and defending our national property, so long it is, not only lawful for us to lay hold of their persons,

wherever they can be found, but, it being absolutely felonious to attempt attracting them from under our authority, it is highly proper and necessary, for us to do this even in most extreme circumstances. The only question that remains, therefore, is whether or not it is competent for us to certiorate ourselves of facts of this kind, that come to our knowlege, by a direct impeachment of the honor or probity of such a foreign power as America. As it is admitted on all hands, that we may warrantably inspect their merchant vessels, and take from them our sailors, when we can find these aboard, the question seems farther to be limited to this point,—shall we, when the national seal is given, by the declaration of government, and by the counter declaration of the ruling naval officer, venture to demand a scrutiny for our seamen, on board of American ships of war, under the peril of immediate hostilities? In solving this question, I would disembarrass it of all quibbles and difficulties, arising out of mere forms and pretensions, and appeal at once to the known and received state of things. Is it known, believed, and understood, that American post-captains, under the authority of their government, enlist British seamen? and as this must be admitted, I have only farther ask, on what grounds do you plead for exemption in this, more than in any other kind of piracy? If an American vessel were to take one of ours at sea, and its government should offer to give its pledge that the vessel was not ours but theirs, would this satisfy us? Certainly it would not; for we would forth-

with set about ascertaining the fact, and then conduct ourselves, from our direct knowledge of the fact; and if we found that this government, were in the habit of carrying on such spoliation, to an extreme length; if we did not venture forthwith to direct hostilities, we would proceed still farther, to require satisfaction in every case, wherein it was possible for it so to have conducted itself. As the difference in the two cases, consists chiefly in the greater palpability of the supposed case, I can see no ground of distinction betwixt them, that can for a moment prevent our coming to a similar decision, in regard to the real one of seamen, inveigled from our service.

When we look a little more closely into this subject, and into the circumstances, with which this procedure of the American government is accompanied, we discover a degree of hostility and animosity, that renders the patience and forbearance of the British government in this case, appear at once surprising, and highly meritorious. The palpable partiality of America to French interests in regard to a point, wherein, our strength so much lies, renders her whole procedure thereanent suspicious; and sets us doubly on our guard. It is evident that in consequence of the destruction of the great naval powers of Europe, abundance of seamen as well as of trade, are at the command of those who chose to apply for them in a regular manner. While America, therefore, had full reason to expect severity on our part, she had

abundance of means lying at her hand, to enable her to obviate this severity. The fact is, however, that our seamen, not only have the same language, and are, from various considerations, (some of which have been stated) peculiarly prone to enter into the American service; but being withal the best, the most trustworthy, and the most indefatigable marine warriors in the world, they have long been the great objects of American cupidity. The Americans, (to their credit be it said,) are peculiarly zealous of the rights of their citizens, even of the lowest class; and they take care that those of their sailors be amply and duly respected. But the Americans have, in this matter, shewn a spirit which evinces that something beyond a mere jealousy of their citizenship, prevails in their contests in regard to the persons of seamen. This circumstance leads me to make two very important remarks.

First, the Americans, aware of the importance of this point, early set themselves forward in defence of it. Pretending that it was our practice, to impress indiscriminately their native seamen and ours, their consuls all over the world were instructed to maintain the rights of these citizens, with a high hand. I call this a pretension, because it is well known, there are very few native American seamen; the Americans being peculiarly averse from a maritime life; and because those few are seldom of much value; those, who go to sea, seldom making more than a voyage or two, and from

their clamorous pretensions on the grounds of citizenship, being seldom of much use in their maritime capacity. As these consuls took it on them to grant protections, and to exercise authority in virtue of each other's protections, it is easy to conceive that they could thus entrap a great proportion of our seamen into their service. The fact is, they not only did so, but they were thereby able to render to France many great and essential services. Of this, the timeous relief sent into France by America at the commencement of the late war, chiefly achieved by the superior manœuvres of British seamen, in the American service, forms a very memorable instance. The truth, at this moment, perhaps, is, that by far the best, and the most numerous part of the American navy is manned by British and Irish sailors; whose claims to American citizenship, founded on their having resided there, or having families there, have not been disputed, or properly examined. These, and many other artifices, resorted to by the American government and nation, while they indicate their blind cupidity, point out also the necessity, under which we are laid, of counteracting its procedure.

The second remark that these circumstances suggest is, that while the Americans maintain this point, with a vehemence and acrimony, that bears no proportion whatever, to the relative importance of the thing, in so far as they nationally are interested, they entirely overlook countervailing circumstances, that render their claims unwarrantably severe.

How many thousand emigrants are they receiving, every year, from the British dominions, which much more than compensate for any little advantage, that we might nationally receive, although we could procure one half of their seamen. Disciplined in the school of France, they assume the attitude of oppressed innocence, even when they are most atrocious in their depredations; and they pretend to defend, only, that they may conceal the aggravated nature of their impositions. Will any one say, that all their grimace about the accidental death of a seaman, proceeds from grief or sorrow for the loss? It is like the commiseration that followed the infamous Marat to his tomb, and a mask to deeper malignity, than the world could patiently bear. While they use the services of our deluded countrymen, in a cause, which they internally abhor, they affect all this zeal in their defence as seamen, merely, that in conformity with their leading principles, they may, thereby, the more effectually draw into their own service, advantages of incalculable value, and defraud the country of their ancestors of those supporters, who are at once its greatest glory, and its securest defence.

This subject is of such importance, that if it were at all needful, the flagitious conduct of the Americans, and the deep injury sustained by Britain, might be set forth in most glowing terms. But, as the slightest attention to the general subject, attests the high value of the advantages that are thus endangered, and the virulence of that hos-

tility, that would thus sap these vast advantages, it is not at all necessary to dilate upon this point. It is enough to say; First, that not only the safety, power, and honor of Britain, are implicated in this subject, but that the smallest disregard to it, may be fatal to her best interests; that our internal resources, being of that description, that without suitable external stimulus and support, such as we can only receive through the medium of a most extended, thoroughly supported commerce, they would speedily fall off; and that, with these, our population and general strength would decline with a rapidity, that would soon place us at the mercy of our most malignant enemies. And secondly, that no measures, more effectual for undermining and destroying these national advantages, could be thought of, than those resorted to by the Americans. Our seamen are the flower of our nation, the glory of our race; yet they are subjected to hardships and privations, that render their attachment to us, more a matter of surprize and gratulation, than of necessary consequence or calculation. It is perhaps, amongst the greatest virtues of this noble class of men, that, in spite of the primary injustice inflicted upon them by their impressment, their subsequent maltreatment, and constant disappointment, and that final neglect which terminates their labors and sorrows, they still adhere to the country of their kindred, and, amidst innumerable opportunities to escape, and severe oppression goading them to avail themselves of these opportunities, they so generally cling to their lot. The lures set forth

by America, are precisely of that kind, that can most affect such characters; personal deference, individual importance, universal security, and the pledge of a nation, having the same origin, language, and institutions with themselves, that not one hair of their head shall be touched with impunity, that every right, claim, and privilege appertaining to them as men and as citizens, shall be procured, respected, and guaranteed to them and that, along with these, high honor, ample provisions, and an ultimate retreat amidst the shades of ease and innocence, always at hand, await them. These are the incitements held forth by America, and that they may not in time affect even the foremost of our naval characters, we neither can presume nor prevent, unless we early and sedulously counteract their operation, by correspondent provisions, by systematic improvement in the circumstances of our seamen, and by vindicating every just claim, that we can regularly lay hold of for their sake.

By demanding at the cannon mouth, the restitution of our seamen, we run some risk of losing for a time, some part of our trade, with having our general resources maimed, and our commercial and political greatness circumscribed; we may even find the world at large armed against our rights. Let us recollect, however, that all considerations of trade and of wealth, of calamities and of privation, literally amount to nothing, if we cannot secure that maritime strength, which, under the Divine mercy and goodness, has been the instrument of

security, and of glory to our nation; and that it is only by basely abandoning the advantages, that we have already attained, that our country can be seriously endangered. Here, I would not be understood to presume too much on any mere earthly object; but so long as we feel our navy to be our strength; so long as our internal and external, our secret and avowed foes, level their darts at this bulwark, let us defend our rights in, as well as ameliorate the circumstances, character and feelings of, our seamen. Let us, by every possible method, bind them to our interests and to their country, and in the language of the brave Nelson, let us, on our part, do our duty; let us be at our post, and earnestly engaged in maintaining it. Indeed, when we recollect, that all our great advantages have resulted from maritime prowess, from the days of the Spanish Armada, down to the battle of Trafalgar; and that amidst the loss of every thing else, a kind providence has constantly sent us assurance this way; when we turn our attention to our insular situation, to the character and circumstances of the rest of the world, and to that of the advantages and duties, to which we are specially called, it appears to be little short of madness, to listen to insinuations, which, in the first place, go to convey the whole advantages of our severe and arduous contests to America; and in the next, to leave our country a helpless prey to French power and influence; and to be a species of political wickedness, known only under the auspices of demoniac power and influence, to give way to such insinuations.

Let it, however, be farther noticed, in the third and last place, that besides these indications of partiality towards France, and of hostility towards Britain, there remains to be noticed, a feature in the measures lately adopted by America, which exposes not merely her tendency to that rapacious and licentious character, so peculiar to the French system, but her determined opposition to our general welfare. The loss of trade, of wealth, of means, in a national point of view, are not always serious nor momentous losses; but losses which go to weaken the radical strength of a nation, and which induce a progression of affairs, which would render this weakness radical and constitutional, form a case altogether different; and it discovers no ordinary degree of enmity, in any nation, to induce such losses amidst a cluster of circumstances that indicate every conceivable propensity to hostilities. That America, as a nation, had generally stood aback, when Britain required her good offices, and had forcibly displayed her readiness for action, whenever France was in a similar predicament, has already been noticed; the high value, and the critical importance of the supplies sent to France, during the early part of the French revolution, brings this matter sufficiently before us. But what did America do, when Britain was cut off from her usual supplies of naval stores in the Baltic? Nothing could be more clear, than that if America had been suitably disposed, she could have made up the deficiency most amply. She could have brought into full play, those immense territorial resources,

which required only the stimulus of a British full-handed demand, to make their appearance; and which, if once produced, would have rendered America the great mart for such stores, in all time coming. Such an advantage was worth all the attainments that France, and the whole combined world could have bestowed upon her; and this advantage was fully and absolutely in the power of the American government, during the Northern contests, so injurious to the interests of all parties. Besides thus creating a new source of industry and improvement, new mines of wealth and of power, America would, thereby, have fixed herself for ever in the friendship and good opinion of Britain. Yet America, not only contentedly foregoes this advantage, but lest, in the regular way of trade, in consequence of the indirect, yet powerful stimulus of of British capital and industry, she should unwittingly accord us our requirements, America sends abroad her rescissory laws, by which her citizens are completely debarred from every advantage of this stimulus. Thus, while we are amusing ourselves with the minutiæ of ceremony in these decrees, taken in connexion with those of the belligerent powers, America determinately foregoes every consideration whatever, that can interfere with her hostile propensities towards Britain. It is unnecessary to quibble about the matter. Whom does the want of naval stores, or perhaps of the necessaries of life, stare fully in the face? Is it France, having all Europe at her command, or Britain shut up within her cold little island? What did Amer-

ica do, when France was endangered by famine? Did she stand stately off, on the ground of M. Genet's presumptuous attacks on her independence? No such thing; she risked her all for the sake of befriending France. Now, however, because she has Britain prepared to receive her good offices, she refuses that very intercourse, offered under the suspension of the navigation act, and under every conceivable advantage, which in its operation could tend to advance her rapidly to the foremost rank amongst the nations, to the possession of unbounded supplies of naval stores, and of correspondent wealth and power, merely, because she would thereby accommodate Britain.

This subject might be carried much farther, and the various aggravations attendant on American measures, set forth at full length. Let us, however, stop short and reflect, that as it is while America is receiving the best part of our wealth, and absorbing a most invaluable portion of our population, that she thus keeps no measures with us, except those which dire necessity draws around her; and before we conclude that there is nothing wrong in our own temper, in our deportment, and in our situation, in regard to that nation, put ourselves at least so far in the place of America, as to ask ourselves whether or not the extremity of the case does not prove too much. Let us also review with care, the line of conduct, into which friendship with that power would naturally lead us, and the consequences that we ought to look forward to, in fol-

lowing out that line of conduct. America just now sets both France and Britain at defiance. Is there nothing in these circumstances that attracts attention, that points out to us those measures, that will at once obviate direct hostilities, and lead to harmonious union and co-operation?

Let us begin with tracing the circumstances, wherein the true interests of America consist. To account for the decided partiality shewn by the American government and people, to the destroyers of nations, merely on the grounds of prejudice or of venality in the rulers; or on those of absolute infatuation, or of debasing licentiousness in the people, appears to me to be not only illiberal and unfounded, but preposterous, and opposite to the clearest testimony. I would absolve the Americans neither of venality nor of rapacity; but America is neither so blind to her true interests, nor so unacquainted with the mode of prosecuting these with advantage, as most of us imagine. Let us, for a moment, suppose that New Orleans and Louisiana had still remained under French or Spanish domination; would not the American possessions on the Ohio, all her back settlements, and indeed her general affairs, considered as a great and growing nation, have been, in that case, placed in insecure circumstances? America saw well enough the sanguinary and incessant wars, that arose in Europe, out of disputed and ill formed frontiers; and she could look forward, only to a continuance of similar wars and intrigues with Spain, and, through her,

with every power, that chose to declare itself the ally of Spain, as the direct consequence of territorial improvement, or of great augmentation of internal prowess. It is in vain to minch the matter; without the free and uncontrolable navigation of the Misissipi, and all its subsidiary streams, America must always have remained lame in her improvement, and imperfect in her general establishments. She would have been doomed to that very chaos of treaties and of circumvention of treaties, which we so much execrate at home. With the free navigation of that river, however, she can extend her improvements and her establishments, without fear, on either side. Her territory is rounded and secure, and her power of ameliorating this territory, in every conceivable mode, is now beyond the power of interruption. This acquisition has been procured for her, by the new government of France; and it never could have been attained, under the obsolete jealous restrictive system of old European politics. Now, however, that the deep and formerly impassible line, drawn alongst the frontiers of the American possessions by European potentates, has been set aside, we perceive at once the justice and the propriety of the measure. She has contented the legal possessors of these territories with equivalents, on the same principles that her ancestors did the primary inhabitants of the American shores; she enjoys in peace the possessions thus purchased; and she is alike respected and powerful in this possession. And withal, the power of Spain, so little formidable, yet so jealously preserved, is so far from having

been curtailed, or weakened by the dismemberment, that has taken place, that it is, on the contrary, fortified and concentrated, and being prepared for harmonious co-operation with American improvement, has become more beneficent and respectable in its general procedure.

The circumstances, above noticed, bring clearly before us, certain principles that subsist in the political connexions of France and America, that are of vast importance in the present view. And, although we cannot but reprobate that political turpitude, which could not only recognise, but sanction the privileged knavery of France; yet, when we attend to the imbecility of the Spanish nation, and its vain-glorious assumptions, and contemplate its absolute prostration, to the authority of those who exercised this knavery; and when we reflect on the chance that there was, of the appropriation of these territories, to powers, that might have become most troublesome neighbours to the United States, we must at least give to the Americans, the praise of political wisdom, in the use of their advantage. And it deserves to be noticed, that even Spain herself derived certain benefits from this transaction, that rendered it, in an extensive point of view, essentially serviceable to her national interests. The insatiable maw of French rapacity required a sacrifice from Spain; this province served it in that capacity; and Spain was thereby enabled to exhibit the benefit and advantage, that could be derived by France, in case that power should con-

sent to permit her to retain her independence, upon a respectable footing. On the whole, therefore, we must assume it for granted, that the inducements to a close connexion with France, held out by these considerations to America, were both powerful and well founded. America, having satisfied all the demands of each party, or at any rate met all those views of their own interests, that either party concerned could set up, might in consequence, thereof warrantably enough infer, that her attainment of Louisiana was regularly managed. As to the rest, she was herself the offspring of a revolutionary spirit; revolutionary principles still maintained their ascendancy within her territory, they were incorporated with her institutions, and blended with her manners and customs. Her general circumstances, accordingly, must be held to have developed themselves, as directly into the conclusion of this transaction which we are naturally led to reprobate, as the pusillanimous policy of Spain, moving in tame subjection to the will of the French despot, and the prostrate servility of the French nation, whose operations were merely indications of its rapacious spirit, did in meeting these developements. The transaction itself proceeded on principles, that were not altogether justifiable; but it arose out of circumstances, that rendered it necessary for America, either to avail herself of them, in the manner that she did, or to expose herself to worse contingencies. And, as she has brought the matter to a fair conclusion, we have no more reason for reprobating the adherence of America to French

interests upon this ground, so long as this adherence proceeds on authorized principles, than the Americans have to reprobate the friendly offices, which Britain performed to the Dey of Algiers, and the Emperor of Morocco, when America happened to be at war with these powers.

This acquisition of Louisiana, however, important as it is, still served chiefly as a field of expansion for the laboriously enterprizing; and, being now accompanied with the port of New Orleans, a vast territory has been circumscribed within the natural frontiers of the United States, which belongs to Spain, and which therefore, interferes with that circle of improvement, which naturally belongs to the United States. On their southern frontier, the Floridas are separated from their government and attached to that of Spain, by an ideal line, over which individuals belonging to both nations, unhesitatingly extend their establishments. Many of the streams and rivers of the United States' territory disembogue themselves within the Floridas. And within these provinces, all that deserves the name of improvement or establishment, has issued from the resources of British or American merchants. It is evident, that if this territory remains attached to Spain, France may assume possession of it in the same way, that she assumed possession of Louisiana; and thereafter avail herself of it as an inlet to the American states, and as a ground whereupon to set up pretensions, for the re-establishment of her ancient empire in America. It is equally evident

that the interests of the American states require that these provinces should be annexed to their territory, in order to render it compacted in its principal frontier, and in order to preclude the necessity of their seeking transmarine establishments, for the full supply of their general wants; for the expanse of her national domains, would thereby be extended over almost every climate. These, and many other circumstances, render the project of the American government, for annexing the Floridas to its domains, not only natural and plausible, but consistent with the laws universally admitted, in judging of such circumstances.

Perhaps we will be disposed to lend a more favorable ear to the American wishes in this point, if we attentively regard the peculiar line of policy, into which the American affairs, naturally stretch themselves. To America, the prosperity of the agricultural processes, is paramount to every other national consideration. Internal security, to a nation which fixes its attention more upon individual, than upon general interests, must, accordingly, be in like manner of peculiar importance. The free and unencumbered developement of personal attainments, the extension, improvement, and confirmation of national institutions and establishments, which are all, also, severally in their places, much greater objects of moment to the government of a people, thus situated, than the rank which this government can, as a sovereign state, maintain amongst the ancient nations of the world—these

things, together with the extended, and otherwise impenetrable recesses over which American principles, and American institutions, naturally spread themselves, and other circumstances in the condition of America, render it needful for the American government, not only to steer clear of the chaos of European politics, but as much as possible, to shut these out of view; and to vindicate and defend their own peculiar sets of principles, although they should thereby incur the hazard of breaking with every constituted domination upon earth. As these views may warrantably be held to govern the American counsels; as they necessarily lead America to seek the possession of Floridas, by any regular method, that may present itself; as France now weilds a power below which she bends irresistibly every interest, over which it is stretched, and ultimately resolves them into a conformity with all her schemes; and as France has cordially met the views of America, upon this point, we must, I apprehend, judge of the policy of the American government in seeking this farther extension of territory nearly upon the same principles, that we judged of it in regard to Louisiana. If she has regularly satisfied all the parties immediately interested, it is not incumbent on third parties, prematurely to interfere in the transaction.

But besides this, the Floridas never received any very material accession of population or of strength from the Spanish monarchy. Spain had too many high projects upon hand, to pay much attention to

those forlorn inhospitable provinces; they were long under British and American influence and authority, and their whole consequence, since the cessions of the Bahamas to Britain, and of Louisiana and New Orleans to America, arises from their connexion with British and American interests. They, at present, can scarcely to held to be at all conjoined to the Spanish monarchy, for while they are protruded alongst the most important American frontiers, they are set apart from that unbounded field which has been already secured for the genius and industry of Spain, within the finest countries upon earth, and have become more a burden, than an advantage to that monarchy. On the whole, as it appears, that while there exists, on the part of Spain, no motive whatever to induce it to wish for the retaining of these provinces, and as they are not only of high avail to America, but, in some measure necessary, to cut off future grounds of hostility betwixt these nations; so it becomes a matter of very serious reflection and consideration to those powers who think themselves warranted to study the real interests of the Spanish monarchy, and to prosecute these at all hazards, to determine, with sufficient discernment, the true line of conduct which they ought to adopt in regard to the Floridas. It must not now be pretended that the Spanish monarchy cannot be trimmed and balanced to suit existing circumstances; it must not be held that neither her possessions nor her influence can be weakened, without endangering the established balance of colonial policy; this balance has long

since been destroyed, and it can never again be restored. France has herself frequently trimmed the European possessions of Spain. In the West Indies, also, she deprived her of her portion of St. Domingo, and transferred Trinidad to the British; and she gave the same sanction to the same principles when she resumed the province of Louisiana, for the purpose (as afterwards appeared) of enabling her to manage her more important affairs with America, with advantage. These, and many other circumstances, lead us to discern the true key, upon which the harmony of American politics, can be found; they serve to dissipate our fears and our prejudices, when we come to work these up to their proper pitch; and while they bring our own opinions and principles, into concordance with a widely extended sphere of things, they give us an impulse, which we cannot consistently resist.

Let us, however, turn our attention from this debasing view of Spanish policy, to the circumstances in which all these different affairs are enveloped. France, it must be noticed, not only sees and knows these affairs in their bearings, and by the cession of Louisiana, previously wrenched from Spain, has dictated it as her opinion, that the Spanish Monarchy may, with propriety, be trimmed and balanced to suit existing circumstances, but she has admitted the principle, that such matters may be adjusted by means of equivalents. In regard to the Floridas, it is understood, that their desig-

nated value has already been determined, and an implied transference, of at least West Florida, been concluded betwixt France and America; the price of that province having been delivered, and the remainder of the whole price of both Floridas having been ascertained, to mutual satisfaction. That Spain itself, must be held as consenting to this transaction, can scarcely be doubted, when we attend to the circumstances in which she was then placed in regard to France. The Spanish court, so far from pretending to traverse the will of this sovereign ally, in a matter of such trifling importance, never pretended to give any opinion on the subject. That transcendent influence, that could dispose of Trinidad, and of invaluable territories in Italy and in St. Domingo, which usurped possession of her fleet, her army, her fortresses, her treasure, civil and sacred, without ever deigning to notice the clamant necessities of Spain herself, in regard to these things, was not likely to pay much deference to its interference in a case of this kind. Aware of the imperious temperament of Bonaparte, Spain seems rather to have bent herself forward to meet his wishes, and to have avoided most sedulously every discussion or pretension, that could excite a spirit of contestation or ill humour. In regard to the virtual transference of the Floridas to the American states, the matter ought therefore to be held as settled, in so far as either France or the Spanish government are concerned. The recent changes that have taken place in the dynasty of Spain, and in the counsels of Britain, in regard to

that nation, have indeed frustrated the delivery of those tokens of power and possession, in which complete delivery is generally held to consist; and have also afforded new displays of the characters of various parties that are therein interested; but they are not to be held, as implying any circumstance that can strike at the root of a transaction, so deliberately concluded. The principal parties were most completely committed to it, in all its leading particulars, before Britain could be held as committed for the integrity of the Spanish monarchy; for it must be noted that the Floridas, constituted no part of this integrity, when Britain came forward in defence of it. France, to be sure, true to her fallacious and insidious principles, pretends to have annexed the Floridas to the crown of Joseph; and the Spanish nation seems to be buoyed up with the expectation, that Britain will, in effect, complete all that France has undertaken to perform for the Spanish nation, in case that nation had bent under her supreme will. This doctrine is, however, altogether illusory and fallacious. With similar consistency, might it be expected, that Britain would restore Gibraltar, which France has comprized in her king Joseph's titles. Nay, as this understanding would imply that Britain was, in some sense, bound to reconquer West Florida from America, if it must be held to be necessary for Britain to follow out the autocratic declamations of Bonaparte, it might, in order to give full satisfaction to the Spanish nation, with equal propriety be contended, that Britain behoved to reconquer for the

advantage of Spain, her Italian territories, and guarantee to her these alienated possessions.

There is a peculiar set of considerations, arising out of these circumstances, that next claim our regard. We perceive that a dilemma has occurred; and the question comes to be, to whom is this unsettled state of things beneficial, and to whom are they detrimental? What are the claims which each several party, has to set up in favor of, or in contravention to, the plan of settlement, that seems thus to be adjusted, and what can they severally do, to prevent its completion? In place of meeting all these questions in a regular way, I shall proceed to give those statements, from which a due apprehension of their answers may be drawn.

Let it then be remarked, that France has obtained certain very peculiar advantages, from this unsettled state of things. In consequence of the prostrate condition of Spain, and the transcendent authority of France, America was naturally led to transact with this latter government, in regard to this subject; she neither could impugn the ascendancy of France over the Spanish counsels, nor treat indirectly with this latter power. And having thus consented to receive a Spanish province through the hands of France, she was, in a manner, disarmed, when the French dynasty was imposed upon the Spanish nation. America herself, the daughter of revolution and overthrow, and now a party in the change that had been effecting, com-

mitted as to an affair of the greatest magnitude and interest to herself, had no choice, but either to proceed in subserviency to the views of France, or to throw herself loose from her proper concernments. France, in the mean time, in perfect conformity with her perfidious character, having thus fixed the Americans in that line of conduct, which befitted her views, proceeded next to defraud them of that possession, the hopes of obtaining which had been the main spring of their actions. For the purpose of emblazoning the commencement of that new dynasty, which she had fixed upon the Spanish throne, she not only annexed, in most express terms, the Floridas to the crown of Joseph; but she gave her pledge to the Spanish nation to maintain these, and every former possession of that crown, inviolate, in the hands of the new sovereign. Following out her established system in regard to nations thus thrown absolutely into her schemes, in place of offering redress to America, she set up the most audacious pretensions against her independence; she would enforce the extremity of her authority against commerce, and she proceeded to seize American citizens, and to plunder American property, in the same way, as if America had turned completely round to the opposite side of the question, and having determined upon hostilities, had betaken herself to the most flagitious crimes in support of these hostilities. The embarrassment of America, in this case, it is obvious, is extreme. To break with France, is the same thing as to throw herself into the arms of Britain, and thus to

abandon every hope of obtaining her purchased possession; and this it is equally obvious, is nearly the same thing, as consenting to become a party in the war, without any hopes of obtaining that acquisition, which is, to her, of more value, than that of all the American continent conjoined. She knows well, that with Britain, it is a fundamental maxim, that every possession and right, brought under her care and protection by her allies, shall be guaranteed to it. However traversed and circumvented, therefore, America may find herself to be, in following out that tract of measures, which she commenced under French influence, it is evident that it is now incumbent upon her, either to abide by the revolutionary principles of France, or to become a full party in the war, without the chance of attaining any advantage, that can compensate for the losses, to which, in consequence of this warfare, she may be exposed. It may be most devoutly her wish, to ward off the blow which France is meditating against the interests of the whole civilized world; but she cannot put forth her hand for this purpose, without meeting, herself, the full force of that blow, in a way which of all others, is the most prejudicial to her best interests.

This will appear more fully, if we review the circumstances, whereby the American interests can be most powerfully affected. America—knowing well the import of Britain's fundamental maxim, to retain the whole claims and rights of all her allies, at all hazards, in the same relative position,

in regard to each other and to herself, that these may have occupied, when they were first brought under her charge, and perceiving the mischievous operation of this maxim, during the revolutionary wars in Europe—states devastated, and the whole frame of society subverted, merely from an undue respect to obsolete claims, and decrepitated powers—hears the solemn announciation of the British king, sounding in her ears, whereby every right and possession appertaining to the Spanish monarchy, is declared to be inviolate, and the whole power of Great Britain impledged and assigned over to their defence. She sees also, the chiefs of the Spanish nation, buoyed up under the insidious proclamation, issued by Bonaparte, on the introduction of king Joseph, importing a similar but a higher pledge of the same kind, on the part of France, calculating upon this declaration of the British government, not as the boon of a most liberal policy, to be exercised only in subserviency to superior and more transcendent interests, but as a right, necessarily arising out of their own circumstances, and recognized on account of the paramount nature of their own claims. America calls also to remembrance, the facility with which Britain drops in favor of the common destroyer, those interests that can no longer be defended, and the shew of liberality, with which this destroyer distributes amongst his allies, the spoils thus acquired. Britain she sees in possession of ships, commerce, and colonies, of transcendent national power and wealth, and of every conceivable means for

augmenting and extending these, in every direction, so as to make them productive to her own subjects, of superior wealth and influence; while before herself, nothing appears but the extremity of French vengeance abroad, and the machinations of French partizans at home. Her interests are felt to be thrown out of their usual sphere, and her citizenship not only exposed to every evil incident to infuriate warfare, but debarred, in consequence of British politics, from deriving any countervailing advantage from this warfare; all the French foreign possessions being in the hands of Britain, and those of Spain being locked up, under the terms of an inhospitable alliance. Do not these things plainly discover to us, that there exists a species of embarrassment in the counsels of America, that calls loudly for our attentive regard, and which renders it needful for both the Spanish and British governments, to weigh well the line of conduct, which they mean to adopt in regard to that power?

In the first place, let it be noticed, that Spain herself, the ally of Britain, thus respectfully advanced on the foreground of nations, is at present literally in the jaws of the common devourer of nations. It is the greatest of all delusions, to regard Joseph Bonaparte as the real sovereign of Spain. This man is placed on the Spanish throne, with no other view than that of making way for the annexation of the Spanish dominions to those of the Emperor of the West. He, like his brother in Holland, will

reign no longer, than until he shall have played off the strength of Spain, into the hands of Napoleon; and until he shall have so denuded it, that to the feeble remains of that monarchy, it shall appear rather to be a boon and a privilege, than a disgrace, to be absorbed into the French empire. We must not allow ourselves to be deceived by the apparent respect, with which France has treated the old Spanish court, or its still more recent declarations, as to preserving the integrity, and extending the possessions of Spain, for we perceive that she can, with the utmost facility and composure, act in direct opposition to these, and at length distinctly avow, that by so doing she, in conformity to the new revolutionary code of morality, merely gives way to the course of events; that is, after, under the subterfuge of crimes and follies, calamities have been brought forward by herself, for the express purpose of debasing her connexions, she will therein shield the nefariousness of the advantage, which she thus renders it obviously necessary, for her to take of this debasement. That Bonaparte will have recourse to this very line of policy, in the present case is a matter sufficiently obvious from his preceding conduct. The motives of his former deference to Spanish interests were fully unfolded, when the Spanish fortresses filled with French troops, and the seizure of the Royal family of Spain, announced a change of dynasty. As the necessity of this new species of deference, evidently arises solely from the rooted aversion displayed by the Spanish nation to French politics, it is only necessary, on this

point, farther to remark, that as the sole way of entrapping both the European and American possessions of Spain, manifestly lies through the insidious course above noticed; so the most effectual method, for precluding us from traversing his operations, consists, in over burdening us with the pretensions of the Spaniards, and in encumbering our exertions in the general cause, with measures, which not only exceed our strength, but which surpass the limits of reason and propriety; and to point out as one of the most distressful of these encumberances, the burden of satiating the claims of America, without exasperating the pride of Spain.

When the preceding statements are duly weighed, and the conclusions, into which they necessarily lead, are fully examined, I apprehend, that there cannot be much uncertainty, as to the line of conduct, which Britain ought to adopt in the present crisis. It is evidently our interest, as well as our duty, to tranquillize, if possible, the minds of the Americans. The treachery of France, in regard to the cession of the Floridas, leaves this matter open for our good offices; the recent and repeated declaration of the French Emperor, that all that ever has been French shall revert to France, must have alarmed America, not merely in regard to Louisiana, but in regard to the whole territory, to the West of the Alleghany mountains, at one time held to have been comprized within the French American empire; and as she cannot but perceive, that if France should ever prevail over

Britain, the cession of the Canadian provinces would be the immediate consequence, her jealousy of the ultimate designs of France must speedily become extreme. The great difficulty, seems to lie in procuring the assent of Spain to this arrangement. And as Spain, though bereft of her whole natural strength and energy, is as jealous of the merest shadow of her rights and claims, as if the resources of the whole world lay at her command, this, it may be apprehended, will not easily be obtained.

The troubles which have begun in Mexico, on the river Plata and in the Carraccas, must now have discovered to Spain, the feebleness of that hold, which she has over her American subjects. These, it is evident, may beat down one another, almost at discretion, without feeling, either the power, or the authority of the mother country. For Britain, to take up this business, in its fullest extent, upon her own shoulders, would prove an undertaking, not only to the last degree ungracious, and therefore more likely to ruin than to serve the cause, in which she would be embarked; but there is too much reason to fear, that it would prove also to be one, which would be above her strength; for it must be observed, that we must take along with us, the vast extent of the resources, which such an undertaking would, necessarily, though unprofitably, occupy, and the danger that would result from withdrawing these from services, which are more immediately the objects of her care and attention.

Britain has, again and again, attempted to conquer different parts of Spanish America, and she has always found the conquest above her power. She did this, when her vigor was fully concentrated, and could be born with full effect upon these points, and when the temper and disposition of the natives were as favorable for her purpose as could ever be expected. These circumstances, I think, would warrant me to infer, that the present troubles will most probably terminate in the independence of Spanish America. Without however presuming thus far, I think, I may conclude that the pressing embarrassments in the present circumstances of the world, must be highly dangerous and critical, that they will prove extremely ruinous to the power and resources of the allied nations; the losses and calamities on each side, being alike destructive to the general cause on which ever side success may be finally disclosed; and that they will induce dissention and dilaceration, where peace and concord are most desirable.

What Spain and Britain, however, cannot do conjoined, these powers, with the co-operation of America could, I apprehend, most easily effect. We cannot suppose that the Americans could look, without much alarm and distrust, upon a great semi-barbarous independent state, placed on their frontiers. It is evidently the interest of America, after rounding her own frontiers, to preserve the whole of North America, under subjection to its present owners, from whose tranquil dispositions,

and moderate views in regard to territory, she can have nothing to fear, and every thing to hope. America, therefore, it may be expected, if gratified in regard to the Floridas, would frankly join heart and hand with Britain and Spain, in maintaining the dependance of the whole states, which lie upon the Mexican gulf upon the mother country. And if this great object were once fully affected by means of a tripartite treaty, the whole of the islands, and the country on both sides of the isthmus of Panama, including the whole extent of Peru on the south, and Mexico on the north, might be held as effectually secured to the Spanish monarchy. The deep interest, which America has in this matter, would ensure her cordial co-operation; the proximity of her resources would enable her to do this with every advantage; the impledgment of America, a free independent state, would at once secure the privileges and good government of the colonies, and fix them in their allegiance to the mother country. The fleets of Britain, and the force of Spain and America, would, almost at once, silence opposition; for in defence of the ancient government, all the well disposed would forthwith declare themselves, without hesitation. By which means, the resources of the civilized world would be extricated out of that destructive struggle, which must otherwise take place. The apparent unpopularity of the measure, I think, could not appal America; for America can have no more real interest in the success of Miranda or his associates, than she can have in that of the French despot. Both are children of

a revolution, founded upon violence and deceit; and both are implicated in a series of projects, which if thoroughly successful, would alike effectually traverse the prosperity of America, and the means over which both preside; their measures and characters, being more suited to warlike enterprise, than to peaceful security.

There is something so delightfully fascinating, in the idea of liberty and independence, that we instinctively revolt at the smallest attempt to repress their movements. We cannot, however, have forgotten that the exquisite emotions, which the syren voice of the French renovations excited, were quickly converted into the hissings of a serpent, whose envenomed sting still rankles in our bosoms. How is it, therefore, that the standard of revolt, raised upon the plains of Cumana, has failed to appal us with alarm? Do we see nothing in the risings of of this military republic, but the genius of liberty raising the degenerate offspring of Iberia to the exalted rank of freemen? Let us not deceive ourselves; liberty and independence, though blessings of the first magnitude, are of themselves valuable only as they are subservient to improvement. Men of debased and corrupted habits, will thereby only become the worse; and those, who are of rude and indolent tempers, will, in general, only increase so much the more in pride and barbarism. Do we not, already, see the ferocity and presumption of demi-savage characters displayed in all the contestations of the Hispano-Americans? Do we not

discern the workings of base and licentious propensities, conjoined with a cruel and blood-thirsty disposition, rising out of all their struggles towards independence? It was thus, that the French revolution, was prograded to its fatal conclusion; we must not look here, for the dignified dissension of the modern Italian republics; for there, habits of regular and severe exercise had been long and thoroughly matured; and these, while they repressed and regulated the fury of dissension, bent its violence forward in the course of duty. Far less must we expect to find in these sultry shores, that disciplined love of magnanimous exploits, which shone with so much lustre in ancient Greece. In place of this, a fervor, which knows no medium, betwixt extreme violence and loose irregular indulgence, already prevails amongst these sons of revolt, and discovers their utter misapprehension of the blessings of which they are in quest.

We are apt to suppose, that the Spanish Americans, if freed from European influence, would gradually form themselves upon the model, held up by the British Americans in the United States. This, however, is a gross delusion. The British Americans were, from first to last, an industrious and sedate race of men, nurtured under institutions which formed their minds to a love of their duty, and a zealous attachment to that line of conduct, which coincided with their duty. They were not only incessantly engaged in active and useful employments, but they were long accustomed to re-

gard, with acuteness and precision, these general measures, in which their interests were comprized. Though their own affairs proceeded in the course of moderated enterprize, they were well qualified for discerning every great extrinsic object, by which these could be affected. When the weight of the British governance was removed, an expansion of their energies took place; but still it must be noticed, that this expansion was impressed by institutions, congenial to their habits, and that it proceeded in a line, which coincided with their ordinary employments. It is evident, that the case is widely different, in regard to the Spanish Creoles. These are habituated to indulgence, not to business; their affairs, therefore, are more directed by objects, the nature of which, they do not understand, than by matters, which are managed by their own personal endowments. That close application to business, wherein the regular and steady management of affairs appears, is so very inconsistent with the general habits of the Hispano-Americans, that we can neither expect that coolness of mind, nor that intrepidity and ardor of execution, in which the proper superintendance of great affairs consists. A few individuals, or a particular party, therefore, we must naturally dread, would soon divide the government amongst themselves, and depressing the character of the nation, below their iron sway, institute an order of things favorable to their own aggrandisement, and coincident with the worst habits of the people; but altogether different from that which subsists in Brit-

ish America. In regard to Spanish America, accordingly, the highest object of solicitude ought to be the amelioration of its general system, under European influence. This work would no doubt be, in many respects, imperfectly executed, and slow in its motions, but in each of these movements, its progress would be secure. As this immense territory behoved, of course, to be completely freed from monopolizing restrictions upon trade and industry, it would obtain a free intercourse with the whole world, under suitable provisions, calculated alike for the good of the parent and of the dependent country. The paramount influence of the mother country, whether exercised at home or abroad, would, in such a case, know no step-children; for as there would be held to be but one family of Spaniards, the distinction of the place of birth, would cease to be observed, and never be mentioned. In such a case, the renovation of the mother country would be seen to be a matter of high importance even to the colonies; and the improvement of the colonies, would become equally interesting to the mother country. The whole set of jealous overbearing measures, would be banished from this great society; and both the difference of complexion, and the distance of territory, would serve alike to excite universal complacency towards the general government, and good will to all its members. That such high attainments are fairly within our grasp, may be inferred from the present conduct of Spain, at this moment, actively, zealously, and generously engaged in this work of refor-

mation. In such circumstances, does it not become us to pause, before we proceed any farther in a revolutionary career, and to call to mind, that it was by attempting to push the work of reformation faster than the temper and character of the people could bear it, that the whole work of the French revolution was lost and destroyed?

The vast importance of these views will appear, when we attend to the leading interests of the Spanish monarchy, in regard to this point. It is evidently for the advantage of the Spanish monarchy, to have both Britain and America interested in preserving that vast tract of country, which stretches from the northern limits of Mexico, to the southern extremity of Peru, and which comprises the isthmus of Panama, and the southern and western shores of the Mexican gulf, in dependence upon the mother country. Britain is sufficiently implicated in this matter, from the exposed situation of her West India islands; but America can only be equally interested, by having the secure possession of the Floridas guaranteed to her. Both the one and the other of these powers, might find themselves farther concerned in securing for the Spanish colonists, a free trade with themselves; but, in every other respect, the general interests of the Spanish monarchy could scarcely, in any way, interfere with theirs. This free trade, it would be the interest of the mother country to accord, for the Spanish monarchy would, in such circumstances, seek the highest prosperity of her colonists, from

motives of interest; and if, by this means, a moderate revenue could be secured to herself, along with the complacency of Britain and America, in the prosperity of her colonial possessions, and the active co-operation of the industry of these powers with her own in supporting that of her colonists, the interests of all parties would, in consequence, become incorporated in one great scheme of improvement. With these, and all its natural and acquired advantages, the Spanish monarchy might become one of the first powers upon earth; it would consist of a territory, which, for extent, situation, resources, and splendor, would surpass the highest scale of national grandeur, that we have yet witnessed upon earth.

This will appear very evident, when we weigh duly the nature and extent of the advantages peculiar to the Spanish empire. It comprises a greater expanse of rich fertile territory, than ever was under the dominion of any one crown. This territory abounds with productions and resources of the most precious and invaluable kind; and it is possessed by a population, who are enthusiastically attached to their country and its institutions. The extraordinary mildness and genial nature of all its different climates add to all these advantages, a value of the most transcendent kind. This empire stretches along the central regions of the globe, and enjoys precisely that degree of security and compactness, that is consistent with its universal safety and general improvement. In Europe, its ports and rivers open to the great seas,

under every advantage. Its possessions stretch alongst the Canary islands to the West Indies; where three islands which, of themselves, might constitute a great empire, conduct her power into that American expanse, wherein riches and territorial advantages, sufficient, if powerfully managed, to command the subjection of the whole globe, are at her disposal. That point of junction, betwixt the eastern and western oceans, which prepares an universal emporium for every thing great and valuable, is hers, with all the rich resources that are connected with it. Nature has done so much for Spain, that commerce with other nations, seems scarcely to be necessary for her own benefit. Yet this wide expanse of territory, which opens securely to the eastern ocean, at a vast distance from the busy part of the world, nourishes in silence, resources, which, her connexion with Asia through the Manillas, is slowly, though universally, maturing for future greatness. If any nation may be held as constituted for universal empire, it is that of Spain; but the loftiness of her character is so extremely averse from intrigue and business, and so prone to proudful display, that perhaps this nation is, of all others, the least likely to embark in any such baleful enterprize. She is, in a manner, forced forward into action, by the intervention of the seas, and by the distance and wide stretch of her American empire; and she is, therefore, most likely, at all times, to preserve a most dignified and commanding attitude, amongst the nations of the world; but no renovation of her system, it is

probable will ever infuse into her character that restless thirst for ascendancy, which has been so injuriously exercised amongst her neighbours.

Such considerations as these cannot but incline us to wish, that some arrangement could be formed betwixt the three great powers above mentioned, conformable to the circumstances of each; and when we recollect the relationship that subsists betwixt Britain and America, we can scarcely envy the necessary advantage, which America would thence derive. Perhaps, in consideration thereof, America ought to abandon the whole back territory that is connected with the river St. Laurence, a concession which would set at rest endless grounds of quarrel; for it must be noticed, that Britain has nearly the same interest in preserving the free and uncontrolable navigation of this river, in her own hands, that America has in regard to the Mississipi. To balance this, we have only our naval superiority; and this naval superiority can only be exercised in case of hostilities. It is evident, that some time or other, unpleasant disputes will arise amongst the settlers of the two nations upon the banks of this river. Britain can never abandon her rights upon these banks, for she has no other communication with the Ocean. America has only to say to her citizens, that these banks are not hers, and her citizens, as things still stand, may thereby sustain no damage; they may move off to other quarters, or become real members of the British community. In countries that are fully peopled, ri-

vers frequently form extremely useful boundaries; but in rising and thinly peopled countries, such as those parts of America, to which I now refer, the case is generally otherwise; for the banks of rivers will always be the first and the best occupied; and therefore, they must always be held to be the most central points of the community; while upon on the other hand, the regions at a distance from navigable rivers, will most probably remain for ages unoccupied.

As things now stand, in regard to the territory on the banks of the river St. Laurence, a few American citizens, would be introduced into the Canadian citizenship; and these, while they would attain all the advantages that are inseparable from the secure navigation of a great river, under the paramount influence of the greatest naval power upon earth, would contribute towards the maintenance of that balance of influence, betwixt the ancient native, and modern British interests, which is most beneficial to all parties; they would also form a link of union betwixt these two nations, and a channel for introducing amongst them both, a neutralizing influence. They would, moreover, constitute a bond of connexion, betwixt their new connexions within the British states, and their former connexions within the territory of the United States. The harmony and prosperity, that would thus result to the British American possessions, could not but be great; and the correspondent advantages, that would flow to America, in

consequence of her attention, and the general industry of her scanty population, being concentrated and exercised within a climate and territory, so much more favorable to the agricultural pursuits, that are so congenial to America, than that which they had abandoned, would fully reconcile her to this arrangement.

As it is enough for me, generally, to notice the principles upon which such an arrangement could proceed. I shall just farther point out a mode, by which the high spirit of Spain, and the more necessary occasions of Britain and America, could severally be made to coincide. The right, which British subjects have obtained of cutting wood upon the shores of Campeachy, has always been a great eye sore to the Spanish government. And, if we can suppose an equitable basis of intercourse to have become established betwixt the nations above noticed, it could be no great loss to Britain, although this right were abandoned; Spanish industry would speedily take up what British industry had left unoccupied for its exercise; and the Spanish territory, thus compacted and secured, would soon become more and more accessible to general and local improvement. This concession, by Britain to Spain, though apparently small and unimportant, would as effectually round off and advance, the great empire to be guaranteed to Spain in America, as the correspondent concessions held to be made of American territories to Britain on the river St. Laurence, and of Spanish territories to

America on its southern frontier, would be to these other powers. As all these several powers have elsewhere abundance of space for expanding their energies, in every direction, they would thereby remove out of the way, obstacles, which oppose their more harmonious co-operation, seeds of jealousy and envy, that will sometime or other, prove the cause of deadly rancour; and effect this by the same means that they transfer to each other, more ample grounds for mutual improvement, and a more secure basis for mutual esteem.

As I would regard this tripartite treaty, in the light of a real bond of union, I would not unnecessarily burden it with matters, that are of a contingent nature. And such, the retention of the territories on the river Plata, in dependence on the Spanish crown, must be held to be. The inhabitants of these countries, have too long and strongly felt their own power and innate vigor, not to make it appear that there is little ground for expecting, that all the power, influence, and force of the British and Spanish nations united, could not bring down their turbulent dispositions, into any other than a nominal subjection to Spain, burdensome, not advantageous. These territories, therefore, I would abandon to their fate; contenting ourselves with impressing them with a regular and equitable system of government, such as will suit at once, the temperament of the natives, and their peculiar circumstances, in regard to the rest of the world. Something resembling the constitution of America, would, I

think, serve this object, unless they are forced by means of incessant warfare, into a military state and nation. To avoid this is our grand object, and to tranquillize their minds, and to fix their affections upon, and incorporate their interests with, the allied nations, is, perhaps, the utmost that we should attempt to achieve. It must be recollected, that if to preserve the grand line of empire, previously sketched out, comprises all that stretch to which the strength of the allied nations can be held to be equal, so to attempt adding to this empire, a forlorn and hopeless domination over Paraguay, would be to endanger the whole scheme now proposed. But besides this, such an attempt would assuredly create deadly enemies, where cordial friends might otherwise be found, and fix in the interests of Bonaparte a nation, that might, in time, subjugate America. If the La Plata Americans were accommodated with an independent, liberal, and equitable system of government, Spain would not only derive from thence, all that advantage of citizenship, of intercourse, and of co-operation in every great measure that could affect her interests, but she would provide for her name and nation a new and vast field of enterprize and competition, in the course of general improvement. She would set a-going, within her national influence, institutions congenial to her character, such as would bear alike on her internal and external relations, and thus return an hundred fold, the liberality evinced at their manumission. This would, indeed, be a rare instance of national condescension to the circum-

stances of its dependent provinces; but in the present circumstances of the Spanish empire, it must be regarded rather as a display of magnanimous policy, than an indication of any laxity in her general system; for Spain certainly cannot, even with the assistance of Britain, maintain her ascendancy inviolate every where. The American influence could not be made to bear on these distant possessions. As for that of the Portugueze, the bare proposal of it would kindle a flame, which would put every other alternative, but direct subjugation, out of the question. As in the present state of the allied interests, nothing could be more unfortunate, than the introduction of a coercive spirit into the transatlantic possessions, either of the one of these powers or of the other, so almost every conceivable sacrifice ought to be encountred, if thereby this alternative can be avoided.

Although, however, I am thus impressed regarding the interests of the general cause, I do not rest the merits of the measure, above mentioned, upon that view of the matter; the real advantage that would accrue to Spain, from concentrating her energies, is a thing of incomparably greater importance. The means of Spain require excitation, not expansion, and this excitation never can be obtained, where that consciousness of exhaustion, which is inseparable from extreme extension, takes place. Here a jealous and vindictive spirit must prevail; and wherever such a spirit exists, there improvement and all its advantages must be laid un-

der restraints that are tantamount to its general exclusion. Unless, therefore, we mean to depress the resources of the new world, and to preserve them under a system of debility and depravity, that will prepare them for the reception of the destroying angel, who now desolates Europe, it must be our first and our chiefest object, to draw forth the highest powers of improvement in these distant regions, to place them under auspices that are most favorable to their developement, to render it necessary and adviseable for the people, to receive into their essence, and to incorporate with their substance, the expatriated talents of every country under heaven. Spain will still be the largest, the richest, the greatest power in the world, and with these means, she will also imbibe the spirit of improvement; she will then become truly independent, she will be powerful only to attract the more confidence, and no less respectable on account of her civil than on account of her territorial advantages.

Without laying too great stress on these views, I think I may warrantably infer, that as America, with all her perversities, is a land of freedom, is our kindred ally; and, in spite of the tergiversations of her government, as the bonds of affinity betwixt her citizens and our own, seem to be strong and indissoluble, so it has become the duty of this great nation, to relieve her from those dangers, that would otherwise endanger her civil existence, if it is at all competent for us so to do, so as to place her in a situation wherein she may be able to

act upon free and independent principles. At the same time, although we must remember that Spain is our ally, bound to us by political and moral cords, which we may fairly hope will never be cut asunder, we must remember that it is our duty to open her eyes to her true interests, to bring her mind to a just apprehension of these, to conduct her gently alongst that course which leads most assuredly to their attainment, and to invigorate her at every step of this course; and while we expose to her the absolute fallacy of all those gaudy acquisitions, with which France would entangle her general procedure, to discover to her the true value of attainable advantages. For ourselves, we rest so entirely on our colonial and naval superiority, that it is in vain to propose maintaining our civil existence, if we do not resolve to defend them to their utmost stretch. We must, at all events, maintain our claims to the persons of our seamen, and our other established maritime rights; and though we must, in like manner, preserve, in dependence upon Spain, her general empire, as just sketched out, we must not endanger the leading parts of our great scheme, by attempting more than this empire, duly defined, can comprize. In general, we may counteract the movements of both Spain and America, in case these should adopt an illiberal or ungrateful line of conduct, in regard to our general trade, by various means, corresponding with, and founded on our maritime claims; and wherever any thing that outsteps the range whereon such counteracting principles can operate, takes place, it becomes us farther

to adopt a full and clear view of our condition and of our resources, and determinately, and resolutely, to follow out those measures, into which these views necessarily lead.

It is impossible to dismiss this part of the subject, without noticing the peculiar favor manifested towards our nation, by that wise and beneficent Being, who regards with pleasure all those who sedulously follow out those plans of benignity, which coincide with his own administration. It has fallen to our lot, to be instruments of protecting one great nation, and of chastising another; and in both of these duties, we have been eminently successful. A third great nation, by her narrow policy, has exercised our patience to a degree, that evinces at once our magnanimous forbearance, and the power that is connected with this great christian principle; and the froward captiousness of that nation, with the impotency of that barbarous system of policy, which springs from such procedure. The impolicy of allying ourselves to the vices and follies of corrupt courts, has been disclosed to us; as also the mischief that necessarily results from strengthening the bonds of corruption, and giving way to those narrow views, that arise out of their restrictive systems. It becomes us, therefore, to maintain firmly that high ground, to which our superior virtue and prowess have raised us, to repress with a steady hand the morbid viciosity of our allies, as often as this evidently impedes our progress, and to display an unqualified reprobation to every

thing that is marked with depraved or corrupted principles. In this line of conduct, we are animated by the experience, which we have had of the genial power and warmth of patriotic virtue, when allied to our measures, and by the transcendent efficacy manifested by popular energy, when combined with sound policy, and incorporated with the best interests of all parties. In the case before us, these general remarks convey fully to our minds, the nature of our duty and situation. Our confederacy is not at present with courts, but with the people at large. At length, there is no necessity for distinguishing nicely in regard to the different interests of the governors and governed; for in the circumstances in which we stand, these are all in exact unison; and in the general system which we would establish, patriotic virtue and untainted loyalty are inseparably conjoined. One great object is to be achieved, and if we can accomplish this object, in any way whatever, we create a counterpoise to the power of the great destroyer, we provide a support to our general system, our commerce, our industry, our national independence and civil liberty; we lay upon earth, a new foundation for social improvement, for our maritime power and greatness, and we augment the efficacy of that political and naval force, to which France must ultimately submit, before the world can enjoy that peace and security, for which it at present so deeply groans.

When we look at the peculiar characters and

circumstances of those great leading powers, whose relative bearings on the prosperity of each other, we have been contemplating; we perceive that a decided bias to that developement, which coincides most completely with the most beauteous harmony and proportionment of the general system, would be provided, merely, by our following out those measures, into which their several circumstances naturally resolve themselves. The true interests of all parties fully understood and adopted, necessarily induce a subserviency in the operation; and a combination in the progression of improvement, in each national system, that render all its movements doubly efficacious. Spain and Portugal, proud and dignified, possessed of the richest countries on the globe, have a profusion of resources of the most precious nature springing up into their hands, which, when thus guaranteed to them, must enable them to proceed alongst that lofty course of national progression, which is suited to their character; whereby they are enabled to enjoy in profusion, the most exquisite productions of industry, without burdening themselves with those vast movements, which are peculiar to the British and American systems. These two last, less favored by nature, but possessed of advantages congenial to their great and manly characters, thereby also avail themselves of these in a manner consistent with their own peculiar characters and circumstances. They can allure those more favored proprietors of the soil, to part with their regorging wealth, as a return for the ingenuity, and power exercised in their

service. It is here, that the ships, the commodities, the artizans, and the seamen of Britain, may thence receive their excitation and support; and that those, whose peculiar classes of industry, and whose provisions, are excited and supported by the wants and circumstances of all parties, may be borne up in such a way, that they severally cannot but enjoy, and participate in the success and good fortune of each other. In such a state of things, the whole reproductive establishments of each state, like the pastoral flocks and herds of the primitive ages, would be found to have ample fields for their exercise and maintenance, fully provided for them; fields always verdant, highly watered, secure from the destructive inroads of the common destroyer of nations, and progressively advancing in prosperity and happiness, without being exposed to the danger of being either overturned in their course, or retarded in their general movements.

It is here, no doubt, understood, that each of these great communities shall sedulously betake themselves to the reformation of internal abuses, and to the amelioration of their peculiar systems; and that they will meet each other on the ground of reciprocal good will and national fellowship. To fetter down with mathematical precision, the peculiarities of each system, however, is neither looked for nor expected; but to adopt liberal principles of intercourse, to establish a fair and solid system of jurisprudential policy, and to give that security and protection to the property appertaining to

each, that is consistent with sound and equitable principles, are points so important, that we can neither suppose them in such circumstances, to be overlooked; nor being provided for, to be otherwise than decisive, in regard to the prosperous advancement, and cordial harmony of all parties, in their circumstances, and also in their characters.

When such views as these are brought fully before us, we perceive, that the national spirit so apt to be perverted and abused, is, in fact, the greatest cement to social happiness, the most powerful stimulant to universal improvement, with which we are acquainted. When nations perceive and experience the value and the extent of the services, which they can give to, and receive from, each other, they gradually denude themselves of those narrow local prejudices, and of those stupid projects of selfish aggrandisement, which had clung to their characters, at the time that they had been accustomed to act from private and solitary motives. Such advantages bestow on all concerned, dignified apprehensions of human nature, and of that grand order of society, which, having been instituted by divine ordination for the good of the human race, arises out of our sympathetic feelings and rational perceptions, and which diffuses blessings and enjoyments of the purest and noblest kind to all, who are prepared to receive them, besides giving to every enjoyment its finest edge. So far, therefore, is the principle of nationality necessarily productive of repugnant feelings, that it is a stimulant of

the highest order to generous and virtuous actions; it purifies the social mind, by raising it above merely selfish considerations, to these great paramount objects, in which the best propensities of our nature are exercised; and it gives to the ennobled character thus produced, a substantial existence, correspondent to its nature. Discord and corruption are but too apt to incorporate themselves with the essence of this spirit, and to render it more detrimental than beneficial to the interests of human society. But having witnessed the exalted and heroic sentiments, with which it has been accompanied in Spain and Britain, and the diffusive influence of that dignified conduct which has been inspired by it; may we not hope, that the era has at length arrived, when, under the celestial influences of our pure and beneficent religion, alliances and courtesies will take effect amongst the nations, wherein universal complacency in each other's welfare will prevail; and a system of harmony, concord, and general improvement, sanctified by benevolent and heavenly principles, and excited by generous and purified propensities, will ultimately obtain the ascendancy?

As for the French system of conquering peace, of levelling every thing to the will of a mere mortal, and thereon instituting an empire, not less universal in its extent and operation, than powerful and subtile in its principles and procedure, it may suit the palate and amuse the minds of the daringly ambitious, of those whom vice or folly have ren-

dered base and timorous; but in the view of all those who fear God, who have full confidence in his administration of human affairs, and who seek the gratification of the nobler propensities of their nature, such a project must appear to be at once disgusting and absurd. It is evident, that it cannot subsist without the prostration of every exalted principle in human society. It would produce in the governing party, an unbounded propensity to the gratification of all the lower passions of the soul, pride, revenge, lust and cruelty; and it would leave no retreat from the effects of these, open to men on this side of the grave. Gross ignorance and depravity, general misery and wickedness, could not but soon become universal, when every stimulus to high exertion was withdrawn, and the way to security and advancement, lay through the dark labyrinths of human corruptibility. In place of institutions correspondent to the peculiar attainments of each nation, all most systematically calculated for the promotion and increase of every thing great and glorious in human nature, the iron rod of oppression would be seen every where around, bearing all down before it. In place of myriads of societies, severally emulously instigating each other in the practice of all that is great and honourable, and sedulously advancing every object, wherein renown or advantage was to be obtained; a cowring terror, that would shroud every noble disposition, would prevail, and blast even the feeble joys, that could in these circumstances raise their heads aloft. It is absurd to calculate on the tranquil-

lity of such a scene; for though thousands of satraps should seal the debasement of mankind, with their hermetical touch, the irruptive power of forlorn wretchedness and depravity would, frequently, with volcanic force, burst asunder the charm, and discover to mankind, that even the horrors of death and destruction, were more tolerable than such abject bondage. That such virtuous boldness, and heroic magnanimity would absolutely lose their diffusive power, we cannot suppose to be possible, even in the worst circumstances of man upon earth; a continuation of bloodshed and desolation might, therefore, be expected to follow every such irruption. Every thing that we see convinces us, that the most High, has made ample provision against this dilemma. Studded with islands and continents, our globe itself seems prepared with sanctuaries for national independence; the inhabitants of some one or other of which, being always in readiness in case of any such emergency, to shake off the brazen yoke of universal domination, in order to make way for the restoration of the world.

We cannot observe, without singular complacency, the various methods, by which, under the Divine government, the natural boundaries of men have been marked; for the distinctions of race, of manners, of languages, of climate, must be held to be barriers, raised by his sovereign hand, in defence of national rights. Our own feelings inculcate the same lesson, in the horrors which we feel, when we perceive nations maliciously exercising

themselves, to set aside these boundaries. In such cases the shortness and precariousness of human life, which render every advantage of this sort vain and nugatory, would appear to be a subject of congratulation. As our own age, above all others, has illustrated the certainty of these truths,—that violent and sinister practices are no ways competent to the attainment of any real political good,—and that a magnanimous and liberal policy, when inspired by benign wisdom, and invigorated by undaunted heroism, is more than a match for all the force that such practices can bring against them,—may we not hope that these perceptions will soon become alike universal and powerful?

In applying these remarks to the case before us, it is necessary, however, to notice, that each of these great nations, whose case has been unfolded, has duties to perform within its own precincts, before its internal security and national independence can be held to have been fully provided for. It is not enough to be valorous, in our cause to be cordial and sincere in our attachments, we must purge out those principles of destruction that operate within our own system. Will America say, after seeing the end and resolution of all that wealth, which the perversity of her juridical system has enabled her to extract from British industry, that she may still go on with impunity, with those practices which regorge her system with wealth, beyond what it can regularly absorb? Will she not see, that by giving full effect, all over her territory, to equitable laws,

she can not only prevent this regorgement, which binds up her interests with those of her adversaries, but infuse a salutary principle of renovation, into her whole system? Will she not discover that by strengthening the arm of British maritime ascendancy, in place of attempting to bring it down, she procures for herself and the civilized world, a safeguard, for which a few unsubstantial tokens of supremacy are but an insignificant return; and that Britain may thence receive the deference due to a parent, without provoking the jealousy of an unnatural rival? As the relative circumstances of both America and Britain are such, that neither the one nor the other can have any questions subsisting betwixt them, but those wherein a direct appeal to their unbiassed feelings, and sense of duty and interests will resolve into new principles of union, may we not also hope, that this perception will become as powerful as it is just and salutary?

When we turn our ears to the lofty strains of patriotism that flow from the ancient nations of Iberia, the advantages that result from a high national spirit arrest our attention, and make us hope, that the work of reformation, so necessary in their circumstances, will neither be a difficult task, nor a distant object. We must recollect, however, that these advantages are connected with, and arise from, an undue attachment to institutions, that are repugnant to improvement, and even unfriendly to those finer developements of the general system, wherein the beauteous harmony of gen-

eral reformation is disclosed. The civil and ecclesiastical organization of Spain, is not only radically depraved, but this depravity is intimately combined with the social and political existence of the Spanish nation. As the national energies, however, will continue to develope themselves, in the service of fanatical ignorance and barbarous oppression, until this reformation can be effected, it becomes us to certiorate ourselves concerning the means that are within our power which may be rendered directly applicable towards the accomplishment of this object.

In the first place let it be noticed, that the spirit which now prevails is highly favorable to the work of reformation. A people, who rise so far above their prejudices and personal feelings, as to be able to embrace, with enthusiastic ardor, one great common cause, in concert with a nation, from whom they were most completely alienated, both in their civil, political, and ecclesiastical capacities; and whose interests and whose dispositions, were as repugnant to their own, as it is conceivable for them to be—may be held to have already broke down the main barrier, by which their depression and degradation have been protected, and to have allied themselves to principles, which, if steadily pursued, must soon enable them to operate their own complete deliverance. Acting in concert with Britain, and witnessing the transcendent efficacy of her civil and religious institutions, she cannot but imbibe a predeliction for them, and at length come to

discern the baseness of that fanatical ignorance, and the insidious texture of those vile machinations, on which her ancient corrupted and oppressive system is established. To pretend to impose upon a nation thus situated, a peculiar set of ordinations and institutions, calculated for their complete deliverance from intellectual bondage, would be no less arrogant than absurd; but to lead them alongst that line of circumstances, wherein their highest interests, and their most indispensible duties, will alike operate, in removing those shackles of superstition and national prejudice, in which they have been so long involved, is not only truly delectable, but judicious; for, thereby, a reformation in the character, as well as in the circumstances of the nation, both in its individual and in its collective capacity, may be expected to take place, not rapid and universal indeed, but gradually and steadily progressive; such as will ameliorate the fixed institutions and establishments of the country, as well as renovate the habits and deportment of the community and of all its members.

But, secondly, there is in the circumstances of Spain, something that renders some such reformation of her general system, as that which we have been contemplating, not only expedient, but indispensibly necessary, in order to preserve for her, an independent existence amongst the nations. Her system being at present, in complete disorder it must at all events undergo some kind of renovation; and her dangers, being all of that kind that

call loudly for the heart and hands of all her citizens, to set about amusing these with stale views of their national importance, when their persons, their properties, their whole rights and enjoyments, as men and as citizens, are trampled under foot, would be alike presumptuous and nugatory. It has, therefore, at length, become necessary to make every Spaniard feel and know his own personal importance, and to lead his propensities forward to those classes of objects, wherein, rational and manly perceptions of these are to be found. As we all know, and as the Spaniards themselves now see, that religious intolerance and an illiberal system of policy, are absolutely inconsistent with national and individual improvement, and that, without such improvement, no earthly blessing is either valuable or secure, the feelings of the multitude, the first and greatest enemy to renovation, may be held to be not only subdued, but to be enlisted under the banners of regular improvement.

The circumstances above mentioned, favorable as they are to a renovation of the Spanish system, are accompanied with others, of a similar and coincident tendency, that are still more conducive thereto. In consequence of the chaotic state of all her laws, institutions, and ordinations, a multitude of bulwarks, arising out of the prejudices of the people, and the power of corruption and depravity, enthroned and encanopied in defence of systematic abuses, have already been swept away; and the principle of compensation, that, which above

all other received principles, is the most friendly to the progress of reformation, must, from the general posture of things, necessarily, be admitted into the arrangement of public affairs. Without admitting the principles of compensation and indemnification, as the regular basis, on which every abuse, civil, as well as ecclesiastical, is to be removed, it is both wicked and absurd to point out public grievances, or new modes of improvement. Such procedure can only whet the public avidity to no good purpose; it may instigate a spirit of animosity, perhaps, of rapacity, that may precipitate the best scheme of reform, into a mere revolution; or without producing any direct object, it may pass off, after exciting chagrin and distrust towards those, against whose interests this spirit, may have been excited. But, when the principle, above noticed, are fairly and fully admitted and rested upon, as the basis of improvement, so far is there from being any impropriety or hazard, in scanning public affairs with the utmost freedom, that, on the contrary, the more freely and completely such affairs are canvassed, so much the more, will the circumstances of the individuals concerned, as well as of society at large, be ameliorated and improved. The reason of this is so obvious, as scarcely to require pointed notice. There are numberless personal and general rights and immunities, existent amongst all nations, and more particularly amongst the Spanish nation, which are decidedly inimical to improvement; yet the individual possessors of these rights, have the same property in their obnoxious rights

that every other member in the community has on his own property; and they are equally well warranted to maintain and defend them to the utmost, with those whose rights are most beneficial to the public. It is evidently competent, however, for every state to rescind and annul every claim that is obnoxious or pernicious to its interests, provided only, that the individual possessors of those claims, can be duly compensated for the personal loss, which they may thereby sustain. These two opposing claims and interests, can meet only on the basis of compensation. When, in such a case, compensation has been accorded, no individual whatever, not even the person denuded of his rights, has any ground to complain; for, while his indemnity neutralises his claim, he himself, as a member of the community, derives his full share of the public advantage thereby produced, and transmits the same to his descendants and to all his connexions.

When we direct our attention to the dreadful devastations, that are desolating Europe, and withering up the roots of civil existence in every country that is accessible to the arms or influence of France, the common interest and well-being of the human race, seem to be implicated in the fate of Spanish America. There, an immense tract of fine rich territory, favored by nature, and protected by the seas, is prepared and laid open as a retreat to the cause of civilization and improvement. In these vast districts, space is given to the expansion of the energies of man, and resources provided, on which to

exercise these energies, that are no where else to be found. There too, barriers to the progress of fraud and oppression are thrown up, which, we may still hope will be found to be impregnable to their dark and subtile assailants. Above all things, let it be recollected, that our own nation has a paramount interest, in thus protecting the remaining resources of the civilized world. It is enough for us, if peace and concord, and the progress of improvement, be preserved; these must always ally themselves to our cause, and arrange themselves on opposite banners from those of the destroyers. But Spain is connected to us by bonds, that are still more indissoluble than even these are; she has felt and endured that malignity, which we have warded off from our own territory; and she is still more determined in her hostility against the common foe than we seem to be; Spain has therefore a peculiar interest in drawing closs her connexion with us, and in maintaining, for the common good, the integrity of our power and maritime supremacy. These, and many other circumstances, that must readily occur to every one, evince to us the propriety of achieving the general renovation of the system of Spain, and the advantages that must therefrom necessarily result. Perhaps, it is only necessary here farther to notice, some of the most direct and important of these results. First, her jurisprudential code would be renovated, a measure, of the utmost magnitude to the mercantile and industrious world; in general, in as much as this renovation is necessary to procure that safety to the Spanish nation,

and that protection to all who may have intercourse with it, that are so essentially necessary to render commercial enterprizes with them, secure and profitable. Secondly, civil and religious freedom, so requisite for placing all these advantages on their proper ground, would also thence ensue. Thirdly, an unbounded supply of the precious metals, and of those inestimable commodities, with which Spanish American is replete, would thereby be obtained for the service of the mercantile world. And lastly, a market, limited only by the circumstances of the country, for receiving the productions of the general industry of the world, and for replacing to the enterprizing the value of these productions, would also be procured, by a liberal renovation of the Spanish system.

When we fix our eyes on the circumstances, in which the reproductive energies of the British nation would be placed, in the event of some such general arrangement, as that which we have been contemplating, being brought about betwixt the several powers above mentioned, we perceive that a class of most inestimable advantages, similar to that which existed during the patriarchal ages, would be provided for them. Our highly concentrated reproductive powers require a powerful excitation and support; and here that excitation and support, at least a certain degree, would be securely provided to them. Spanish and Portugueze America, the United States, and the other foreign possessions of these and of our own nation, would thereby be laid open

for the reception of these productions, and therefrom returns of the most valuable kind, would, with every advantage and facility, be also drawn back, for their service. It is a truth, that can be most satisfactorily demonstrated, that mercantile intercourse with nations, in a rising state of civil existence, is much more lucrative to a nation that is highly advanced in the arts, than intercourse with nations, whose circumstances are similar. As this consideration carries more weight with it than at first appears, and is of particular moment in our present researches, it shall here be briefly illustrated.

In the first place, it is self evident, that the intercourse that could subsist betwixt Spain, Britain, and America, from the extremely diversified character of their several circumstances, and from the very great facility, with which the reproductive powers of each, could be fitted and rendered subservient to each other, would, if allowed to proceed in a regular manner, greatly augment the force and range of their several productive processes, and induce improvements in the construction of those processes, and aggregations in the powers by which their movements are impelled, that would be highly advantageous to those interested therein, and render the substantiated wealth, emitted therefrom, much more extensive than it could otherwise be. From these begun improvements, and augmentations, as from a new basis, a new series of improvements and augmentations would constantly arise, for the use of every several party; the means and

energies appertaining to each, would, of consequence, increase with a combined rapidity, corresponding to their respective circumstances and attainments. As the reproductive powers and authorized consumption of these parties would, in in such a case, stimulate, support, and relieve each other, in a way correspondent to the capabilities of each; so the whole wealth, that would spring forth from these processes, would be almost immediately substantiated. Rivalry and competition, could not take place betwixt them for centuries; for the concatenations of interests, that would thence constantly arise, would necessarily bend the progress of each process of improvement, into that course, which coincided most directly with the joint interest of all, and thus render the general advantages, that therefrom result incomparably more valuable to each of them, than that which could be procured, in case of any contrariety and opposition in their reproductive powers. Such advantages are inconsistent with the state of old settled countries, whose governments, and whose establishments are at perpetual variance with each other. In these, superfluous wealth is, for the most part, already resolved into fixed establishments, whose fruits are drawn forth in the shape of rents, taxes, and immunities; which, though they stimulate, support, and relieve the reproductive processes already instituted, narrow the channel through which general wealth incessantly flows, and render the erection of new establishments, and the formation of new aggregations of wealth, matters of extreme difficulty.

In the second place, the commodities and productions, arising out of the productive processes of the countries, whose case we have been considering, are generally of that kind, that most directly stimulate, support, and advance each others' circumstances, and resolve themselves most directly into an advancement, and extension of these. The precious metals, and invaluable fruits and resources of Spain and its colonies, are precisely these things of which we stand most in want; and our finished commodities, and the productions of America, all severally, tally, in like manner, with the circumstance of Spain, and with those of each other. This is a most important consideration, incomparably more so than either Dr Smith or any of the great writers on political economy seem disposed to admit. This direct subserviency and resolution, not only abbreviates the labor and expense of intercourse betwixt nations, but it sets forward their several accumulative processes, with a power that is proportioned to the velocity of the intercourse, which this abbreviation produces. Of this we have had most astonishing proofs in the trade, that at present subsists betwixt Britain and her colonies. The value and extent of the productions of Demerary and Dutch Guiana have, within our own day, been brought to equal those of all the rest of the West Indies conjoined, merely, in consequence of the juxta-position of the resources, which each several reproductive process requires, being secured to it. The consumption of rum, in Canada alone, has risen to the extent of near 10,000 puncheons

annually, owing to the same circumstance, combined with an increased demand for the wheat, timber, and other productions of that rude though extensive colony.

In the third place, the range of developement of those processes, and their power of excitation, increased by the intercourse that must subsist in such circumstances, would spread their influence over employments of every kind, so as to include these in their general operation. Wherever a great, a rising and regular demand for commodities exists, there an extension of all the principles of improvement, connected therewith, and a concentration of the force of these, and of all kindred principles, must take place. A multitude of dependent and connected establishments are formed, in the first place; and these, of themselves, gradually constitute new sources of wealth and improvement; by which means, the interstices of the social body are filled with principles of improvement, which not only become profitable to the individual owners of establishments, but advantageous to the general circumstances of the country. How many agricultural and territorial improvements have originated, solely, from the vast aggregations of particular fabricating processes, that our connexions with demi-civilized nations have produced! I apprehend, that the present high pitch of national strength and that the stability which we now possess, have arisen out of the necessity to which we were at one time subjected, of accommodating ourselves to the circumstances of

our American brethren. Hence, improvements and extensions that could not have been procured from any other quarter have been effected in our manufacturing processes; hence too, our national institutions and provisions, have received principles of renovation, and accessions of strength, and our territorial advantages that real value and importance which are now made to appear. Out of all these concurrent attainments, and the social energies to which they gave birth, our commercial prowess, our maritime strength, and consequent capability for profiting, by the chaotic revolutions that have taken place in Europe, have originated. If, during the preceding century, our commercial intercourse had been confined to such exchanges of superfluities, as could naturally have arisen out of our own circumstances, and out of those of the established nations of Europe; so far from being able to insinuate our highly improved commodities and productions, into the general system of every kingdom in the world; and possessing stupendous establishments, for receiving and improving their best resources; we would not even have held in our hands, the means necessary for maintaining a dignified rank amongst the nations. We might have been a brave and independent people, but like most of the ancient nations of Europe, a listless forwardness in the prosecution of our best interests, accompanied with a general incompetency to every thing great and magnanimous, would, most probably, have marked our character.

In my opinion, the circumstances of Britain, Spain, and America, are at present precisely in that state, wherein, their respective independence as nations, and their general interests as associates in a great common cause, most completely coincide. Spain is palpably deficient in those things, which both Britain and America can bestow, and she possesses in profusion, those objects, of which these other powers are severally in want. Nor is this all; Spain is at present in a situation, that calls loudly for all that assistance, which those powers can give; and she possesses means that may enable her to reward the assistance accorded, in that way, which coincides most completely with the highest interests of the governments of those nations. Here, I do not refer so much to the territorial wealth of the Spanish dominions, although it is evident, that even in this light, the wine, wool, oils, gums, drugs, and dyewoods, together with the profusion of the precious metals, with which Spain is replete, are, in themselves, most invaluable accesions to the strength of the general cause. I refer to those peculiarities in the circumstances of each power, which render the accession of the general means of Spain to their interests, a matter of the highest importance. What is it that renders Britain so flourishing? is it not the full glow in which her national spirit is at all times maintained, in consequence of the intimate connexion that subsists betwixt the interests of the governors, and those of the governed? Does not that reciprocity of good offices, which extends through the whole connexions both

of the one class and of the other, bring forward the aggregate strength of the people, individually and collectively, on the basis of their country's welfare? The very same advantage, on a scale vastly more extended, and proportionally more powerful and efficient, would be procured, by including all those interests, in this augmented and enlarged range of affairs. To us this matter is of immediate moment; for the prosperity of Britain, always marred by the retrenchment of its developements, is now seeking a new field for the display of these, a field, wherein their strength and their luxuriance may alike be disclosed. Cut off from our wonted connexion with the continent of Europe, our commercial, our naval, our military, our financial prowess, are withering up, from the mere want—of suitable employment—of a space of expansion and exercise for their overpowering growth and energy. We have been attempting to extend the influence of our attainments all over the globe, but restrictive systems have blasted their power, and rendered all their vigorous displays, worse than useless. Now, Spain is ready to receive these benign influences, and in receiving them, she cannot but return their value to us; for she thereby becomes the more capable of increasing the value and the extent of these returns; a similar regorgement enabling and disposing her to bestow upon us correspondent influence. The great sovereign powers, above noticed, therefore, find themselves in circumstances similar to those which existed during the ages of primeval reproduction. Their innate power ad-

vances apace; and in the direct course of advancement, without any effort on their part, they find constant supplies for the establishments appertaining to their own subjects. Their possessions, like the flocks and herds of those times, may, in a similar way, obtain the means of their subsistance, and facilities for appropriating these means to their own use, regularly provided and so much at hand that, their innate vigor may be constantly increasing and extending itself. It is needful for these powers to lay open suitable communications with each other, for the purpose of facilitating and expediting the intercourse, that is correspondent to their respective circumstances. But having done this, the process of increment and improvement will progressively advance and extend itself, from the mere innate power and animated entity which it comprises.

I APPREHEND that if those great powers would fairly and fully review their relative situation, in regard to the common destroyer of nations, and weigh well all the advantages, that must result from an union of their powers and interests, the difficulties to this union, which now bulk so much in their eye, would forthwith disappear. If Britain is, at this moment, the main prop and support of the civilized world; supplying it, by her incessant industry, with the most invaluable commodities, and warding off by means of the wealth derived from the commerce, to which this industry gives birth, that dreadful destruction, that is now raised over all their heads, (and who that seriously reviews the

matter, can doubt of the truth of these positions?) every inferior consideration is unworthy of attention. It is the business of every nation to maintain its independence, and the free exercise of all its national rights. To this full extent, the feelings and sentiments of Spain and America must necessarily be respected. But after these things have been secured and guaranteed to them on a solid and irrefragable basis, there can exist no reason whatever, for any belligerent power, such as Britain is, to burden itself with meeting every fastidious objection, which nations, in the circumstances of Spain or America, may oppose to the amplitude of those measures, that are needful for general safety. The maritime superiority of Britain must be maintained at all events, and better were it for us, to rank both these powers, amongst the list of our enemies, than to enter into any alliance with either the one or the other of them, that might endanger our independent existence. The maritime ascendancy of Britain seems to be so essential to the safety of the general cause, that it is impossible to conceive any thing like alliance betwixt these powers, without its unqualified admission, at least, during the period of the present war. Britain, from the deference which she uniformly pays to the wants and circumstances of her allies, has a good right to require a corresponding deference in the present case. When Austria and Russia drew forth their population and territorial resources in support of this same cause, did not Britain not only set aside all her former jealousies, but pour into

their hands, all those supplies which it was possible for these powers to receive from her; unmindful of the hardships and distresses, which she thereby inflicted on her own subjects, and regardless of these inferences that might be made, as to the tribute thus accorded? Yet the military prowess of these powers was never of such moment to the general cause, as the maritime ascendancy of Britain. Without this ascendancy, the general cause would long since have been lost, and the name and power of every European kingdom would have been, by this time, effectually buried in the dust. While Britain, therefore, chuses to burden herself with the maintenance of this power, and to wield it magnanimously for the universal safety of the nations; while she, single handed, can brave the storms of the ocean, and on these make the cause of civilization ride triumphant, it is alike the duty and the interest of both America and Spain, to withdraw their hostile and futile opposition to her power, and their exceptions to her glory.

It does not seem to be necessary, to go far in order to establish and elucidate those principles, on which Britain's maritime ascendancy, may be maintained and defended. The whole world is now aware of its importance to the general safety. Every nation has participated more or less of its blessings; for, thereby, she has kept the ocean, the channel of universal intercourse, secure from the power of the common enemy of nations; she has preserved in circulation, those means that are most

needful for improving and civilizing every race of men upon earth. This is a species of empire, that can never be exercised for purposes of destruction; for it exists only by the universal excitation and circulation of the general strength of the world; its power is founded upon unbounded commercial intercourse; and this intercourse cannot exist without a superabundance of commodities and productions, the result of incessant well directed industry. It is therefore, the business of Britain, and her truest interest to support every species of improvement, because thence her own strength is drawn, and into these it must be resolved, in order to extend its own basis. The exercise of this empire, implies no yoke upon the nations, it consists merely in an unsubstantial deference to her flag, and in acknowledging her right to maintain, what it would be criminal to dispute—the authority of a parent over the persons of her children—that of a master in the subjects which constitute his property. As for neutral trade, this would of course fall to the ground, along with the neutrality of our confederates; but, in so far, as any illegitimate intercourse might subsist, Britain behoved still to interfere with her naval influence; yet this interference would constitute a privilege, not a burden; for it would place the belligerents in much more secure circumstances, in regard to each other, and in regard to trade, than they could have been without it.

In effect, both Russia and America, have evinced their hearty accordance in our maritime ascen-

dancy, when this coincides with their ordinary procedure; the profusion of naval stores, poured into our ports by Russia, indicates not only her goodwill to our nation, but her great confidence in the maritime power, which she thus contributes to establish. America and Britain now go, hand in hand, in abolishing the slave trade; and America magnanimously recognizes the right of Britain, to enforce her own laws against those who violate the ordinations of the United States, in regard to this point. Cannot America extend this magnanimous confidence so far, as to recognize the right of Britain to search her own vessels, and to take from thence, those men and commodities, that ought not, according to certain received and well defined regulations to be thus employed. This accordance would soon place things on their proper footing; for where both governments disavowed the aggressions of their citizens, the practice itself would soon come to an end. As it is impossible, until this matter shall be set at rest, for disputes and dissentions to cease, some such adjustment as that which has been pourtrayed above, ought forthwith to be effected, in which the nations ought thenceforward faithfully and harmoniously to coalesce.

It remains to be noticed, however, in regard to Spain, that a jealousy and captiousness, respecting her national rights, at present, prevails, and is countenanced by us, that is totally repugnant to this harmonious combination of interests. This is, indeed, one of the severest trials, to which our na-

tional spirit, has as yet been subjected. We find a nation—accustomed to the most debased and ignominious treatment, literally rescued from destruction, by our generous patient forbearance and incessant good offices, and even placed on the foreground of the nations, by dint of our arduous national struggles—pursuing all her pitiful little schemes of aggrandisement, with as much earnestness, as if by her own means, she could set the world at defiance, and reach the object to which she aspires, by such left-handed practices. But Spain ought to know, that by filling her colonies with enslaved Africans, she is endangering not only the safety of her own colonies, but that of every other European and civilized power in that quarter of the globe. Spain has abundance of slaves, more than she can profitably occupy; and it ought to be our first, our immediate duty, to make her consent to tie up her hands, in regard to this odious traffick, in the same way that both Britain and America have done; and to transfer to Britain, the same power of carrying into effect the final laws that she may thereupon institute, against such traffick, that America has done.

Along with this concession, it seems to be indispensibly necessary, to insist upon the same right of search, that we have always done in regard to America, and the same authority for carrying this right into full effect. It is not by amusing Spain, in regard to her national rights; it is not by administering plentifully to her fastidious pride and jea-

lousy, that Spain is to be benefited; it is by leading her in the direct course of improvement, by accustoming her to retrenchments, privations, and extreme exertions, to moderate views, to enterprises becoming her strength, her situation, her resources; by making her give way to the spirit of renovation, to imbibe its influence, and to receive into her system, salutary and beneficent principles; and by administering to her projects, only that aid which coincides with the great good, of which it is held, that she is heartily in quest. These views of the procedure necessary in regard to Spain, are, no doubt more severe than is consistent with that conciliating spirit, which at present prevails; but thus, I apprehend, we must ultimately conduct ourselves, if we would preserve that power, for the general good of the civilized world. Our complacency in the fervent patriotism of the Spanish nation, must not make us overlook that fanatical ignorance, with which their best qualities are connected, nor forget these dismal effects, which have resulted from similar propensities in former ages. We know well, that this same high national spirit, thus supported, at one time, desolated one quarter of the globe, and made the most tremendous struggles for the complete establishment of a concrete fanatical tyranny, of which we have any instance upon record; and that we have too much reason to fear, even at present, that if ever the Spanish domination, supported by the vast acquirements and improvements now matured for its service, should succeed in rearing aloft, that cause to which it still adheres; we would find that

we had superadded to the other miseries of this world, a dark vindictive governance, of deadly weight and transcendent subtilty.

This is a matter of high moment to us, for we know well, that France, of herself, has no power that can bear directly against our colonial and maritime resources, and that she can never do this effectually, otherwise, than through the medium of Spain. It is evident to us, that the Spaniards regard our ascendancy, with equal, or perhaps, with more jealousy, than they do that of France. At present they are aroused, by the horrid crime committed by France, against their sovereign ; but they regard this, more as a projected change of dynasty, an attempt to meliorate, under French influence, their general system, than as an attack on their race and nation. The transcendent wickedness of France has not yet opened their eyes to the criminality of that power, nor alarmed them sufficiently for their national honor and independence. If, in such circumstances, France and Spain should again coalesce ; or if the institutions of Spain should imbibe the Jacobinical tenets of France ; or even if Spain herself, deprived of the counterpoise of France should remain the prey of a fanatical Jesuitical domination ; the repugnance of their general institutions to ours, would speedily disclose itself, and, on the high ground of their consolidated and reanimated system, introduce a mode of warfare, that might be still more infuriate, and incomparably more destructive to our best and highest inter-

ests, than any that we have as yet experienced. It is, at present, in our power, by infusing into the Spanish system, the principles of liberal and magnanimous improvement, so to renovate the national spirit, so to incorporate its best interests, with those of the world at large, and so to identify the progression of its commercial, territorial, and governing establishments, that the stability of the general system of Spain, will be concatenated with that of our own, and of the civilized world at large. And, as the connexions and liguments thence produced, would be no less beneficent than powerful; invigorating the character, as well as renovating the circumstances, both of the government, and of the nation; the advantages to be procured, would soon be perceived to be so salutary in their operation, as to render the difficulties and dangers, attendant on their introduction, no ways important.

I am aware, that there are certain objections against the whole scheme of improvement now laid down, of the most radical kind. Of these, perhaps, the most formidable arises from its inapplicability to the pressing exigencies of the mercantile world, for whose service it is primarily held to be calculated. It must be admitted, that the great difficulty at present lyes, in the want of an adequate market for receiving our colonial produce, and for realizing it into absolute value, that this whole scheme goes to increase the amount of this produce, and that it does not set forth any adequate market for their reception. Of what use, therefore, it may

be said, are all these excitations, provisions, and accessions of means, when the community, is already overburdened with a profusion of such things? Direct access to the European market, peace with Bonaparte, and a free trade to his dominions, would prove at once a sure, and an immediate relief to our system; it would enable us to convert our superfluous commodities into absolute wealth, and and to obtain that powerful excitation for our languid reproductive powers, which they at present so much want, without burdening ourselves with those extrinsic operations that are so little appropriate to our circumstances. As this is the great argument of those, who are inimical to the present system of government, and as it carries them so far, as to render them desirous of peace, almost on any terms, it requires very pointed animadversion.

In the first place, let it be noticed, that we have no such option left to us, as this which is here subsumed; Bonaparte seeks not peace for its own sake, but only on account of the advantage which peace would give him, in prosecuting his ulterior schemes of aggrandisement. We might amuse ourselves, with dismantling our navy, with paying off our troops, and with consigning into his hands, those distant possessions, the sources of our wealth, for the sake of peace. In consequence of the redundancy of our commercial facilities, we might also force up a factitious commercial currency, and pour into his territory, that superabundant wealth, those precious productions and commodities, which now overload our system; calculating on receiv-

ing in lieu of them, returns equally valuable to us, with those transmitted to our enemies. But would Bonaparte meet us upon this ground? Would he feel equal complacency, in this peaceful intercourse? Does his former procedure warrant us to indulge these expectations? What did he do, during the Amiens armistice? Did not our ships enter his ports, only to become subjects of his spoliative and restrictive measures? Let us not again deceive ourselves, Bonaparte now, as then, would inform us, in case of complaints on this score, that our only choice lay betwixt immediate hostilities, and hostilities at a subsequent period; betwixt these in present circumstances, and these under the changes to be produced by the operation of his system. It never will be his wish, to give us any relief, commercial or financial, that he can possibly withhold from us. Our colonial productions, and our manufactured commodities, would be placed under tenfold restraints; not so much for the sake of ensuring employment to his own people, and bringing forward his own internal and external resources, as for that of depressing our system. We would be relieved of our colonial pressure, merely by surrendering our colonial establishments, and all the wealth, which appertains to them into his hands. Our seamen, our artists, our merchants, all the ingenious and improved amongst us, would be either allured, or terrified out of their attachment to their own establishments, and then decoyed into his power. After working into the hands of his people, the several acquirements thus secured, these

forlorn outcasts would be denuded alike of their wealth, and of their respectability, and be plunged into unmitigated abasement. Along with these, those dignified and opulent individuals, whose hereditary and possessory honors and riches, at present pent up within our island, animate our industry, and diffuse happiness and prosperity over our territory, these, allured by the charms of French licentiousness, and by those fascinating attractions which are so ensnaring to the votaries of fashion, would flock to his shores in thousands, and convey, along with them, a great portion of our floating wealth, to be laid out in debauching their minds, and destroying their constitutions, and in enabling them to transfer with a high hand, the vices and follies of France, into our blissful territory. So far, therefore, from finding these advantages from peace which is vainly looked for from it, we would only denude ourselves the more completely of our wealth and power, place ourselves hopelessly beyond the range of systematic improvement, and throw our national character and independence, and, with these, all that is valuable in our civil organization, unreservedly at our enemies' feet.

Nor is this all; while we would, with our characteristic proneness to industry and improvement, be sedulously patching up the fragments of wealth and power, that lay still amongst our hands, and be busily engaged in accommodating our reproductive powers, to our renovating resources, Bonaparte, with his usual vindictive policy, would pro-

ceed to play off his artillery of wiles and intrigues now laid fully open to their power, he would traverse every scheme of improvement, and snatch their premature fruits from us, for the mere purpose of defrauding us of the wages of our industry. Thus, we would speedily discover that we had only abandoned our impregnable situation, in order to enable our enemy to entrench himself upon it; and obtained that relief, which the panting, worn-out deer finds, when he lays himself down before his pursuers. Was it not, while they reposed themselves in his bosom, that Spain and Italy, the Swiss and the Dutch republics, received their destruction? Give Bonaparte a secure access to regions beyond the seas, and you will presently find his name, decorated with the designation of Emperor of Greece, Autocrate of the Mediterranean shores, and Protector of the Ocean; a title, which he will soon discover to the nations, implies quite another thing, from these nameless ensignia of honor, with which Britain contents herself, while blessing the nations with her support and protection. That Bonaparte and his nation have such procedure in their eye, we have already been forewarned. As peace would enable Bonaparte, to plant his eagles on the coasts of Hindostan, and enable him to set fully in motion, upon this summit of our empire, his wonted train of assumptions and encroachments; as it would give him an ample opportunity for worming us out of all our territories, in this part of the world; and put it in his power, to introduce his baleful influence into the French colonies of

Canada and Nova Scotia, into the Dutch colonies in Guiana, and even into our own most ancient West India possessions; and as it would enable and dispose him to pervade with the force and velocity of lightning the irresolute Spanish and American counsels;—can we, for a moment, doubt of the impotency of peace, as the means for effecting our relief? Let but the bulwark of British maritime supremacy be removed, and the intrigues and emissaries of France, seconded by that enfeebling terror and consternation, which are the most redoubted weapons of its government, will be in motion, all the world over, for the purpose of bringing down the whole human race, to the disgraceful yoke of French despotism.

It is a most deplorable delusion to suppose, that there is any real distinction betwixt the views and designs of Bonaparte, and those of the nation which he governs. France is not destitute of peaceful, well disposed, well informed men; but these are, at present, deprived of all power and influence, and the nation from one end of it to another, is so contaminated with licentious principles, as to be incapable of submitting to the governance of any other, but violent and ambitious men. France is utterly incapable of wielding power for any other purpose, but for that of extending its rapacious and licentious domination. France must, therefore, be taught lessons of moderation; she must learn to seek the advantages that are peculiar to peaceful industry, and to discover as much repug-

nance to war and deceitfulness, as she now does to tranquillity and fair dealing; before we can venture to denude ourselves in her favor, of any considerable part of these advantages, which, as a nation, we at present enjoy.

The above considerations derive vast importance from this circumstance, that the nations of Europe, are noways alarmed about the matter; bent down under the yoke of France, they have already been taught, to conform themselves to her debasing system. They seem, in general, to be incapable of making any farther efforts for their own deliverance. If we throw up our advantages, their absorption into the French empire, will follow as a thing of course; the name of Europe will be lost in that of the Western Empire; and its various nations will, thenceforward, be consigned over to that unmitigated bondage, which coincides with the military system, indurated by a concretion of its parts, and by the defalcation of all these pure and beneficent principles, that had arisen out of the Christian and feudal systems, out of a consciousness of individual worth and personal independence.

Secondly, we are by no means certain, that commercial intercourse with Europe, was ever really beneficial to our nation, to the extent which is here subsumed. While our allies and our armies were drawing their supplies from thence, it was highly useful and necessary for us, to have balances of money, realized within these regions; for upon these,

our nation could raise a most advantageous financial superstructure, in support of their peculiar exigencies. When our nobles consumed their wealth within the precincts of the great cities of Europe, it was most desirable to have wealth at hand, and at the command of the industrious, whose claims thus relieved the country of this unnatural pressure. But as we all know now, that, since our allies and our armies, our nobles and our men of fortune, have been withdrawn from Germany, that not only the balances to be remitted to Europe have been sinking in amount, but that this amount has been constantly falling off in value; and as we know that the American continent, if duly stimulated and supported by British capital and industry, would furnish us most abundantly, with every European commodity that we can desire; the value of our intercourse with Europe, necessarily sinks in our estimation. The power of incipient improvement, has again and again been noticed. This power raises new establishments, and commutes the powers and productions of old ones. Let but a door be laid open to the industrious and ingenious of the oppressed countries of Europe, in the fertile plains of America, and these will fly off to the possession of resources, whereon their powers and faculties, fully exercised, will produce for our service every thing upon which we can set our mind. The stimulus of British capital and industry, would soon find its way to those regions, and more than compensate for all the advantages which the industrious had left behind them. Thus supported, Mexico and

Louisiana, Peru and La Plata, within less time than has been necessary, to drain the marshes of Guiana, would be brought to produce every production and commodity that we now receive from Europe, either in a finished state, or in a state fit for meeting our powerful concentrated processes. Besides this, though we had no alternative but to resort to Europe for certain supplies, and therefore had the strongest inducements to form in our favor, balances of trade, the idea of shutting ourselves out of our own affairs, for the purpose of obtaining this advantage, would require deep consideration; especially when it is noticed, that the powers of chemical and mechanical improvement, reach not the corresponding reproductive processes in Europe; and that while, under the influence of the renovated system, these would reach all these new establishments, they would institute at home, a new progression of corresponding improvements, and render those already instituted, more valuable and more productive.

Assuming the introduction of such a state of things, we must take along with us, this advantage concurrent thereto—the industrious processes of our allies, and all their facilities, would stand in such direct want of our continued aid and intercourse, that none of our own commodities would want a merchant, over whose occasions they could not exercise an equitable power, and that the power thus exercised, would necessarily resolve itself, into a production of supplies congenial to our own circumstances. This would give a stimulation and

support, of the most direct nature, to our reproductive processes; and it would, at the same time, procure for the benefit of its own class of establishments, a similar excitation and support. In Europe, how much wealth is lost in the courses of exchange, in the bankruptcies of individuals, in the spoliation of states, and in the long circuit which commercial wealth must describe, before it can reach the coffers of the merchants, every step of which is beset with difficulty and danger; and yet the whole weight of the merchants, rests so implicitly on the stability of this intercourse, that even delay and disappointment may occasion their total destruction. In the circumstances that have been supposed, all this hazard, all these hardships would be saved; the medium of exchange would be constantly at hand, while the whole principles of the system would operate, in the direct way of social and individual advancement. We want but a relief to our reproductive processes, a new source, whence our European supplies may be drawn. How deserving of our highest regard, in this point of view, is this great design!

There is a third circumstance, coincident with the foregoing views, that may be here adduced, for the purpose of establishing this fact—that whatever the deficiencies attendant on the preceding scheme of improvement, when taken as comprizing all the interests to which it is here held to be applicable, may be; yet that, in regard to those special affairs, to which our present attention is more im-

mediately directed—the deficiency in the medium of exchange—this scheme is of most peculiar importance. As the procurement of a basis, on which commercial intercourse may proceed with facility and with security, must, in the most direct manner, counteract that desolation that has proceeded with such rapidity and effect, amidst the reproductive powers of the nation, this scheme, even in this more confined point of view, evidently meets this evil in the teeth. It must be farther noticed, however, that the financial relief, procured by this scheme to our system, is of the most radical kind, and embraces the two great objects, without which no very effectual financial relief can be at all acquired. First, it places within our power the means for substantiating any financial system, that our circumstances may render it necessary for us to uphold; and secondly, it renders the reproductive processes infinitely more beneficial to the community at large, than they would otherwise be; it provides an ample field of expansion, into which they may constantly resolve and expend themselves. Although the value of such advantages has been already fully illustrated, it is necessary to bring into view, some of these circumstances, wherein these advantages would, in this case, most powerfully operate, in order to perceive at once their value and importance when they are thus procured.

However valuable, however indispensible, many European commodities may be to our system, yet it is well known, that heretofore, there has not only

been no deficiency in our supplies of these commodities but that there has not been even an apprehension of any very immediate deficiency. On the contrary, our system is almost as much regorged with European, as with native productions. The value of our connexion with Europe, therefore, rests not so much on that of the supplies, that we may thence obtain, as on that resolubility of our own commodities and productions, into absolute value, which therefrom results, and for which the relation in which Europe stands in regard to us, so completely adapts it. It is not here meant to say, that the supplies, which we draw from Europe, are of any very great moment to us; or that it is seldom any real advantage to our nation to possess large balances of funds, in the hands of European merchants, upon which we may operate at pleasure. But it is most distinctly asserted, first, that the most valuable part of those supplies may be produced under the great scheme of improvement above sketched out; so as to supercede the necessity of resorting to this market for these supplies; and so as to render us in a great measure, independent of those supplies: and secondly, that these balances, that remain due to us in Europe, are of little national utility; they seldom meet our great and general exigencies in that way which we now hold them to do; they too frequently perish in the hands of the individual, with whom they are held to exist; and they are most generally replaced to the country, in commodities and productions, which merely go to supplant others of a native kind. Direct access to the

European market, enables us to convert our commodities into absolute value; this is its great advantage to us, individually and collectively. It remains to be noticed, however, that at present, and indeed for a long time past, this value has been, for the most part, lost in its progress homeward, that the project which is here delineated, goes to relieve our system from the evil hence induced, and that it does this by interposing a substantial basis to our commercial transactions, which operates in the double capacity, of a basis to our financial operations, and a most profitable receptacle for the fruits that may be hence produced. Both of these advantages shall be considered in their order.

In the first place, our financial operations may be thereby substantiated. Our productions and commodities, in virtue of that free and immediate intercourse with the Spanish settlements in America, which we hold to have been thus secured for their service, must obtain that command over the precious metals, which are therein to be found, to that full extent, which their value imports. This is a most important consideration, not so much for the real use that may be made of it, as for the implied advantage, which it connects with our system. It is, as has been already shewn, never the interest, and seldom the wish of any merchant, to burden himself with the task of receiving and delivering the precious metals, in all his mercantile transactions, when their substitute, a paper currency, can serve the same purpose. In the circumstances

which we now suppose our general system to be placed, it is evident, that this substitute, a validated paper currency, must derive a stability no otherwise attainable. Being held to be absolute wealth, it, as such, commands all these commodities and productions and properties, that are in the common market. These various commodities again, from their access into the Spanish-American market, must command the precious metals to their full amount. We may apprehend, that our commodities, in case of their superabundance, may depreciate, may command less absolute value in these markets than their primary distination imported; but whatever that absolute value is, which our commodities can command in such circumstances, we can be under no apprehension respecting its being substantiable, at pleasure, in the most accredited form; for there is known to be at hand, for the service of the opulent, an unbounded supply of the standard medium of exchange, of that instrument to which all may, with full effect, in every emergency appeal; and this knowledge, while it will, and must, dissipate those chimerical apprehensions, which arising out of the uncertainty of the case, are daily so destructive to the enterprizing, paralyzing their powers, and withering up their means, will direct the attention of the industrious, and of those on whom the industrious are most dependent, to the real circumstances in which they stand, and enable them to send forth their respective productions, under the most favorable auspices.

Let it now be recollected, that it is upon the stability of our general financial system, that our national industry and commerce necessarily turn; that upon these, accordingly, our whole possessions, privileges, and powers, are completely dependant; and that without these, our personal independence, happiness, and improvement, would be without any radical support. Nor is this all; we must remember, that the stability of our great financial system, is tantamount to that of that great system, by which the power of our nation is maintained; and that in the fall of this great general system, that of our nation and race are most completely involved. Now we know, that in spite of all our fictitious props, our financial system is still shaking to the foundation, and that it never can obtain that substantial basis and security, which are so necessary to its stability, while it rests so completely on the eventual support of a continent under our enemy's power. In those days, when gold and substantial wealth could enter our territory and pass from it, in perfect harmony with the general movements of a common system of reproduction and expenditure, we might discover little solicitude about the situation of such affairs; for the financial operations that were induced, took place in a manner so subtile and so irresistible, that neither the jealousy nor the influence of states, could greatly retard them, nor derange their ultimate resolubility. Then too, when the interests of states, were held to involve those of their subjects, it became the duty and the practice of nations, not only to keep measures with

each other, someway correspondent to their relative situation; but to meet the distressful emergencies, that arose out of the contingencies of trade, by salutary and appropriate provisions. Now a-days, however, we have to contend with an adversary, to whom the losses and afflictions of his people, are matters of no moment whatever, when these are subservient to the prosecution of his hostile procedure. Amongst the causes of our present distresses, perhaps, the most prominent is, the destruction of property appertaining to individuals subjected to his power who had become our debtors; for these, denuded of their all, can neither discharge their engagements to us, nor relieve us of those commodities that we have prepared for their use. Indeed, it is this circumstance, more than all his restrictive measures, that has deranged our financial system; and, so long as things are kept agoing on this footing, we can have no security, either for repayment of the balances that may become due to us, within his domains; nor for a fair and suitable market for those commodities that we may prepare for their service; and of course, we can have no stable basis, on which to rest our financial system. With the individual debtor, in whose person the sums of money that are due to us resides, these sums must stand or fall; and with the fall of the wealth thus represented, that circulating medium, which this wealth upholds, and all that are dependant upon it, must also in like manner stand or fall. It is evident, therefore, that we are necessitated to seek out a new support to our system, and that the

project now before us, which promises so fair for this purpose, comes very appropriately to our hand.

This matter is of much greater moment, than we are at first disposed to admit. While our general process of consumption and production, rests entirely on that of the country, under Bonaparte, we must not only encounter all the evils that beset the operation of two systems so unnaturally united; but we must sedulously meet those that are peculiar to our own. Our system is upheld by, and involved in, an immense consumption of productions, foreign and domestic, that are brought into our hands for this purpose. In consuming these, while we, nationally, presuppose our having met, or prepared ourselves for meeting, the obligations which their procurement implies; we, individually, consume French wines and silks, whether Bonaparte will accept of our cottons and sugars in return for them or not; and our merchants pay for their wines and silks, whether the purchasers of British cottons and sugars, will discharge their counterclaims to us or not. As Bonaparte may consign to death and slavery, the individual who violates his ordinations, by attempting to meet his engagements with British merchants, he can, in the person and effects of his debtor, destroy the claims of our merchants, upon his subjects. But to this loss, Britain has to add another, not less mischievous. She had procured French commodities, in the hopes of thereby obtaining a remuneration for her own exports; she had satiated her own consumption,

by foreign means, to the exclusion of those of her own territory, in the view of realising wealth, created abroad within her enemy's control. While the destruction of the French merchants, therefore, annihilates our foreign wealth, the expected remuneration; the British nation must pay, and does pay, for the French commodities, which it had, in consequence of this expectation, consumed. Our government rejoices not in the destruction of any of its subjects, however these may be employed; the whole advantages of our national laws and institutions, are as fully within the power of the French, as of the British merchant, who can securely carry on every legitimate traffic of export and import, whether the value of this traffick, resolves itself into the service of the British, or into that of the French general system. That the evil attendant on these combined losses, must be tremendous, is obvious. Bonaparte has annihilated our claims upon France, by the destruction of British productions; in which productions, the property of the debtors of Britain was invested. Britain, however, like America, having by habit necessitated herself to make use of certain French commodities, and having also, accustomed herself to rest on the means in the hands of these debtors for discharging her own counter obligations, is suddenly deprived of these means. The debtors to France, cannot set up the fall of these counter debtors, because the laws and customs of Britain admit of no such thing, and because the merciful government of Britain would rather shelter their

forlorn creditors and all their connexions from, than expose them to, new persecutions from their vindictive government. Britain therefore, like America, pays double for her foreign supplies; first, in the losses which Bonaparte's spoliative system occasions; and secondly, in the price delivered for commodities, which she was led to consume in the view of extinguishing her foreign debts; all of which commodities, she might have supplanted, either by some native, or more convenient foreign commodities; if the French had not been held to be solvent debtors. As the balance, thus created against us, has generally been discharged in gold; and as there is a growing tendency towards the consumption of French commodities, which is gradually placing us in similar circumstances of dependance, in regard to commerce with that country, with those which have already been so fully illustrated, in the case of America; and as there has subsisted for a long time, a most injurious concatenation of our productive establishments, with those of subjugated Europe; some such relief to our commercial and financial operations, as that now under consideration, seems to have become indispensibly necessary.

The importance of the acquisition, here unfolded, will appear still more remarkable, when we consider the operation of the second class of advantages, to be procured for our financial system, by the great scheme of improvement above illustrated; namely, the direct resolubility of the fruits of industry, into the augmentation and extension of the powers

of reproduction, which thus become a most profitable receptacle for the value of their own fruits. For this purpose, let us attend to the financial and commercial operations, that are supported, by one of those vast sugar and coffee establishments, that have been recently set agoing, under British influence, in Dutch Guiana. When a proprietor of one of these estates wishes to be relieved of his burden, and to carry home his wealth, he does not expect to find a purchaser, who can pay down to him its reputed value. If he can get one, who will disburse to him, but one twentieth part of this price, and give him security for two or three twentieths more, to be paid within a year or two thereafter, he seldom scruples to extend the term for payment of the remainder, to a convenient period. As each estate extends several miles backwards into a rude and uncultivated country, and is susceptible not only of vast improvement, but of great extension; it becomes evidently the interest of the new proprietor, to attach himself to some substantial mercantile house in Britain, who upon the security, which a right of reversion to his property can afford, will accommodate him with means, for procuring all his requisite supplies; accepting of the emoluments, that may result from his consignations, and other transactions to which the connexion may give birth, as a fair consideration for the accommodation thus bestowed. In this manner, upon the slender capital of a thousand pounds or two, a property may be created, which, within a few years, will send forth, annually, produce to twice the value of the capi-

tal thus sunk. Upon a foundation so stable, articulate obligations, that are tantamount to the authorized currency of the country may, to an indefinite extent, be issued by the various parties interested in this business, including alike the different owners of the estate, and every individual through whose hands, any right to it, or to any of its fruits may pass; and it is perfectly evident, that if none of those, who are thus interested, miscalculate or misapply his own proportion of this value, it will remain as well secured for his service, as if it were substantiated by a corresponding deposition in gold. The vast strength and importance of this financial basis, may be conceived from this circumstance, that drafts and bonds, thus validated, having several years to run, are frequently passed as payments, under the mere deduction of the current discount.

We all know, however, that sugar establishments have been so multiplied and enlarged, that their produce has become superabundant; and that hence a diminution in the estimation of the financial operations, which they support, has taken place. In the case before us, however, no such danger can warrantably be apprehended; for our consumption of flax, hemp, naval and military stores, of the precious metals, and of the more valuable dyewoods, gums, wines, and oils, is not likely to be overdone for some generations. But besides this, the difficulty and expense, attending the construction of establishments for the procurement of such articles, and the natural imbecility of their highest reproduc-

tive powers, even when improved to the utmost, do not lead us to apprehend any such overwhelming supplies, as those which have been obtained from corresponding improvements, vested in establishments for producing cotton, coffee, or sugar. And, let it be recollected, that although some diminution of value should ultimately take place, we will still have secured for our own use, the whole advantages which this progression of improvement may produce, in favor of our internal reproductive processes. Our domestic establishments, kept in motion by such powerful external excitation, must have sent forth aggregated wealth of no ordinary capacity; and this wealth, from the peculiarly stable footing on which it has been held, must have become alike powerful and substantial.

It will be noticed, that these advantages are utterly unattainable at present from any intercourse that we may maintain with subjugated Europe; for these advantages imply not only a reproductive basis, but a safe and equitable mode of intercourse; both of which are completely awanting in the intercourse, which we maintain with the dominions of France. Besides as our intercourse with Europe consists merely in perishable commodities, which, in the course of distribution and consumption, can do no more than supply the current wants of each community, so the intrinsic value of these commodities, and of the intercourse which they support, is seldom any more than that which they can obtain, in the eyes of the consumer. It is for his

occasions, that they are calculated; and his occasions correspond with a state of things, wherein the processes of consumption and reproduction, as nearly as possible, balance each other. In such circumstances, it can serve no very great purpose to augment the stimulus and support that are ordinarily administered; for the compressed condition, into which the whole developements, arising out of the characters, circumstances, powers, and means of the European communities, are necessarily received, and their ultimate results, are so lost, absorbed, or traversed, as to be of no substantial avail. How very different these circumstances are, from those which we warrantably consider as resulting from the influence of the new system that has been pourtrayed, we may readily conjecture. There, an unbounded range is secured for every developement of industry, character, and condition; there, no stimulus need be lost, for it can operate alike powerfully, in every direction; every acquisition, necessarily resolving itself, into an augmentation of the aggregate process of reproduction; and, besides calling forth its present value, (and this it generally obtains most amply,) becoming the germ of greater and higher acquisitions. When in consequence of successive accessions of these, the reproductive establishments have been concentrated and concatenated, each of these several establishments, like so many self moving principles of reproduction, will send forward, in such profusion, every different species of wealth, that the whole wants of the community, will not only be a-

bundantly supplied, but from their mutual co-operation, be made to balance each other, and to support those incrementive and distributive operations, on which our financial system is founded, and rendered profitable and secure. Here, every thing may be held to resolve itself into reproductive power; and here, accordingly, every nominal accession of wealth, like the flocks and herds of ancient times, will possess an augmentative, as well as an articulate value. While it circulates, its innate value is displayed; and even in possession, its real and substantial validity and excellence is unfolded in the fruits, which it is perpetually sending forth for the service of its possessor. While it advances in stability, and in the increase of its productive force, it will give forth substantiated wealth, in a perpetually augmenting ratio; and uphold a financial superstructure, which will become enlarged in capacity and vigor, in proportion to this increase and extension.

This remark serves to introduce into notice, two very peculiar excellencies in the financial system to be thus upheld. First, a mass of funded property is produced, which is, in some degree, independent of the ordinary operations of trade. The funded property, that is vested in, and rests upon, our commercial intercourse with Europe, has scarcely any other support, but the exuberance of productions and commodities, above the direct consumption of the producers and fabricators. The wealth, that is thus created, is represented by the fruits of industry that have been, or may be pre-

pared for delivery and consumption; and with the value of these fruits its value rises or falls. Hence proceed those trepidations in the course of exchange, and in the profits of trade, that are so vexatious and ruinous, even in the most flourishing circumstances. The funded property, however, which arises out of, and is upheld by investitures in reproductive establishments, placed in such circumstances, rises above these contingent trepidations; it combines the advantage of an inheritance, with that of circulable wealth. Every addition that is made to the reproductive power of these establishments, every instalment that is discharged by their operations, renders the basis of the finance that is thus upheld, more valuable and efficient. Our circulating medium, we know, consists chiefly of direct impledgments, emitted by bankers and other men of wealth. The wealth of these parties, we also know, consists chiefly of articulate obligations, received in the way of discount from men in trade; for it must be noticed, that in general, the aggregate value of all the funded and landed properties of these parties, disappears, when compared with the amount of the obligations with which they are burdened. As these obligations arise from, and must ultimately be resolved into, and discharged out of such operations, it is evident, that the whole fabric of finance, that is thus upheld, rests on the validity of these articulate obligations—or, in other words, that the substantial excellence of our circulating medium consists, at present, in the capabilities of men in trade, of men who traffick in commodities and productions, to

meet their engagements—of men who rest on the value of the fruits of industry, and whose effects are of the same perishable nature with this value. By the new system, however, a condensation of the powers of increase, is provided for the support of financial operations; upon this basis, articulate impledgments may, at all times, with perfect safety be uttered. The public mind, relieved of dubiety in regard to the ultimate resolubility of these impledgments, may in all cases, even amidst emergencies of the most extreme kind, securely rest upon the substantial value of these impledgments. The destruction of the fruits of industry, or their increase, cannot destroy the value or ultimate resolubility of these impledgments, it cannot invalidate their current acceptations; wherefore in such circumstances, it must daily become more and more manifest, that whatever the trepidations of value that affect productions and commodities may be, the radical incremental power, the accumulative faculties, vested in reproductive establishments, thus stimulated and supported, must substantiate and fill up the denominative wealth of these impledgments; the validity of which, accordingly, must always be in a progressive state, so long as the fruits of our establishments, can command the range of wealth, which the three vast empires, which are thus held to be combined, necessarily comprizes. But these impledgments not only rest on the basis of a permanent property, they also necessarily resolve themselves, into the augmentation of this basis. And let it also be noticed, that while within

this basis, are comprized the interests of three great empires, all advancing in power, severally apart, on the ground of their nationality, the progression of improvement, thus instituted, must consolidate this basis, and render the extent and number, as well as the strength and validity of the impledgments uttered, proportionably greater. Such a system will not soon be affected or destroyed by contingent calamities. It may be proper to devise some method, for advancing direct impledgments to the foreground of financial intercourse, on principles similar to those that are in practice, betwixt West India owners and their merchants; who occasionally circulate articulate obligations, that have several years to run; but as this financial advantage may fairly be calculated upon, as one that would, of its own accord, arise out of these circumstances, it is unnecessary in this place to burden ourselves with its elucidation.

The other peculiar excellence attendant on the operation of this scheme of finance, has already been in some degree illustrated. It consists in the solidity and irrefragability of the financial basis, already unfolded. It is not merely the destruction of wealth and means, that we have to complain of, in regard to our foreign losses; it is the embarassments that arise out of the disappointments which originate in these losses. These are by far the most extensive and calamitous of our misfortunes. Our bankers, calculating on an increase of the reproductive capabilities of the nation, frankly in-

terpose their impledgments for the service of the industrious, and thus set these forward in their respective courses, with accelerated strength; but when disappointments and irregularities take place, the bankers must (as at present,) retain their impledgments, and thus render our reproductive establishments, doubly liable to complete destruction. By the operation of the above system, however, a two-fold advantage is secured; first, there is provided a financial basis, whereon the movements of industry may proceed, with little chance of such interruption; and this, it must be noticed, would be a vast acquisition. What mischief arises from unsubstantiated notes being circulated as cash, their proceeds applied to present exigencies, and little account taken of the chance that remains of their final irresolubility! In consequence of this, one slight disappointment is often the occasion of many much greater; and a number of such, sometimes bring to the ground the strongest establishments. From these embarrassments, our financial system must, in general, be exempted, in consequence of the substantial medium of intercourse, on which its operations turn. Secondly, the security, thence obtained, must not only induce bankers and others, to utter, with more discernment, and with greater safety, their impledgments; but it must attract men of real capital and experience into the field of enterprize, and thus render any interruption, that may still ensue, of little general moment. These, at present, from the vast numbers of incalculable risks, that on all hands beset the course of trade, are gen-

erally kept aback; yet they are involved in the consequences of trade, at least to a certain extent, while the foreground of commerce is occupied by the merest adventurers. The present scheme, however, prepares the way for their admission into the fields of enterprize; a lengthened credit is needful; and the person, who cannot give or obtain this, must abandon that foreground of enterprize, which is now so injuriously maintained by him, in favor of the wealthy and substantial, who, tenacious of their property, will examine the course in which this property must move, before they permit it to leave their hands. These combined advantages, will gradually strengthen the whole chain of commercial and financial operations, and ultimately render their results, both more lucrative and more substantial.

There is a fourth circumstance, that must be taken into account, in judging of the capacity of this great system for meeting the exigencies of trade. Whatever its immediate effects may be, in producing a surcharge of certain commodities; it must ultimately operate such relief, both to the European system of reproduction and consumption, and to our own, as to place these on that basis, which is most correspondent to the reciprocal wants of each. So long as we continue to surcharge the European markets with commodities, that go to traverse the course of native industry, so long we maim their power for remunerating our services, and for repaying to us our debts. It can serve no good end, to introduce articles of value into a for-

eign market, unless equal value is to be drawn back, in return for it. While we press our commodities upon the European market, and supercede the improvement of indigenous resources, we must be content to let the arrears, that therein become due to us, perish amidst bankruptcies, losses of exchange, and the other necessary attendants on unbalanced intercourse. By the scheme now set forth, however, a relief to our overflowing reproductive powers is obtained, which, while it profitably exercises our reproductive powers, relieves us from the necessity of dependence upon a hostile market. But this new system does more than this; it enables and disposes the inhabitants of Europe, to cultivate their own reproductive powers, to accumulate property and funds to command the property thus created; and thus to become qualified for meeting us on fair terms, in our own market.

These are considerations of great and radical importance, not only when viewed in a commercial light, but when taken in that light, which it becomes us, as engaged in hostilities, to adopt. If we cease to surcharge the European system with our commodities, the spirit of rapacity, which preys upon such spoil, must want its appropriate food. The genius of industry and of fair dealing would, thereupon, become seated on its proper throne, and it would not only dispose and enable the European system, to provide and send forth commodities and productions, correspondent to its circumstances, but it would effectually curb the career of that li-

centiousness and corruption, which are at present so formidable. In the circumstances that have been supposed, we would not only be relieved from the losses incident to this spoliative system; but we might become the arbiters, in place of the servitors of the general market; our commodities would command a fair price, and this price might be laid out, with suitable deliberation, to the advantage of the proprietor. It might most advantageously command its value in the choicest commodities in the European market; for our commodities would not only command their relative amount of absolute value, but this absolute value would become profitably substantiated within our territory—it would reach our coffers in its full and received import. Thus we would, indirectly, contribute to the renovation of the European system, at the same time, and by the same means, that we advanced our own.

I am fully aware, however, that all these advantages would not only be lame and slow, but very limited, in their operation. There would thereby be provided, a strong and irrefragable basis of finance; there would be procured an ample field of improvement for resolving its fruits and its strength; and the advantages, that might therefrom result, would be alike momentous to our system, and to our individual interests. Still, however, it must be noticed, that there remains another most formidable objection to this scheme of improvement, in so far as it has been developed. Its operation is neither commensurate to, nor competent for, all

the great matters, which our exigencies require. It is necessary for us, not only to extend the range and the influence of improvement, for the purpose of securing to ourselves ample means and abundant scope, on which to exercise our faculties, the power of producing and that of commanding all the resources, that are necessary for our own peculiar wants and occasions; but it is farther needful for us, to accomplish these objects, under such circumstances, that their whole advantages may be made to bear, with full effect, upon our highest duties and most important concernments; so as not only to contravene the hostile and insidious dispositions of our enemies, but to set a-going the improvement thus instituted, in a secure and commanding position. It would serve a very bad purpose to produce high energies, that might speedily be seized by the common destroyer, and rendered direct instruments in augmenting the common ruin. Yet in what other circumstances, would all our transmarine possessions be, if the whole shores of Europe, with all the resources of that vast continent, were impressed by the influence of the great destroyer? Would not our abandoning those intimate and ennobling connexions, which bind up our interests with those of Christendom, and our betaking ourselves, thus unhesitatingly, to a sphere of action, which goes to traverse these interests, not only prove injurious to our natural allies, but dispose them to enter with the most determined hostility, into the measures of the great destroyer. Such procedure, would enfeeble our own system, aug-

ment the difficulties and dangers, with which it might be beset, and render the restoration of peaceful harmon and security, both more remote and more contingent.

But besides this, are we to leave behind us so large, and so valuable a portion of our race, as the inhabitants of the European continent unquestionably are? In place of contributing our whole force and resources towards their recovery, are we to withdraw from their vicinity and from their service those means and energies that are at hand, to reclaim them from their debasement, and to restore them to their pristine happy condition? Do their kindred interests, their native earnestness and zeal in a common cause, so long and so arduously, though so unhappily maintained along-side of us, not plead strongly and irresistibly in their behalf, and discover to us, that any scheme of improvement, which leaves out any part of Christendom, is altogether imperfect? What do we gain by transferring to remote regions, that great process of improvement, of which we are the immediate conductors, if we remove out of the way, that power of which our enemy stands so much in dread, if, while we advance these regions on the foreground of general improvement, we instigate the common enemy to do his utmost for the establishment of his own system? The eastern world is still before him, and he may bend the whole force of his empire towards this great object. By this means, he may be enabled to consolidate his destroying energies, to or-

ganise all Europe under a military government, and to institute a system of coertion, wherein power, unmitigated by any generous principle, may goad on the whole faculties of man, and the whole resources of nature in its service. To mention the possibility of such a thing, plainly indicates the importance of those considerations to which it is attached. If ever the energies of Europe, its progression of improvement, its reproductive powers, should be disciplined into such subjection, as is here supposed, every thing that has the name and appearance of generous emulation, and dignified enterprize, must resolve itself into the augmentation of those malignant influences; the name and the appearance of Christianity and independence may sink out of view, and the whole social and civil, territorial and institutional resources of this most invaluable portion of the globe, may become consolidated in fixed establishments, that are natively inverted against the common cause, and directly subversive of those influences, out of which this cause at first originated. Knowing as we now do, the dreadful operation of such advantages, when thus perverted and indurated, does it not become us to take care, least amidst our great schemes of improvement, principles of deterioration, infinitely more inimical to social and individual improvement and advancement, than any that have as yet disclosed themselves, should make their appearance?

These considerations discover to us, the necessity of comprising in our plan various other princi-

ples, besides those that have heretofore been noticed. Europe, or more properly speaking Christendom, has been the seat of every thing great and dignified in human nature; it has been the parent, the fosterer, and the guardian of every improvement, of which we are possessed. We are ourselves, but the advanced guard of this high progression of things; and it is but of yesterday, that we became this advanced guard. We owe it, therefore, to ourselves, to Europe, and to the world at large, to cherish our primitive principles in their native soil; and in the present important crisis, to do our duty to the leading interests of Christendom, and in spite of dangers and calamities, of terror and misfortune, however aggregated or concatenated, to prosecute to the utmost all those measures, into which this duty may conduct us. To abandon the cause of Christendom, for the sake of any advantage whatever, is a kind of national treason to our supreme duty; to abandon it for the sake of any projected scheme of improvement, merely indicates that frenzy and infatuation are added to this treasonable disposition. This is a duty, that has been laid on us by a superior hand; and we can no more plead exemption from its obligancy, than individuals can from the duties that they owe to their parents and kinsmen. We must not be disheartened at the prostrate state of the European nations, nor at our former want of success; for though our co-operation in the common cause, in this view, has not been prominent, it has served the great purpose of displaying the superior power and excellence of the

Christian and feudal systems, and secured in our favor, the confidence and best affections, even of those who fight under opposite banners. These considerations deserve our regard, and they cannot but animate us to the discharge of these important duties.

Happily for us, the great leading interests of Christendom do not interfere with those of the great scheme of improvement that has been unfolded. It is not the interest, and it cannot now be the wish of any of the European nations, (France only excepted,) to infringe on our maritime rights, to restrain the progress of improvement across the Atlantic, or otherwise to circumvent the leading objects of the great scheme before us. Their main solicitude has been directed towards objects, in which we could have no real concern; such as the boundaries of their respective territories, and the rise and fall of kindred dynasties of greater or lesser name. These things, have frequently exhausted their, and our several resources; indeed, without such objects as leading matters, our several resources have seldom been exercised together. Though such things have now little general interest, they are by no means unimportant; for when these matters can be set at rest on a stable foundation, other disputes of greater note will, of themselves, disappear; but as this subject, which is evidently of a very complex nature, noways encumbers the principles on which this great scheme of improvement proceeds, nor impedes its general movements, it is

unnecessary, at present, to burden ourselves with its investigation.

In the meantime, however, let it be observed, that we may warrantably expect, that the leading principles of this scheme will, also, ere long, be extended to the oppressed nations of Christendom. Until of late, the procedure of the British cabinet, in regard to these nations, was perplexed by the intricate views and plans of corrupt and effeminate courts; our alliance with which implied, in general, the most direct opposition to those great and leading interests of the people, which it is the business of this scheme to promote. At length, however, the wickedness and fallacy of these alliances has been disclosed; and the advantages, inseparable from leaguing popular with constituted claims have been fully established and recognized. It is only necessary to give the principles, already adopted by us, suitable extension, in order to envelope the whole of Europe, more or less, under the influence of our system. It is true, that for the present we must content ourselves with very moderate views on this head; a dark gloomy tyranny forbids the entrance of those benign principles, within these once favored regions, which are essential to the system that has been developed; the influence therefore, which these principles can, in such circumstances, exercise over them, is at once indirect, irregular, and precarious. All these, however, and every such desponding consideration, must disappear, when we consider, that improvement possesses an in-

fluence or radiance, which, like the beams of the sun, cannot be entirely precluded by human interference. So long as we can display to these nations the transcendent excellency of our own general system, and the hideous deformity of their own, so long will its superior influence be felt and acknowledged by them. Thence, our unbounded resources and power are seen to be drawn, not only without difficulty, but in perfect harmony with its vast movements. Therein, benignity and improvement are seen and felt to be conjoined. These considerations evince to ourselves the character of that power, which we possess; for we perceive that we can affect our enemies, and paralyze their animosities, even when they are arranged under hostile banners. But this is not all; in consequence of the wealth and advantages, seen to be derived from intercourse with nations replete with means and beneficence, the very pressure of the governance of Bonaparte, may ultimately drive his subjects for relief into our arms. Bonaparte never did, and he never can deprive us of the influence thus acquired over his subjects. We have always exercised it in a greater or lesser degree; and it must increase with the extension of our system of improvement. Our foes, allured into the fields of industry and enterprize, from the prospect of the ample remuneration that is thus prepared for their service, will not always be restrained from throwing themselves open to that equitable intercourse, which can at once relieve their wants, and mitigate their sorrows. As under the advantages which are held to be procur-

ed by this scheme to the general system, the stimulus, by which European commerce is affected, must necessarily be rendered more steady and equable, we may look forward to much real advantage from such an intercourse. But whether the profits of his traffick meet our wishes or not, one thing is certain, that the profusion which we may possess, and the independence under which we may enjoy and distribute this profusion, will not weaken the force of that ligument, by which commerce binds our interests with the nations of Europe; it will lead these nations to perceive the value of the blessings of which they are deprived, and dispose them to meet our views, in order to advance towards the attainment of similar blessings.

These considerations are of vast importance to us every way. It may be Bonaparte's wish, to incorporate the interests of his people with his own; but as his power is founded on usurpation, is upheld by military force alone, and is, therefore, alike repugnant to social and to individual improvement, to established and to independent industry; as it must stimulate the spirit of rapacity, by extrinsic allurements, and find direct support to this spirit, amidst incessant violence and warfare, so it cannot be expected, that either improvement or industry should advance far under his auspices. This circumstance evinces the transcendant efficacy of our system, in the view of its belligerent operation. By its means, our power and resources increase, independent of all Bonaparte's manœuvres;

it counteracts his desolating tendencies, at the same time, and by the same means, that it shakes his authority to the centre; and it excites and supports principles of opposition to his system, in the very centre of his power. This is accomplished, too, not only without difficulty or danger, but with manifest advantage. We allure his subjects into the paths of peaceful industry, foster their kindred exertions, and amply remunerate these exertions. This we do, by disburdening ourselves of some part of that profusion, which would otherwise overload our system. All these advantages necessarily flow from the operation of systematic improvement; and they ultimately assimulate every other object to their nature.

If any one will direct his unbiassed attention to the progress of a system, of which improved industry, thus stimulated and supported under emulous and independent principles, thus extended, and thus supported, is the basis, he will find little difficulty in admitting, that amidst the harmonious operations of such a progression, we may warrantably hope for and expect a restoration of tranquillity and concord. Here, the wants and supplies of men, which necessarily attract each other, and form bonds of union which tyranny will in vain attempt to dissolve, must bear upon each other, without restraint. This connected chain coincides with Christian charity and magnanimity; for while it asswages human calamities, it stimulates and supports congenial affections. Under the influence of such a

system, may we not warrantably hope for the special blessing and protection of Heaven?

There are, however, several other objections that seem to militate against these sanguine views of the operation of this system, that cannot be very easily obviated. This scheme is founded on the advancement of Britain to a kind of paramount influence over the nations; and it is rested upon the implied concession of Spain and America, to our maritime ascendancy. It may, therefore, be required, by what means, and in what manner, can such an arrangement be accomplished? The very suspicion of its being possible for us to reach maritime supremacy, rouses the animosity of the nations, and disposes them, rather to run the risk of falling into the hands of the common destroyer, than to be anyways accessory to our procurement of this advantage; what can we expect, therefore, to follow, in case such intentions should be formally and systematically avowed and prosecuted by us? Will the advantages allotted to themselves, or any temporizing consideration whatever, reconcile them to our assumptions, or set at rest those jealous and indignant feelings, which have been already so fully excited? The very mention of such a thing discovers its fallacy. However proper it may be to carry along with us their high national interests; however fully we may thereby advance their views, it is evident, that a great deal more remains to be done, before the powers, held to be allied, could be reconciled to any such scheme. These nations must

not only perceive and feel the advantages that result to themselves from the regular exercise of our maritime claims; but they must discern the impossibility and absurdity of attempting to controvert our power; they must know, that it embraces objects, that place it altogether beyond their sphere of counteraction; and that it cannot be attacked, without inferring extensive general injury.

We are not left to wander long in the fields of conjecture, in quest of means to accomplish this great object, that of reconciliating the feelings, the wishes, and the interests of both Spain and America to our naval superiority; for in the form of another formidable objection to our great system, a chain of objects advance boldly upon our notice, that are every way appropriate for our purpose. In regarding this class of objects with attention, we perceive, that it is necessary for us to liberalize our own system; to extend the sphere of its influence; to comprize the highest considerations within its power; and it is seen also, that this expansion can be effected, without either difficulty or danger to our nation, or to the general cause.

The subjugated nations of Christendom, though at present arranged under the banners of the common destroyer, are our brethren, the friends of that system of independence and improvement, out of which our own has arisen; and they are its best supporters. They have received the advantage of education under Christian and feudal institutions,

and their minds and habits, are still, more or less, impressed with this primitive influence. They have, indeed, been torn asunder, or rather the elements of society have been dissolved and sublimated, so as to reduce these principles into a state of chaos; but still they cling with ardor, to their ancient combinations; they pant after those primary blessings, that appertain to that frame of society, which, at one time, embraced the whole of Christendom. The hand, that now holds them in durance, that would impress them with the influence of a new system, evidently perverts their native tendency; when he directs these against us, and when he exercises them under his destructive banners, he embues them more with an abhorrence of, than with any attachment to, that system which he labors to establish. These, it must be noticed, are not vapid dispositions; for on every suitable occasion they burst forth into activity, and disclose to us their inherent strength and vigor, with the advantages that might ensue, from our adopting and following out extensive plans for giving to these dispositions their highest operation. We cannot, we dare not, disregard these important indications of brotherhood; we have never yet done it; and it becomes us now, after so many abortive attempts to rescue them out of the jaws of their oppressors, to digest with care, the measures into which such important considerations necessarily conduct us; to adapt these more precisely to existing circumstances than has ever heretofore been attempted, and to burden ourselves with no other views, but those which com-

cide with these circumstances. In particular, it is indispensibly necessary for us, to let these brethren know and see, the benignity and the cordiality of our regards for them; and, while we stretch out our hands for their deliverance, to disclose to them, the immense value of those national advantages, which we hold in reserve for their use, in case they should duly avail themselves of our profered friendship; at the same time pressing on their notice the vast and substantial interest which they have in the system of improvement, which we are maturing for general good. To come more closely to this point, we must not only hold these nations as our brethren in name, but we must conduct ourselves towards them as our brethren in truth and sincerity. Divested of prejudice we must enter into their views and their feelings, introduce them into our advantages, and extend over them the protecting arm of an attentive and affectionate parent, joined to the zeal and cordiality of a brother. This we ought never to pretend to do, while we exclude them from direct intercourse with our colonial possessions, and draw a rampart of absolute separation betwixt the interests of their reproductive processes and our own. That to extend to every nation in Europe, upon free and equitable principles, the privilege of commercial intercourse with our foreign possessions, and to do this, upon conditions that shall imply not nugatory, but essential benefits to each several race and nation of the Christian world, is a measure of substantial justice and sound policy, as well as one, into which our cir-

cumstances necessarily lead us, must appear indisputable to all of us, if we attend to the danger that impends around them. Discomfiture in the project, of delivering the civilized world out of the hands of the destroyers, implies our own irretrievable ruin. Success in this project, according to the measures now pursued, merely implies the establishment of a triumvirate, in place of this horrid governance. Yet amidst the dark and sinister councils that prevail amongst our allies, these dreadful evils are concealed from our view; as also the inconceivable advantage that would ensue from our holding up before the nations, the prize of universal intercourse, of unbounded access to the regions of improvement, conjoined with independence. What would the nations of Christendom not do, for such a prize? Having attained it, what would they, severally, not do, and suffer for its interests?

I am perfectly aware, that I am here touching upon the tenderest spring of the character of nations, and that to attempt drawing exact lines of demarkation, for the several national claims and privileges, that, in the view now before us, seem to require adjustment, is not only a difficult, but, in many respects, a most dangerous undertaking. This consideration impresses us, with the necessity of proceeding with great caution and delicacy, in the treatment of this subject; it discovers the propriety of keeping close to clear and indisputable principles; but it cannot supercede those higher consid-

erations that now press themselves on our attention. It is indispensibly necessary, to have a right apprehension of the interest, which the different nations of Europe may warrantably consider themselves as holding in our general system, of the claims to which this interest may give birth, and of the consequences that must result from our following out that direct line of policy, into which these considerations necessarily lead us. The great tendency of the foregoing system is, to advance Spain, Britain, and America, on the foreground of the nations; and to draw into their service, the energies and resources of the civilized world. May it not therefore, be enquired, whether or not the other nations of Christendom have not a direct, as well as an indirect interest, in the advantages that are arising out of those combined exertions of the civilized world, which we are thus sedulously appropriating to our purposes; and whether or not, our refusing to admit this plea may not expose us to worse evils, than those which we would avoid? It may not seem derogatory to the honor of the nations, and, at present, it must certainly appear to coincide, most completely, with their highest interests, to recognize and support the naval predominancy of Britain; because their respective independence requires this protection; and because this power can be, and for the most part, it is exercised with all due deference to their national spirit. But it is certainly quite another thing, to assume that marked superiority and importance, that peculiar overweaning potency, and predominance of

interests, that are implied in the vigorous maintenance of the colonial system.

Nothing can be more indisputable, than the right which independent nations have to regulate their own internal and external concerns, according to existing circumstances. In doing this, it is incumbent on them, to take the whole range of their foreign relations along with them, their fears, their claims, their expectations, their obligations, and their apprehensions of these; and to digest their subsequent procedure, from a full review of the considerations, therein involved. Still, however, it must be noticed, that in doing this, nations must be held, to possess the full liberty of acting from close views of their own substantial interests, and with a direct eye to those principles of reciprocity and mutual subserviency, which coincide with their separate and independent existence. Taking along with them these considerations, nations must not only be held to be disposed, but by some means or other, to be capacitated to maintain this ground, and to carry forward those measures, that are necessary for their establishment upon this ground. It is but fair and reasonable, that all the territorial possessions that have been acquired by Spain and Britain, in the way of colonization, conquest or otherwise, should be regarded as the inviolable property of these nations, as sacred in their hands, as the best established rights of the most ancient nations; but surely such possessions, ought not to be esteemed as more inviolable, and as more sa-

cred than those of their neighbours. The right which Britain has to Demerary and Jamaica, and that which Spain has to Mexico and the Philippines, is as unquestionable and irrefragable, as that which Russia has to the Ukraine, and Prussia has to Silesia; and this right has, accordingly, in all cases, received similar deference. But on what principle, can we attach to the acquirements of Britain and Spain, the exclusive right of diverting to the service of the mother country, the whole intercourse, which results from colonial wealth and of prohibiting direct access to these colonial territories, to every nation but their own? It will no doubt be answered, that this forms an essential part of the colonial system. I would, however, again venture to ask, whether this system be, in these respects, consistent with the principles of equity, and sound policy.

As it is not necessary for me, in this place, to enter into the illustration of this subject, more than is necessary to evince the necessity and propriety of raising the nations of Europe to their ancient level, and of establishing something like a counterpoise to the great system, that has been developed in favor of America, Spain, and Britain, I shall content myself, with adhibiting two or three general remarks, in which the nature and operation of the concessions that are here required, will be unfolded: thereby, I hope the true state of these questions will be unfolded.

In the first place, let it be noticed, that I am not referring to forts, or factories, or military stations, which are procured and maintained at vast expense, and which, being distined for the service of certain classes of interests, must be maintained at all hazards, under the direct control of, and in complete subserviency to, these interests; although, even here, that exact severity, which the monopolizing spirit is so apt to impose, seems to be unnecessary. I refer to those immense territorial possessions, wherein empires and continents, and whole races of men are comprized, and which comprehend within their range, political, as well as commercial interests, of the most stupendous, and of the most complicated kind; possessions of such extent, that the very idea of binding up their energies, by the maxims of merchants, indicates a stretch of predominancy that cannot be justified, and implies a degree of coertion, that is incousistent with the free exercise of national rights.

In the second place, it is not at all meant to say, that the same principles should be maintained, in the intercourse to which transmarine possessions give rise, in regard to aliens, and in regard to the dominant territory. This would not only tend to defeat one of the great objects of colonial establishments; that of thereby providing a stimulus and support to domestic industry; but it would go to endanger the connexion, that subsists betwixt the mother country, and her transmarine possessions. A thoroughly regulated, and completely protect-

ed intercourse is necessary, to preserve tranquillity and harmony, within such loosely organized communities, as colonial possessions necessarily are. To attempt the accomplishment of this object, by means of a heavy military or civil establishment, would infer an expense and hazard, out of all proportion to the advantage to be procured. The adoption of such a direct species of governance would, besides, repress the progress of improvement, and traverse the best interests of all parties. Nothing that could render such measures necessary, is here contended for. It is merely an admission of this principle, that in making national arrangements, in framing commercial treaties, the colonial powers should introduce direct intercourse with their transmarine territories, upon such conditions as suit their own circumstances and those of their allies, amongst the items of their agreement; taking along with them, the advantage which this concession thus secures to these parties, as a ground for requiring more favorable conditions, in adjusting the direct intercourse, to be carried on, betwixt the principal countries. When we reflect on the radical superiority of British industry, and the vast importance of conciliating our allies to our general interests, together with the necessity under which we are laid, of incorporating the whole views and interests of our colonists with our own, we cannot, I apprehend, doubt of the superior prevalency of such liberal and magnanimous procedure, steadily maintained, nor hesitate in giving our sanction to such moderated universal inter-

course, as is here implied. We may form some idea of the consequences of such a train of measures from the advantages which we perceive to be derived from the traffick, which is at present carried on betwixt the possessions of Spain, in the western world and our own; which operates relief not only to the colonies, but to the parent state.

Taking along with me these two limitations, I remark, in the third place, that it is a very gross error to think, that the admission of foreigners into our transmarine possessions, would any ways endanger their dependence upon the parent state. Foreigners are, of all others, the least disposed to attempt the overthrow of the government, under which they live. On the other hand, a mass of colonists, of the same class and nation, pent up in regard to their general intercourse, may be held to be peculiarly disposed to make such an attempt. The truth of both these positions has been again and again manifested in our own days. Perhaps the dependence of both Canada and Hindostan on the British crown, and that of the American continent on the crown of Spain, is, in no small degree, preserved by the multitude of aliens, who, in the capacity of slaves, or dependents, occupy these territories. These, like a neutralizing principle, prevent the factious and discontented from being able to consolidate their interests. Nay, I will venture to say, that the United States would not so soon have been dissevered from Britain, if a free trade with the whole world, had been accorded to

them, and if that consequent commixture of aliens and citizens, of commercial and territorial interests, which would necessarily have arisen out of such circumstances, had taken place. These concessions are of vast importance in another light; while they indicate our marked deference to the views and interests of the colonists, they admit of such an extension of our commercial operations, and of the financial system which these operations can support, as will greatly overbalance all the sacrifices that are thus made, and all the advantages that are thus abandoned, for their procurement.

This leads me to remark, in the fourth and last place, that if ever the general industry of the world, the reproductive powers of nature and art, should be so harmonized, with the whole circumstances of the human race, as to bind up their commercial interests into one general system, it must be by the operation of such a liberalization of the principles of intercourse, as is here supposed to be established. If the nations, who seem least favored, can once be persuaded, that their relative wants are fairly met on an equitable basis, and that their respective interests are taken into account upon honorable principles, then we may expect, that the industrious processes and commercial intercourse will, forthwith, of their own accord, severally advance with a steady and equable movement; that the wealth, which may arise from such peaceful industry, will become the bond of universal tranquillity; and that the progress of improvement, and of

social advancement, will universally follow on with regular steps, so, as in the end, to comprize all nations under its influence. The importance of these considerations, in our present view, will appear, if we attend to this circumstance, that since there is a superabundance of certain classes of objects, provided by us, which cannot be resolved into absolute value; and since there are certain consequent difficulties in our progression of improvement, and in our modes of enjoyment; so, if we can but place our intercourse on a fair and honorable basis, these difficulties must disappear, the various nations of the world must necessarily give way to the claims of our superior improvement. It is now altogether indisputable, that if free access into any country be accorded to us, our commodities and productions will command a market. We ourselves, therefore, need neither prohibitions nor restrictions, except in so far as the interests of the public revenue render these necessary; it is our interest, and it is our duty, to permit the wants and claims of nations to balance each other, and to expose to the world the nugatory and fallacious nature of illiberal modes of intercourse. Our example will do much; and when the wants and claims of nations can find their level, when these can severally meet upon a common arena, the struggles occasioned by unequal production and consumption must subside; for then, wealth and enjoyment, in conformity with their respective circumstances, and proportioned to the value of the means which each several nation can produce, will be secured to them respectively.

In whatever degree, these advantages may be procured for us, one thing is certain, that a vast class of interests must be created, to which the three great powers, above mentioned, must severally pay unqualified deference. These powers declare themselves parties in a common cause, of which various great nations are main constituent members. Their respective possessions are held to be guaranteed to them; but this is done upon conditions, that imply all that deference to general principles, that the high concernments of all these various nations can demand. The naval preponderancy of Britain may be somewhat unpleasant to Spain and America; though necessary, it may appear to be, a real object of distrust. The other nations of Europe, however, can consider this power neither as obnoxious, nor as dangerous: it is the immediate shield of their hopes, it is the constant vehicle of their blessings, it has preserved and nurtured their mutilated energies, and it must restore and protect their rising improvements. To such a voice, both Spain and America must give way; and in giving way, they must find their honor and safety, so much the better provided for. A triumvirate must always be a temporary establishment; such a triumvirate, as that now under consideration, would be the certain forerunner of an unmitigated, universal, autocracy.

However necessary our naval supremacy may be, in time of war, it can be of little importance, when peace shall be restored. At present, it in-

fers certain concessions and understandings, on the part of the nations, that are allied to us; because these, in the existing circumstances of the world, are highly proper and useful to all whom they can affect; but these concessions and understandings are evidently of such a nature, that, whenever circumstances shall be changed, all the burdens, that they may have induced, must also, of their own accord, cease and determine. While hostilities exist, the British maritime power circumscribes the range of these hostilities, and defends belligerents in the exercise of certain important rights; but no sooner will these hostilities have come to end, but the rights, that were exposed to infringement, and, with these, the power of defending these rights, must cease to have any existence. As to the rights that we claim in regard to the persons of our seamen; these, like every other personal right, must, in the first place, be regulated by the implied, or avowed concurrence of the persons, that are to be affected by them. While we retain our seamen in our service, it is evident, that they cannot leave it, without being implicated in the crime of desertion; but if we do not thus retain them, then it is equally evident, that we have no more authority over their persons, than over those of our artists and men of capital. Even in cases of desertion, (like as in those cases of gross criminality, wherein, though governments become mutually bound to each other not to afford a sanctuary to the culprits, yet each government reserves to itself, the right of judging respecting the claims, that are made thereupon)

as an express tolerance is requisite, before the implied obligation can take effect, in any one instance whatever—so, it is evident, that a very different principle is established from that, whereby the officers of a foreign government, are permitted to seize, at their own hands, persons placing themselves under its protection; as is done by us, in the exercise of our naval rights. In regard to this most important particular, therefore, the matter on the return of tranquillity, must stand briefly thus.—We must either make systematic provisions for the purpose of retaining our maritime warriors, voluntarily, and constantly, in our service, or in our interests, in some such way as that sketched out in a preceding part of this treatise—or take our chance of procuring them again in the usual way, whenever their services may again become necessary. At all events, our belligerent allies will find their interests in this, as well as in every other particular of their relative situation, securely preserved for their advantage, provided only, that they do not mar the operation of the general system, and render the restoration of peace impossible, by paralyzing and traversing our generous efforts in the common cause, with their unavailing animosities. For, at the restoration of peace, they will find, not only, that the means of universal intercourse have been preserved for their service, but that their power of availing themselves of this advantage, to the utmost, has been most effectually advanced and substantiated.

It remains for the British nation, however, to

take into account, the nature and circumstances of the change which may thus be produced. Britain, as a territory, is evidently inferior to most of the great kingdoms of Europe; and if these last shall have been raised to the enjoyment of all the advantages peculiar to Britain, it becomes a serious question, by what means, shall Britain maintain her proper station amongst them? she has liberalized her whole system, and procedure so as to communicate to every country, all the blessings that can flow from all her possessions; and she has rendered it, her own duty, and her own interest, to convey all the benefits that can therefrom result, to each of these countries, as far as their circumstances can receive the benign influences thereby produced; but is there no paramount duty that she owes to herself? are there no special sets of interests of her own, which force themselves upon her notice?

These questions are easily answered. There is the greatest possible danger, that out of all these advantages and blessings, procured by Britain for the service of the civilized world, there may arise a more deadly enemy to her name and cause, than any that has yet appeared. It is of the nature of states as well as of individuals, to form projects of aggrandisement, which have for their object, the subversion of the power and rights of other nations. Neither gratitude, nor generosity, nor sound policy, can at all times restrain them from attempting to accomplish their object, by any means that seem to promise them ultimate success. It is, therefore,

indispensably necessary, that every nation, and particularly every great, and splendid nation, should itself be able to defend all its rights, against this baleful influence. Britain must be great, or she can be nothing; she must display and exercise her strength on the ocean, or her power cannot maintain her greatness. This strength is essentially connected with extensive colonial possessions. There, she must retain her power; and upon these, she must impress the full image of her authority. The whole trade of these, for the good of the world, she throws open. But this good requires not the surrender of the sovereignty of these. This sovereignty, therefore, may in all cases, be exercised in the fullest acceptation of the word, wherever our power has become established, and our national standard been displayed as triumphant.

Upon this sovereignty, and upon the system that may with propriety be connected with it, Britain, I apprehend, may with much confidence, repose her commercial claims, and national power. Thereby she can, at all times, restrain the overweaning pretensions of her colonists; and thereby also, she may circumscribe the usurping influence of foreign governments. Although Britain, however, may consistently enough, rest her commercial interests in her colonies, upon the advantages that may readily be admitted, to be connected with the enjoyment of sovereignty over them, yet it is evident, that the exercise of this sovereignty must be mitigated by all these paramount considerations, that

arise out of the parental character, with which she must be held to have been invested. It may be proper, because it is for the good of all parties, that this paternal sovereignty should be clothed with all those ensignia of power and dignity, that are inherent in its nature; that it, accordingly, repress the smallest indications of repugnance, and even of disrespect for its high rights and immunities; and that, when the case requires it, it make the general power of the whole empire bear upon its interests, with unbounded force; but the great leading expression, of our grand colonial system, ought to be, its protecting aspect. This appearance we ought to substantiate, by a conciliating and venerable demeanour; we ought to silence the refractory and disobedient, by overt proofs of our solicitude for the general good in every point; and we ought to display to the world, as well as to those under our authority, that our main solicitude is to bring forward, the power and resources of every class of our dependents, and to mature these under every advantage.—The great end of all our coercive and restrictive measures, decidedly tending, not to the establishment of a concrete system of governance, but to that of one founded on a conciliation of particular, with general interests; to the harmonizing of local with universal good, and to an identification of the object and tendency of our own national improvement, with those of the grand system of social advancement, in which as a people we are known to be implicated.

These are a few of the leading ideas of this great scheme of improvement, to which it is proper in this place to advert; and we perceive that a way lies open before us, in which, the best interests, and highest views of nations, may be united; and that our nation is, as it were, placed on the foreground of that vast scheme of improvement, which may, on pursuing this way, be found to lie open for the human race. By discharging our duty as we ought, our allies, and our dependents, must be attracted under our influence, and exercised in those duties, that are most conducive to their and our social and national advantage. These will be led, not only to conform their procedure to that course of things, that coincides most completely with our general interests; but they will necessarily become solicitous, about these very objects, which it is our highest duty, to impress upon their minds; their national spirit will lead them forth, into high exercises of national power, which exercises will furnish them with resources and energies, fitted for the substantiation and exaltation of this power. Thus, their national independence will be completed and secured, and their reciprocal intercourse become equally dignified, and mutually beneficial. The commixture of different nations, which the interests of commerce or industry may produce, in place of counteracting the progress of improvement, as now generally takes place, will be found, to accelerate this progression; for it must be noticed, that in these circumstances, the presence of foreigners, like that of a neutralizing

principle, will serve to defecate acrimonious elements, that would otherwise disturb general harmony, interpose its unaccommodating influence betwixt the designs of the factious and their object, and thus allay their virulence, before its destroying consequences can be unfolded.

In particular, it deserves to be noticed, that the operation of the improvements that have thus been delineated, if thus extended and invigorated, would afford a strong basis for a vast financial superstructure; for it must be noticed, that it is in the free circulation of commodities, in the force and momentum by which these can be distributed and consumed, and their value replaced, that financial operations consist and are substantiated, and that absolute wealth is realized. This matter having been already illustrated in the preceding statements it is only necessary here to notice, that as we have supposed an equitable system of intercourse to be provided for the nations, comprized within the range of the improving system, we cannot hold ourselves to be any ways circumscribed, in regard to the extent of the developements of wealth that must follow. The reproductive processes, we hold to be set forward under every advantage, and their fruits and results to be received, amidst the most improved and advancing progression of human society. This improvement and advancement, we also hold to rest, not upon mere force of personal character, but upon the genius of melioration, generated under feudalism, and nurtured by the Christian system

—operating on individual independence by the propensities of men and of nations, severally animated with those exalting views, which Christian light and truth have placed before them, being impressed by institutions, ordinations, and provisions, that are congenial to these benign influences. That these are not mere hypothetical views of such a course of events, must appear from this circumstance; that even, at present, in our own land, and indeed, wherever a free and equitable commercial intercourse is maintained, (the state of society, being held to be prepared for receiving and resolving the fruits of this intercourse, in the service of the Christian and independent system,) and wherever such advantages have become established, there the blessings which have been pourtrayed, always flow around. These are, no doubt, repressed in their operation, by the weakness and imperfection, the depravity and corruption that prevail; still, however, their nature is sufficiently unfolded to display their character, and their effects are seen to harmonize with those that are held to flow from the above system.

It is thus, that I would set at rest the difficulties that now embarrass the civilized and industrious part of the world, and unite their whole energies in one common cause, of which high improvement in social and civil life, would be the direct object. I would take up the claims of belligerent, and of neutral nations, upon that precise ground, which, in truth, they have always occupied; but which, from the imposing assumptions of our

enemy, neutrals have always been able to throw behind them. The importance of belligerent rights, in the present contest, I would display, by advancing their interests to that exalted position, which their vast magnitude and universal interest have prepared for them. In this situation, I would arrange them, according to their relative importance; reserving to the nations, in the most complete manner, their independence and separate existence, and securing to each of them, the full exercise of every national right and privilege. I would set at rest their claims on each other, by admitting and following out clear and fundamental principles, in their natural course, upon established grounds; by giving to them, severally, ample room and space for the extension of their respective systems of improvement, and by ascertaining and limiting all the rights, that might thence become established, by rules universally applicable, and universally respected. Following out our advantages, I would, at the same time, bestow all that superior regard and respect to the great paramount influence of the common cause, that is implied in its primary importance, and arrange the offices to which this cause gives birth, according to those rules, that coincide most necessarily and most completely, with the legitimate operation of this paramount influence. In particular, I hold it to be a most essential point, to provide, in the fullest manner, for the exercise of British maritime supremacy, and to recognize its right to all that deference, that is necessary for its regular exercise. This is the bulwark of the

common cause; and under the principles that have been laid down, it is the grand support of the commercial and industrious energies of the world, the medium of universal improvement, as well as of public safety.

With regard to the other class of interests—those appertaining to neutral nations—I would circumscribe their claims within their natural bounds. I would permit nothing to assume that name, that was not, in truth, neutral; I would repress with a high hand, every exercise of such rights as interfered with the high belligerent interests of the great common cause; and I would run all hazards, in supporting every belligerent right, that was traversed by their operations. The ground, on which I would rest such procedure, is, not only the superior and universal importance of the great cause, in which the belligerents are engaged; and the consequent deference to this, which the common danger, with which they are so fully charging themselves, for the good of the whole world, imperiously requires; I would also take along with me the fallacious and nugatory nature of all neutral claims when taken in comparison with these paramount rights, and the extrinsic hollowness of those pretensions, that would prey upon the common good of mankind, while contributions for their general safety have become so needful; and upon both these grounds, I would give to the whole class of measures, that might in consequence be adopted, both

an enlarged sphere of action, and an irresistible energy within that sphere.

By means of the system thus established, I would expect, that the incrementive and accumulative powers of art and of nature, that appertain to the different nations implicated in the common cause, would respectively increase and extend themselves with a vast and accelerated force; that their developements would be valuable, would be powerful, and would universally bear along with them that value and power, which their nature implies. I would, moreover, expect, that many of the opposite party, now ranged under hostile influence, would, by the operation of this system, be gradually drawn off from their destructive standards; and, being brought within the influence of systematic improvement, would contribute towards the establishment and advancement of the great cause. Farther, I conceive, that the various nations, thus participating in, and enjoying the various benefits of our renovating system, would, on the basis of their respective nationalities, severally set forward, a system of improvement, peculiarly their own. By means of which diversity, the national spirit and genius of every different people and country would be extended and exercised upon its own peculiar ground. These would severally support each other, in higher displays of character; check and counteract that virulence or morbidity, which are so apt to become generated in isolated nations; they would neutralize asperities in each others' temperament, and infuse ardent and genial

emulation on principles of national and individual beneficence, coincident with the operation of the general system, and correspondent to the respective circumstances and condition of each nation.

If we can suppose such a vast system set agoing, in such favorable circumstances, I apprehend, we need fear neither the animosity of our enemy, nor the ordinary desolating course of contingencies. Perhaps, it is not possible to set bounds to the improvement and advancement, which might thence be expected to follow. We may, however, attempt to trace out some of its consequences. Hence, an absolute profusion of all that is estimable, both in the productions of nature and of art, and in those higher attainments that characterise the efforts of mind, unfolding itself with all the force peculiar to independent and beneficent principles, behoved necessarily to flow. These procurements and attainments, being all fixed in institutions and establishments, calculated for concentrating, extending, and augmenting the power and value of their respective objects, the blessings thus prepared would be universally diffused; and they would, in consequence, raise the whole fabric of human society, to higher and nobler ground. The employments of men, relieved by art and ingenuity, and enlivened by excitations, coincident with their respective character and circumstances, would acquire an interest, proportioned to the degree of genius and of beneficence, that could be brought into exercise. Upon such a system, a superstructure of

finance, bold and extensive, as the basis which upheld it, might be raised; comprizing alike the provisions necessary for the operations of the body-politic, and those establishments that are needful for giving the most effectual support to individual improvement, and independence. Means and resources, of the most valuable kind, would on all sides be found, concentrated and prepared for every service. Individuals and societies would be enabled to display their innate power and resources, under every advantage; and, as the ruling orders of society, would thereby be disposed and induced, to extend every where, the protecting arm of a liberal and powerful juridical and municipal policy, security and stability to all these advantages would there also be procured.

Having now brought fully into view, the great and leading objects, into which the improvement and extension of that system of industry, and commercial intercourse, which has for ages, characterized Christendom, naturally resolves itself; and having pointed out, the general circumstances, by which this system may be affected, while thus resolving itself, upon an enlarged and renovated scale, I apprehend, that both the nature and operation of that vast financial scheme, which, it was proposed to uphold by its means, must, at the same time, have been abundantly illustrated. Before I proceed, however, to lay down the outlines and principles of that particular plan of finance, that I would recommend to my countrymen, it seems to be pro-

per to bring under one view, the various conclusions which the preceding statements have prepared for our use.

In the first place, let us remember, that labor and solicitude have become indispensibly necessary for the supply of human wants, that the qualities of increment and accumulation have become no less necessarily attached to the successful exercise of human powers, and that, by the same means, the character and condition of men are both renovated and advanced.' In our highly improved state of social existence, when the wants of man, and the means of supplying these wants, have become so extended and increased, our incrementive and accumulative powers, still go on, and perpetually supply us with fresh accessions of strength, that more than counterbalance all the demands, that can be made upon them; it therefore follows, I apprehend, as a matter of course, that whatever provisions, we may resort to, for the purpose of upholding the industrious processes, of making the burden of their support and the advantages of their results alike common and alike beneficial, ought to be founded on a due regard to these characteristic properties of human industry. In other words, it must be a leading object with us, in digesting our financial scheme, to take care, that its operations shall not, as at present, be so fully implicated in the movements of industry, as to become necessarily inefficient, the moment these movements are retarded; that it become not most incompetent to the public service, at the

time, when the calls of this service upon it are most imperious. We know that a renewal of our means, from the plasticity of our industrious processes, may, in the most hazardous circumstances, be fairly calculated upon; and as there is, in such a crisis, the best of reasons for administering financial support, to those engaged in courses of industry, in so far as they are prepared for receiving this support; so we ought to rest upon this renewal of our means, a financial superstructure sufficiently ample to meet all the pecuniary wants of the public.

Secondly, in the beginning of this treatise, it was demonstrated, that the deficiency of the medium of exchange, towards which our attention was so earnestly drawn, by the course of events then passing around us; or in other words, those financial embarrassments, which at that time, so greatly traversed and paralyzed our industrious processes, arose, not so much from any real scarcity of the precious metals, the standard as well as the instrument of commercial intercourse, or from any deficiency in our power of commanding a convenient supply of these, as from the difficulty, in some instances the impossibility, of resolving the fruits of our industry, our real substantial wealth, into absolute property or circulable wealth. It was farther noticed, that though the want of the precious metals was a great evil, yet that it was only a contingent and accesory one, which would disappear, whenever the stagnation of foreign intercourse, the means by which the fruits of our industry are con-

verted into absolute property, could be removed; or whenever some other method of obtaining the same advantage, should be procured. It was also noticed, that the bankruptcies, and other desolations that were taking place in our industrious processes, having the farther effect of destroying that commercial confidence, in which the strength and stability of our medium of exchange consisted, the evil behoved necessarily to proceed, until it was stopped in its progress, by some more substantial, some irrefragable instrument of intercourse. It was thereafter incidentally demonstrated, that the faculties of increment and accumulation, inherent in our thoroughly established, and highly improved industrious processes, gave us a substantial basis, on which such an instrument of intercourse might, with certainty, be rested, while, our present perilous circumstances imperiously called upon us, to have recourse to some such instrument.

Thirdly, it was noticed, that in digesting a plan for converting substantial wealth into absolute and circulable wealth, it is necessary that we take along with us, not only the augmentative quality inherent in the industrious processes, but the resolubility of their fruits into objects of higher value. From the illustrations that were given under this head, it became evident, that the augmentative faculty of industry derived its chief value from the resolubility of its fruits. The food and raiment, that are procured by the industry of one part of the community, are seen to be doubly es-

timable, by their applicability to the circumstances of all its members, each of whom obtains his appropriate portion of these, in consequence of his services to the public. In consequence of this state of things, the necessaries and conveniences, provided for the benefit of all, may be held to be resoluble into a new mass of higher and greater acquirements. It is thus, that the nobler arts of life are supported, advanced, extended; that establishments, for the service of those, and of industry of every kind, for that of science, for the maintenance of civil order, for the preservation of general safety, are universally procured; all of these attainments being so many ulterior resolutions of the primary powers of industry. This great effect is, in our days, brought about by the intervention of the principle of absolute value, into which, by means of the medium of exchange, all parties are eager to resolve the fruits of their industry. Possessed of this advantage, individuals are enabled to maintain themselves in independent circumstances, while they are bringing forward those higher social acquirements, into which all wealth whatever tends to resolve itself. It is here, that the value of the augmentative power of wealth is unfolded, and it may be held to be here also, that its power is concentrated, and rendered most truly serviceable to the commonwealth. Hence, the importance of bestowing due attention on the ultimate resolutions of our general industry plainly appears. In truth, these resolutions are substantially the ultimate objects of all our productions, and of all our attainments.

Whatever our wealth and our means may be, it is only according as they can be usefully and profitably resolved, that they can be either serviceable or advantageous. It is under this view, that the preceding system of improvements, is set forth to meet the public embarrassments.

The resolubility of wealth was accordingly illustrated at considerable length, in a review of the general course of industry, from its earliest stages. As long as the fruits of increase could arise, in a direct manner, into the hands of those to whom of right they appertained, and as long as these fruits could be distributed in a simple form, amongst those whose claims and services established their right to their respective allotments of these; so long might the industrious processes go on, without the intervention of any instrument for measuring the value of their fruits, and so long might wealth increase, and become substantiated, without any express resolution of its value into higher acquirements. In such a state of things, simple barter, or some direct application of power or of influence, would serve to adjust the claims and wants of mankind. And as the processes of production and consumption would do little more than balance each other, those ulterior resolutions of value, those higher and superior acquirements, which represent wealth in the abstract, would be but few in number, and of no great extent; and what we call property or relative wealth, would only appear, as it was substantiated by real acquirements. It must,

however, be noticed, in regard to the state of society at large, that though in these rude times, man was inert, nature itself was powerful; that though the means decocted for the special purpose of meeting his own powers were scanty; yet, that those whose value was recondite, and whose application to this service was matured without human aid, were immense and unbounded. We have no reason, therefore, for making the low state of the arts, and of social intercourse, the measure of the intellectual prowess, or of the relative happiness of mankind in those days. And as we know, from the best authority, that though these were then of a peculiar kind, yet the human apprehension of things, and their application of these apprehensions to their own circumstances were appropriate; so we cannot but perceive, that advantages of a very valuable kind were connected with the most simple resolutions of property.

At an early period of society, cattle became the medium of exchange, and the standard of absolute value. Their universal utility and importance in the affairs of life, prepared them for this service. But besides the quality of representing and measuring wealth, and that of meeting the most cogent wants of man, cattle possessed, in an eminent degree, the faculty of increment, and thus united in themselves, the great leading qualities of absolute wealth. Moreover, the possession of cattle, carried likewise along with it, the inherent dignity and power, that appertains to superior

rank; for it comprized that higher resolution of wealth, which, in latter ages, has been appropriated to baronial domains. Thus, cattle not only substantiated wealth and power, represented and measured their value, but they constituted their ultimate resolution. And, as these were objects of fair enterprize and regular competition, they brought the whole range of human affairs within the compass of personal peaceful emulation; so that the man of successful industry might look forward to the time, when, through its means, he might be able, not only to display his splendor, but to exercise his power and influence, on the most momentous occasions.

When the power of concrete authority, however, had superceded the suasive influence of the patriarch and chieftain; when the arts were exercised and improved, to meet the fastidious appetites of the ruling orders of society; and when the way to wealth and honor was beset, on all hands, with the stern and vindictive arm of coercive power; then the necessity of some portly and appropriate emblem of wealth and of power appeared. No sooner were the precious metals universally recognized for this purpose, but cattle, the ancient, simple, powerful emblem of wealth, sunk in value, and retained only their relative power and importance, as subjects of utility, as means for meeting, in a direct manner, the wants of man. Every object, whose value required to be measured by the metallic standard, behoved, thenceforward, in the first place, to be resolv-

ed into this medium, before it could command, for the service of its owner, a correspondent value in any other commodity. In the mean time, a strong barrier was thrown up, betwixt the power and influence comprized within the natural possession of wealth, and that power and influence, which was connected with civil authority and with the honor resulting from patrician dignity. Mere wealth might command, in the course of its resolutions, a variety of valuable objects; but personal prowess and political influence were farther necessary, in order to make way for the claims of individuals, in the higher departments of civil life. Thus, the whole fabric of the patriarchal system was split asunder, and a new concrete organization of the social body was instituted. In this state of things, the process of industry was stimulated, more by coertion than by emulation; its developements, accordingly, were destined and restricted to the service and to the views of those, who could exercise this coercive power. As such a course of things was favorable to high improvements in the finer arts and sciences, those, accordingly, reached a high degree of improvement; but as it went to degrade and brutify the finer perceptions of the soul, these were almost universally sunk out of view: he who presided over the concrete system, became insensible to the ennobling enjoyments, connected with genial sympathy and heroic condescension; and he who suffered under its iron yoke, became indurated alike in his moral and in his intellectual feelings. These matters have been so amply illustrated, that it

seems only to be necessary now to notice, that whatever the acquirements of the social body, during this epoch were, the circumstances and character of the great bulk of its members were by no means enviable. During the patriarchal æra, the sudden irruptions of human ferocity might at times overwhelm whole communities, and all their acquirements. During the concrete system, this evil was, indeed, to a certain degree remedied; but in place of this, a constant system of durance prevailed, and the character of mankind was bent down to a conformity with its coercive procedure. In this, the Pagan, as well as the Jewish world, were involved; and history, as well as observation evinces, that the splendor of this æra noways compensated for the evils, with which it was necessarily accompanied.

It was not until the introduction of the Christian system, that the natural wants of our race, became primary objects of regard, and that it became the greatest honor and ambition of the highest as well as of the lowest, to exercise themselves for the service of mankind; and that improvement, thenceforward, proceeded in a variety of paths, formerly unheeded, and never before explored, with systematic accuracy. The divisions of Christendom, into a multitude of nations, gave, to the energies set in motion for this purpose, a multitude of springs of actions, and gave to those energies an inexhaustible fund of means and resources; it gave also to the course in which these energies respec-

tively moved, a determination, corresponding to the beneficent principles which then prevailed. It is out of this system, that all our personal acquirements have arisen. We must substantiate our right to our share of those acquirements, by our personal attainments; and those attainments must be resolved into the medium of exchange, before they can command this share; but the profusion, with which we are surrounded, ensures to each of us, our respective proportion of these on easy terms.

In consequence of these advantages, the human character unfolded itself, with constantly increasing vigor; and improvement in every department of civil and social life, followed on with accelerated force. The energies of mankind, thus extended and invigorated, were exercised on a multitude of objects, alike precious and important; which objects, thereafter, continued to stimulate and reinforce the energies thus employed, and to enlarge and advance the course of improvement thus prepared, in every direction. The talents and means in exercise were of the most diversified kind; for they comprized the whole circumstances of man. The range of exercise, which these embraced was of the most unbounded nature; for it implicated the whole concerns of all the nations of Christendom, and the whole affairs of every class of men, in each of these nations; it was closely filled up with ameliorating processes, some of these of the most complicated, and some of the most powerful kind. The developements, which these sent forth, indicated

the transcendent character and energy of the system, in which they were enveloped, and the superior energy of that organization of the social body, which had its foundation in individual independence, above that, which rested on a mere coercive concretion of the human powers.

The acquirements of the various nations of Europe, were correspondent to their respective characters and circumstances. One kingdom stretched its empire over a new world. Another fixed its power on the seas. The finer developements of the arts raised one country to superior wealth; the steady and austere character of its inhabitants, raised the power of a second country to eminence; while the loyalty and restlessness of those of a third, checked and counterbalanced these influences. In all these, and in many other circumstances, principles, that coincided with the character of each nation, and of each class of mankind, were developed, which rendered Christendom at once the greatest field of individual improvement, and the most complicated engine of social advancement, that this world had ever contained. Concentrating establishments and institutions received all these energies, and exercised them with systematic advantage; and these severally tended to exalt the progress of the social body, and to fix its footsteps on a stable foundation. The powers and means of nature, thus augmented, that lay at the disposal of princes and potentates, enabled these to carry forward projects and designs, correspondent to their

respective circumstances, and to display the power of this state of society, in all its splendor and force. Over all these affairs, a vast financial system stretched itself, which may be held to be the common property of every European nation. It consisted of *transferable capital and credit*, and it universally stimulated and supported the industrious. The powers and the fruits of industry perpetually resolved themselves into an augmentation of its strength and extent; and it was by these powers, and the fruits to which they gave birth, that the commercial system, with all its dependent processes, was every where displayed and upheld. In short, Europe, in spite of the restrictions and monopolies with which its industry was traversed, and in spite of oppression and misgovernance, formed one vast sphere, perpetually devolving itself into one greater and higher; there, wealth, industry, and genius met, as in a common market; there, they stimulated and supported the course of improvement that was induced; and, there, they advanced themselves and each other, in every great and useful attainment, upon beneficent and ennobling principles.

But amidst all these grand developements of the social body, a multitude of deteriorating principles obtained a place. These gradually unfolded themselves, and gathered strength and stability from the plenitude of provisions, which lay around them; and they have always tended, more or less, to consume and counteract all those ameliorating processes in which they could obtain a place. Corruption

and depravity, on the one hand, and licentiousness and perversity, on the other, like the tares among the wheat, have grown up into strength, from the support and nourishment which they could extract from this vast progression of improvement. In certain cases, the broils and desolations which these occasioned, have produced in the world such havoc and dismay, that the very character of the whole system, out of which they had arisen, seemed to have become doubtful and precarious.

But, besides this, however grand and estimable this vast concatenation of improvement, this benign devolution of the ameliorating tendencies of complicated industry, may be, there is attached to these very peculiarities of the system, certain difficulties that are inherent in its character. In consequence of the implication of a multitude of individual and social interests, within the movement of the same vast machinery, every embarrassment and obstruction, that can affect any part of these interests, must, necessarily, spread its influence every where around. Hence it happens, that though individual independence be systematically upheld, and though provisions for maintaining it be every where set down, yet this blessing is liable to become more a disadvantage than a benefit. The means for enjoying this independence are not unfrequently cut off, and multitudes are left to prowl in search of supplies, amidst objects, which, from the circumstances of the case, are sealed up from their use.

Both these classes of evils have been brought into high operation in our own days. The French revolution, with whatever insignia of respect and power it may have become invested, is essentially a congeries of desolating energies, which, having become systematically combined, can spread their desolations and obstructions over an immense expanse of human affairs. In consequence of the implication of the concernments of whole nations and of whole classes of men, within the range of the system, over which this destroying angel presides, the ravages of the French revolution have not only been great and extensive, but deep and intimately combined with our highest and most valuable social acquirements.

The operation of these calamities has received redoubled potency, from the circumstances, in which the medium of exchange is necessarily placed. This medium, taken in its proper abstract sense, is neither more nor less, than *commercial confidence*, which is circulated amongst those held to be entitled to this confidence, upon certain principles, which involve in themselves the circumstances of the country, and of all its concerns. When these latter fall off, the former and the instrument of exchange, *commercial credit*, which they upheld, necessarily falls off at the same time. When these, on the other hand, advance, *commercial confidence*, and the standard of value, in like manner, improve and become powerful. At present, these are in a most precarious state, we have sustained various

calamities, and are exposed to a multitude of others. Our commercial confidence vacillates with our apprehensions, and these apprehensions powerfully affect the value of the fruits of industry. And as these fruits, with their value, must, necessarily, within a given time, perish, if not consumed, and thus carry off with them the commercial confidence which they upheld, the vibrations in the state of the commercial world, are not only frequent, but excessive, and most destructive.

All these considerations necessarily direct our attention to three objects, which in their implication and consequences, comprize all those views, on which our plan of finance must be founded.

First, It directs our attention to the resolutions of property, which being at present, to a certain extent, traversed or destroyed, it has become necessary that some fresh measures be adopted, in regard to our modes of foreign intercourse and colonial policy; these being the great fields, wherein these resolutions at present devolve themselves. In order to meet this object, it will be recollected, that enlarged views of the subjects which these embrace have already been laid down; and a liberal and comprehensive plan in regard to these, involving all the concerns that can be contemplated in this view, have been set forth and illustrated.

Secondly, Our attention is next directed to the medium of exchange itself. It was seen, that this

ought to rest, not on the fruits of industry alone, but on these fruits, together with the industrious processes, by which these fruits can be obtained. Like the pastoral instrument for effecting this object, our medium of exchange ought to comprize an incrementive, as well as a circulatory and distributive faculty. It ought to increase in substantial value, in the hands of the possessor; and though its real estimation should always remain unaltered, it was shewn, that this estimation should constantly advance in the character which it bore.

Thirdly, As the importance of our belligerent interests render these, and every resolution of property by which they can be affected, matters of super-eminent regard, so every other consideration, it was shewn, should give way to those views which these interests imply. These processes of resolution, and those measures, into which our financial concerns conducted us, it was seen, should, therefore, advance, in subordination to this great adumbrating object. Our belligerent interests involve our existence, our all; they are in a most precarious situation; they most powerfully affect and are affected by our general trade and finances; and we cannot but obey their paramount influence.

In making these considerations, and the illustrations that have preceded them, bear with full effect upon the subject more immediately before us, we find, that a financial project, that may serve our present most pressing occasions, naturally arises

out of them, which is well deserving of our immediate attention. This scheme of finance will not, indeed, embrace all those consequences, that we may warrantably hold as resulting from the great system of improvement that has been proposed; but it will meet every ordinary occurrence with manifest advantage. The want of a stable, circulatory, extended, financial basis, into which, as into gold, every other circulating object may be resolved, it was seen, *is to be found in the value, concentrated in our reproductive processes;* the only question, therefore, seems to be, by what means can we set aside and apportion this value, so as to make it answer this most important object?

It is evident, that such a validated appretiation of these processes may be found, as will neutralize the apprehensions, even of the most timorous. Landed property, and reproductive establishments of indisputable value, set aside for this purpose, might be appretiated upon certain fixed principles and in the most cautious manner; then, from the value thus found, a deduction of from one to two thirds, according to the nature of the case, might be made, so as to give a basis of substantiated property, concerning which, there could be no doubt or uncertainty whatever. The establishment, thus appretiated, might thereafter be mortgaged in the hands of a certain board, thereto appointed by the legislature; to be by it held in security of certain circulatory impledgements, to be delivered into the hands of those, thus mortgaging it. It is into these im-

pledgements that I would have all the other circulatory objects of the country rendered ultimately resoluble; these impledgements being thus received as the fixed and substantiated medium of commercial intercourse, concerning the validity of which, it would be unlawful to set up any objection whatever. Within the influence of this ordination, I would comprehend the whole concerns of the Bank of England, as well as those of every provincial bank, and render it necessary, both for the one and for the other of them, to be prepared to resolve all their notes into these validated impledgements, under the severest penalties.

For the purpose of rendering the business of banking, an object deserving of the attention of the more independent classes of the community, I would, in the first place, afford every possible facility and accommodation, in the resolution of fixed property, into these circulatory impledgements; and, thereafter, provide most effectually for the complete security of all, who may be affected by the emissions of these that might be made; both in regard to fraud, and in regard to contingent misfortunes. For instance; a landholder or stockholder, having got his property valued, and one third deducted from it, and having thus ascertained its validated acceptation; or the proprietor of some burgage tenements, having, by deducing one half of their valued amount, obtained the same advantage; or the owner of some fabricating establishment, having by subtracting two thirds from its received

value—been placed in similar circumstances—all these having, severally, thereafter, executed an assignation of their respective properties in security—I would hold them entitled, not only to receive circulatory impledgements to the ascertained amount, in that precise form, which suited their views and circumstances; but warranted to continue in the full enjoyment of the same rights to their property, that they had before it was mortgaged; the public being held to be sufficiently secured against fraud, by the registration of all such mortgages in an appropriate office to be erected for the purpose; and by those, who circulated the impledgements, and represented the property mortgaged, having also given their personal security, along with the heritable assignation above mentioned, for the farther safety and relief of the holder of those impledgements; which engagements, being homologated by an express obligation drawn out upon the body of the circulated notes, would thereto be efficient in every particular case. The government of the country, I would also understand as being rendered responsible for the ultimate resolubility of those impledged notes, by a similar express obligation.

It does not seem to be necessary, that the impledgements, thus created, should be the only circulating medium of the country; it is enough, that all other paper should, in the option of the holder, be reducible at maturity into such impledgements. In order to meet the views and circumstances of the public, it would be proper, that the impledge-

ments of each district, should have their authoritative circulation circumscribed within the limits of that district; without, however, attempting any violence on the inclination of individuals, who may chuse to receive and pass them beyond these bounds. It would certainly be highly proper and necessary, to have these impledgements regularly drawn off from the course of circulation, within a given time, and at different specified periods, (perhaps a tenth part every year might be removed, till every impledgment was retired,) and that each impledgement should bear in its import, the date and circumstances of its ultimate resolution. It might sometimes be proper, to permit new impledgements to be uttered, in lieu of these that are withdrawn; but, in general, it would be proper to allow several courses of impledgements to run off, before any renewal on the same basis should be accorded. Thus, the incrementive power of establishments would go on, substantiating the fund circulated on the basis of their accredited value; and the financial support afforded to the community, would render their powers of reproduction, constantly more and more effectual. Individuals would hold in their hand, an emblem of wealth more valuable than gold, because substantially more excellent; one, that like the flocks of antiquity, increased constantly in its validity without inferring trouble to the holder.

For the purpose of facilitating all this business, it would be necessary to constitute a board, with statutary powers, for carrying into effect every par-

ticular measure of this kind, for superintending the general procedure in regard to these measures, and for drawing these respectively to their appropriate conclusion. The first object of this board, would be to examine into the cases laid before them, and to give forth those impledgements which these cases required, on receiving the requisite security. Its next object would be, to attend to the resolution of these impledgements, and to interpose its power and means on all necessary occasions, in relief of the holder of impledgements, and for the advancement of the common good. Its ultimate object would be, to watch over the circulatory process, to take care that there was no surplusage, and that no undue advantage was taken of existing laws and provisions; and to make such reports to the legislature, as all these circumstances should point out. It is very evident, that such a multitude of circumstances, would soon present themselves to the notice of this board, that a class of provisions, every way suited to the occasion, would soon be brought forward, prepared, matured, and digested, under legislative influence for the service and advantage of the public and of all concerned. To attempt to go closser into this subject in this place, seems, therefore, to be altogether unnecessary. Principles have been laid down, on which any general plan of the above description must necessarily proceed; and experience alone can furnish the materials, by which this plan can be rendered complete in all its parts.

It must be noticed, however, that the above plan

must, in our present circumstances, be held to be no other than a temporary arrangement, made to meet existing contingencies, and to be calculated only for meeting the first movements of that progression of improvement that has been proposed. It is evident, that we can neither presume on the concurrence of our own, nor of any foreign government, to all the arrangements that have been subsumed as the basis of this progression, without possessing some more ample means for enforcing our claims, than any that have yet been adduced into notice. To carry our commercial and financial operations forward, as far as possible, in their natural course, is, however, a primary object; to secure present attainments, before we attempt to build on higher ground must therefore be a primary duty. It is for this purpose, that the above project is now presented. And, when we attend to the rapid growth of the concrete system amongst us, we cannot but perceive the necessity of some such set of provisions for immediate relief. To deliver society out of that bondage, which luxury, bankruptcy, heavy taxes, and juridical imposts, have imposed upon it, is not only a pressing, but a deeply interesting consideration. How few are there now-a-days, whose dependence on the favor of the great, or on the will of those whom circumstances have placed over them, do not bear down and oppress? It is not ministers of state, or parliamentary influence alone, that we have to complain of, for those frequently come forth like refreshing showers to reanimate hope. The concrete authority

of bankrupt factors, of privileged lawyers, and of a whole system, whereof direct coertion is the basis, is ten times more destructive. This withers up emulation, pervades the circumstances of the whole community, and influences alike those occupations that are of the most secret and domestic, and those that are of the most public and extensive nature; thus rendering the virtue, happiness, and security of individuals and of society, for the most part, the mere sport of accident; matters, against which, every calamity may prevail.

It is by no means the object of such establishments, to restrain the public in the regular use of the precious metals, either as the standard of absolute value, as the medium of ordinary commercial intercourse, or as the instrument for expediting foreign transactions. These are inviolable characteristics of our process of exchange, and must not be infringed upon, on any account whatever. The great and leading object in view, is to provide abundantly for the ordinary procedure of mercantile business, to place within the power of the merchants, a secure foundation for his commercial transactions, and to accord to the industrious processes that support, which their circumstances require. The necessity of preserving in circulation, for this purpose, a sufficient proportion of the smaller denominations of coin, is so evident, that no one can dispute the propriety of rendering it a special article, in the constitution of the circulatory establishments above described, that one hour

of each day should be set apart, for the purpose of converting a proportion of their notes into such coin, and that most express provisions should be made for securing this advantage to the public. Our intercourse with foreign countries, and the ordinary occurences of life, point out, in like manner, the propriety of laying a similar obligation on these establishments, in regard to coin of a higher name. In this last case, however, I would not only restrict the obligation, by making the sum thus resoluble only one third of that provided for, in the preceding case, and the time for resolving this sum into coin, only one hour of each week; but I would fix the place and circumstances of this resolution; I would have these exchanges, made only at one fixed place, in certain central towns, for behoof of all the bankers within a specified district. The obligation, thus restricted, will answer all the purposes of foreign intercourse, and preserve in full vigor, the ideal standard of our own circulating medium. By these means the occasions of the public will be met, without overburdening the bankers, and the real advantage of the precious metals will be secured, without any ways traversing the circulatory processes.

But besides meeting in the most ample manner the occasions of the public, the above provisions will tend to place the funds of country bankers and great financiers, in very independent circumstances. At present, however rich or respectable any of these establishments may be, they are necessarily so completly involved in the fate of their

London agents, in whose hands their funds are deposited, that the fall of these latter generally produces that of the former. But, in place of having their funds thus locked up in the hands of these great London money dealers, whose transactions and whose fortunes take the full sweep of the whole commercial world, the country banker would, by these means, rest most absolutely upon his own resources. In place of being obliged to be in constant readiness, to resolve his notes into London paper, he would hold in his hands the means of resolving these without either trouble or difficulty; he would be circumscribed, only by the limits of his real property; nay, he could receive supplies from his neighbours, without inducing any risk, that was not seen and known, at the time, in its full extent, by all parties. Besides this, even in the worst of times, any person, of ordinary prudence and credibility, might procure new circulatory impledgements from the great national board, on the basis of his personal credit; for fixed property to substantiate these, could never be awanting to any individual of extensive connexions, the basis of whose establishment was good. In such circumstances, it is evident that no such thing as general confusion or bankruptcy could possibly take place.

In the meantime, the holders of these impledgements would be as secure, as it is possible for them to be; they would hold in their hands, not only a proper emblem of value, but an instrument, that could effectually command this value.

With the fate of the banker who uttered these impledgements, they would be but little concerned; for the government of the country not only guaranteed the validity of this instrument, but retained in possession for this purpose, that very substantial article of value which this instrument commands; an article which cannot perish with the fruits which it produced, but which must continue to send forth its fruits without intermission. These are advantages, not only tantamount to all that appertain to gold and silver as a medium, but equal in value to those that characterised the flocks and herds of the patriarchs, the ancient pastoral medium. Nay, they exceed even these, in as much as reproductive establishments, thus validated and supported, are in themselves more secure and valuable objects of possession, than subjects that are doomed to perish, within a very limited time, and that are exposed to accidents of the most destructive kind.

A most formidable objection to this scheme of finance arises out of the very advantages, that render it so estimable. If facilities, almost unbounded, for converting fixed into circulable wealth, be thus produced; what security have we, that the course of business will not be overpowered with a profusion of the instrument of exchange? In such a dilemma, would not that personal industry and assiduity, which are the source of all our attainments, become relaxed? The feelings of men, are naturally averse from that incessant labor, out of which so many of our personal comforts arise. Would

not a plenitude of the instrument of independence raise the feelings of those who labor for subsistence, above that pressure, which is necessary to urge them forward in their severest exertions; and thus gradually withdraw from the community, these articulate acquisitions, which are most valuable? Or, if the evil should not proceed thus far, would not a variety of the most important articles of civilized life rise so high in the general estimation, from the mere force of that competition, that would be excited amongst the multitude who could procure these articles, that a great proportion of the community would be deprived of their usual gratifications? Experience readily suggests an answer to these demurrings; for the cupidity of men in a state of advanced improvement, when urged forward by domestic claims and emulous ambition, is seen to create a stimulus to his industry sufficient to induce incessant exercise to his faculties; while the circumstances of society invariably fix down the exercises thus induced, to these avocations that are most beneficial to the individual himself, and to all with whom he may be connected. Besides, in the present state of society the employments of men are constantly becoming more and more decorated and respectable; so that from the feelings which our respective circumstances induce, and the influence which improvement, concentrated and reinforced by external agency, exercises over these feelings, there never can, for any length of time, be any important deficiency or imperfection in any part of our general economy.

There can be no doubt, however, but that an indiscriminate and inconsiderate application of the above scheme to existing circumstances, would lead to some such disorder, as that which has been described, especially at the outset; and that this disorder might lead into consequences that are of the most serious nature, if not timeously checked and counterbalanced. In particular, I apprehend, that the inducements held out to men of fortune and family, to convert their fixed into circulable wealth, would introduce into the upper departments of life, a licentious and profligate turn of mind. And as vice of every kind is epidemical, and, when once introduced into the character, seizes upon the whole frame, corruption of principles, and depravity of heart, might speedily ensue. Besides this, we know that the inferior orders of society, are but too prone to tread in the footsteps of those above them, and that wickedness, when nurtured amidst profusion, soon spreads its force and effects over a community. Is there not, therefore, great danger of thereby introducing into our body-politic, the same rapacious and libidinous propensities, that marked the early stage of the French revolution? These are most important considerations, but that the effects contemplated can only be produced by very criminal neglect in the superintending power, shall presently be shewn.

It will be recollected, that it is understood, that this whole business is to be placed under the direct control and management of a board, thereto consti-

tuted by legislative authority, regularly accounting for all its conduct in open parliament, and busily engaged in collecting and digesting materials, for enabling it to improve its procedure in every department of its office. For the purpose of enabling this board to accomplish this object most completely, I would farther propose, that its whole procedure should not only be published, and discussed in open parliament, but that its views and designs should embrace a variety of connected objects; all of which should, in like manner, be published and discussed before their adoption. Taking these advantages along with us, and remarking, at the same time, the precision that pervades every department of the excise, of the customs, and of other general boards, that affect the course of industry and improvement, to most of which, the public eye has little access; and seriously reflecting on the deep and universal importance, of the affairs submitted to this great financial board; can we for a moment doubt of corresponding exactitude and fidelity in the conduct of this board? On its conduct, the eyes of the whole nation must be constantly and necessarily fixed; in the consequences of its procedure, every one feels his whole interests to be involved. If every difficulty and complexity in its movements be thus effectually expiscated, may not the whole nature and object of its duty, and the consequences that must therefrom necessarily result, be expected to become matters of as much precision in forethought, as in their experienced effects, and ultimately fix themselves aright?

In discussing this point, I have, as is universally done in such cases, subsumed it as a fact, concerning the truth and certainty of which there can be no doubt, that the instrument of exchange is the invariable object of our solicitude, and that it alone commands all other marketable objects. It will be recollected, however, that it has been already shewn, that the instrument of exchange, in any form whatever, does not make its appearance, in one of many hundred of such transactions. Our whole business, mercantile and national, almost invariably turns, upon what is called, *mercantile credit or confidence.* If our mercantile and industrious processes turn upon this object, it is in vain to assert, that the scarcity or plenty of the medium of exchange, is the cause of the rise or fall of the price of labor, or of the force of enterprize. It is the strength or weakness of mutual confidence, that determines both this, and the limits of that profusion or parsimony that appear in our ordinary modes of living. In order to certiorate ourselves of this point, let us ask these questions. Towards what do our marketable commodities and productions necessarily tend? For what object are they produced? Are not these commodities incessantly poured into the hands of an accredited merchant, whose obligation, written or implied, enables and encourages us to carry forward those processes, out of which they arose? Possessed of this advantage, are not these processes not only supported, but advanced, extended, and rendered doubly efficacious? Thus the bare transmission of our fruits, into accredited

hands, nourishes and augments the basis of our general wealth. It is this commercial confidence, in fact, that resolves, as well as circulates the greater part of the wealth, that is therein produced. It is thereby that the wealth attained, can again stimulate and advance that very commercial credit which constitutes the ultimate resolution, nay, the very essence of this wealth. The medium is, no doubt, ultimately received; but in what shape is this done? it is in the shape of impledgements, which rest for their validity on the credit which is thus circulated.

These considerations bring into notice a most important fact. It is not the standard of value, the precious metals; it is not even the representative of these, an accredited paper currency, that developes our national resources, that supports our reproductive establishments; it is *commercial credit, it is confidence in the capabilities of individuals, to meet their engagements*, that procures for us these advantages. Our wealth, therefore, as things stand at present, has no other basis, but the personal responsibility of the parties concerned in the business of upholding it; and it is a circumstance well deserving of notice, that this personal responsibility is seldom at par with money; it rests on so many extrinsic objects, that there is generally a shade of dubiety as to its validity. Still, however, it circulates, for commercial credit is superabundant, and ready money is scarce. Parties dispose of their property and services to others, on the basis of the responsibility of those other parties, because these

cannot be disposed of otherwise. The instrument of exchange being scarce, personal credit supplies its place; for when these others accept of this property, and of these services, on the proferred conditions, they do it, because they can, without difficulty, part with a certain portion of their credit, while they must husband their money. This fact deserves much attention, because it is not less certain than important. It is an old adage, that the possession of money, like the dropsy, breeds a thirst for more of that thing, whereby the disease has been produced. Can we, therefore, be under much apprehensions respecting the plenitude of that object, which thus in a manner absorbs itself? We have already contemplated the situation of the Jews in king Solomon's times, when, amidst abundance of means, and abundance of the medium of exchange, the people, in peace and comfort, enjoyed every thing desirable. Let it now be recollected, that we have subsumed the existence of a state of society, that corresponds very nearly with that which existed in that monarch's days. Our energies, though most powerful, are all held to be fully exercised in improving the world; our capabilities, though immense as distended, in receiving and maturing the resources of other nations. From the very nature of such a case, therefore, a vast extension of commercial circulation must unavoidably take place. The question, therefore, is, shall the instrument for expediting this circulation, be merely mercantile credit, or shall it be this credit substantiated by an accession of real financial strength? Let it be no-

ticed, that the species of industry, presupposed as provided, must require a vast extension in the terms of credit, such as may not be rendered circulable as at present; the length of the voyage, and the circumstances of the accredited, alike forbidding parties from relying so implicitly on the results of their enterprizes, as to dispose them to assume these results as the basis of mercantile intercourse, without some stronger support than any that could, for some time, arise out of the trade itself. In such circumstances, therefore, I apprehend that some such new financial basis, as that under consideration, must be admitted to be indispensible.

There is a concluding consideration, in regard to this point, that it is necessary now to bring fully into view. However tenacious we may be of our property; yet when any great object of enterprize is before us, there are few of us, who will not avail ourselves to the utmost of our commercial credit, for the sake of doing ample justice to the object of this enterprize. This is a law of our nature, and it arises from the predominancy of hope and desire, of ambition and self-confidence, in the constitution of our minds. In the circumstances that we have supposed, we cannot but imagine, that thousands of individuals, are all ready to throw themselves afloat in the field of adventure. Of these, people of little capital, and slender capacity, will always be the foremost, and as they can neither, from their own means, meet the demands created against them at home, nor stand out against the difficulties of their situation in a foreign market, the double evil of des-

troying every chance of making profit for themselves, or their country, abroad; and that of overwhelming in their ruin, all who have confided on them at home—must necessarily follow, from leaving the foreground of enterprize to them. This is a most serious consideration, for it strikes close at the root of our national prosperity; it throws into the hands of foreigners, all the aggregate advantages resulting from our national capabilities, by the very means, by which it produces overwhelming embarrassment, amongst the most industrious class of our citizens at home.

As it is indispensibly necessary to take fully along with us, clear and precise ideas of the power and operation of commercial credit, it seems to be proper to illustrate the above positions by a familiar example. A warehouseman disposing of £1000 of commodities to a reputable merchant at a credit of nine months, is immediately in circumstances to repair to the manufacturer, from whose stock he may procure commodities to a similar amount, at six months credit; for the bill, previously attained, when six months run, will enable him to obtain at his banker's, the means for meeting this new engagement to the manufacturer. The manufacturer, in like manner, is thereby capacitated to make similar additions to his stock, on the faith of the resolubility of this obligation, at the distance of three months. All this time, it will be noticed, that most important transactions have taken place; and that though much property has been turned into

absolute value, the medium of exchange has not once been intervened. Commercial credit has done the whole; and, in ordinary cases, each party remains as well satisfied with his situation, during the currency of these obligations, as if his property had been converted, under a fair discount, into bullion.

It is no doubt true, that each of these parties, must ultimately discharge their respective engagements in accredited impledgements, and that their bankers must be able to meet the impledgements, delivered into the hands of these parties, in the current medium: but it is equally true, that those empledgements are ultimately resoluble into each other, and that so long as those who emit them can maintain a fair character, so long there can be no difficulty in procuring a change of paper, or even bank of England notes, in order to effect this object. In the mean time, however, it must be observed, that the value of the notes of hand, which these bankers had discounted, rests entirely on the capabilities of the parties who are pledged to substantiate them at maturity; and, that their own capabilities for relieving their own notes, have no real support, but these extrinsic capabilities, which, as formerly illustrated, rest on the general trade of the country. As things stand at present, therefore, the general credit of the country not only upholds commercial transactions, but serves to substantiate our general wealth. Yet this credit is the sport of accident; it rests on the state of the country, on that of individuals who have attained to mercantile

eminence; it is liable to a thousand accidents; it frequently implicates the responsibility of individuals, who are unequal to the weight that is thus laid upon them; and at times, this credit, with all the wealth that can be represented by it, is suddenly subverted and destroyed, in a variety of ways.

But, as the instance above stated is taken from those commercial transactions, that are the most unimpeachable and the most regular, we must take this fact also along with us, that such is the value of untainted commercial credit to merchants, and so vast are the advantages that are to be derived from it, that transactions of the most complicated, and of the most desperate kind, are frequently resorted to by individuals, for the sake of its preservation. For the sake of propping up a fallacious credit, goods are purchased and mortgaged, and circulable paper, where no real value has been exchanged, is passed from hand to hand; nay, it is known, that in the view of obtaining possession of drawbacks and bounties, goods have been shipped off on forlorn adventures. As the existence of the property, thus endangered, is necessary to substantiate the funds which it has circulated, the loss of individuals becomes the loss of the public. When such individuals tumble into ruin, they sink property out of view, and bring down along with them, not only a vast mass of circulable credit, but the whole industry which this credit could uphold. The mischief in this case is palpable; its origin is obvious; but it is connected so intimately with all the finer springs

of our present system, that any thing like an attempt to remedy it, in existing circumstances, would endanger our whole financial fabric.

In consequence, however, of the ample supply of funds, that we must suppose to be provided by the institution of the financial system unfolded in this treatise, we may warrantably assume, that by its means, it is competent for us gradually to draw ourselves out of this embarrassing dilemma; and, in the end, to substitute an universal system of financial intercourse, correspondent to our best interests. It is from the want of a specific circulable object, of real and substantial value, more than from any other imperfection in our system, that commercial confidence is rendered thus diffuse. Let the means of circulating real property, in independent circumstances, be provided, and that indefinite credential medium, that vacillating instrument of commercial intercourse, now in use, will assume a new appearance. Well-poised mercantile credit will then develope itself in its natural course; it will in truth, as well as in appearance, prove the genuine support of commercial enterprize: we will be able to look to the issue, as well as to the object, of our transactions. The mist, which hangs over all our projects, will be dispelled, for no man will adventure into untrodden paths, for the sake of an uncertain support to his credit, when he perceives, that this support can only be found among domestic affairs, and that it may be found there in its utmost plenitude, provided that his

schemes coincide with its object, and that his mobs means can resolve themselves into its service.

While these considerations discover to us the vast power and importance of commercial credit, and the dependence of our mercantile and industrious operations upon its complicated movements, they call upon us, in a most imperative tone, to set in earnest about lowering this power and importance, and to proceed to substitute, in place of this fallacious principle of confidence, that more stable and substantial medium of intercourse, which has been so fully exhibited in the preceding context. That our reproductive processes, our commercial intercourse, our national prosperity and influence, and every thing into which our public and private means and resources necessarily resolve themselves, ought not to depend on the circumstances and motions of a principle, which is the creature of adventure, and which, in spite of our highest and wisest measures to maintain its stability, may be propitious to-day, and adverse to-morrow, is abundantly evident. The fate of our national resources must not be thrown loose to the wind; these ought to be bound up with our most valuable possessions, and to have their object secured to them by every fair and legitimate provision that can be devised.

While it is thus manifest, that our invaluable powers of reproduction, are as often the instrument of perdition as of prosperity to their owners, from the mere want of a solid support, that can render

the reward which of right necessarily appertains to all those individuals, by whose means and exertions, they have been produced, not a matter of contingency, dependent on the chequered fortune of the audacious adventurer, but, in some degree, a matter of calculation, the necessary result of their ordinary movements ; we cannot but perceive that the evil is radical, and has no tendency to work out its own remedy. Nay, the uncertainty of the thing only begets more inordinate cupidity and boldness in the children of adventure ; and this inordinate cupidity and boldness, instead of checking the public mind, only inflames the more its false confidence and presumption, in the fate of these adventurers. Commodities and productions are not only profusely thrown into their hands, but property of every kind, and schemes of the most rational and unambiguous description, are sacrificed or set aside, for the mere purpose of instituting new establishments for producing superabundance of these commodities; insomuch, that the form of society, as well as the face of the country, becomes marked with the strangeness of the prevalent delusion; and the course of general prosperity seems studded with all the vacillating fortunes and circumstances, which a progression, in such a vast, yet such a fragile system of unbalanced enterprize, necessarily produces.

But, although there be no remedy to this evil, in the case itself, it is possible for us, by withdrawing some of the fictitious props on which this falla-

cious confidence rests, to circumscribe its power, and to bring forward, in the process of intercourse, a principle which will tend to renovate the commercial character. The medium of intercourse, held to be provided by the foregoing scheme, appears opportunely for our service. It is necessary, however, to render it universally and indispensibly necessary for all parties to have frequent resourse to this medium, and to hold its validated character as fully recognized and established.

As all these considerations must come fully under the eye of the great financial board, held to be constituted for carrying the general plan into effect, and as every object, that can at all affect the process of commercial intercourse, must be considered as subjected to the revision of this board, it is not necessary to enter very fully into the detail of these measures, that appear to be most proper for restraining the influence of commercial confidence within its proper bounds. It may be proper, however, to state some of the most leading and remarkable of those circumstances, towards which, it may be naturally supposed, that the attention of this board will be drawn, together with those principles, by an adherence to which, an amendment of existing evils may, it is apprehended, be most effectually attained.

And let it be noticed, in the outset, that it is a matter of primary importance to dispel those mists, under which personages frequently transact with

each other. We have already many advantages for so doing. The authoritative statements of exports and imports, given in the newspapers; the detailed report of our general markets, of bankrupt subjects, of remarkable law proceedings, together with the various discussions and animadversions thereanent, that are by the same means, placed before every individual; these, and many other similar provisions, are all highly conducive to this most important object; while the private intelligence procured in coffee-houses, and other places of general resort, and the ordinary train of occurrences around us, enable individuals to apply the mass of information, thus procured, to their own affairs. Still, however, it must be noticed, that it frequently happens, that individuals cannot regularly attain that knowledge of which they stand most in need, and that they are laid under the necessity of acting amidst much obscurity, in affairs of the greatest moment. It is frequently of the greatest consequence to them, to know precisely and completely, what the circumstances of the individuals, with whom they transact, are, while they can obtain no advice respecting this object, but the declarations of uncertain rumor. Thus it is that merchants, being necessitated to act promptly, and pressed by the urgency of their affairs, into a fatality in transacting some way, readily adopt the most flattering view of every advantage that is, for the moment within their power. Nay, as the uncertainty of the case frequently augments the pleasing feeling thus excited, the magnitude of the interest involved, the boldness of the person trans-

acted with, and the splendor of his enterprizes, all of which ought to produce hesitation and reflection, for the most part, serve only to augment the delusion, and to lead individuals more rapidly and more completely into its vortex.

For the purpose of dispelling this dubiety, in regard to persons transacting with one another, I would propose, that, in every instance, wherein a company-designation, or firm as it is called, is made use of, that the whole individuals, who are implicated in this firm, should have their implication noted in a public register kept for the purpose, and regularly published for the general good. I would enforce this measure, by rendering it not only unlawful for any individual to share directly or indirectly in the profits of a concern, in which his implication was not thus avowed; but I would, in every case of discovery, levy a severe penalty, both on the concealed partner, and on his associates, proportioned to their respective conditions in society, and to the circumstances of the case. By following out this principle, it is probable, that many of those, who now support the hopes and fortunes of the industrious and adventurous, and who otherwise do much real good, would sink along with others of inferior name. It must be noted, however, that in their room, others of no less substantial merit, and possessed of far greater real resources, would spring up. That false confidence, which, arising out of the uncertainty of the case, increased with the presumption of the person confided in, would disappear; that ec-

claircissement, whereof, the wealth and hopes of the nation sunk for ever in folly and infatuation, must necessarily form the sole expositors, would be avoided. In place of those sources of vexation, the national powers and resources, always bearing their full value at home and abroad, abundantly resolved, though generally circumscribed in their resolutions, would be displayed. Individuals would be more wealthy, and do more good in the application of their wealth. And, as the field of fair enterprize would not be blighted by immature undertakings, nor dependents and competitors overwhelmed with confusion, in the begetting of which they had no share; as the real interests of society would not be lost amidst the irretrievable blunders of those who had never any right to be capacitated to produce these blunders; we may hope, that the energies and resources of the nation, proceeding along the line which real property, circulated on equitable principles would give, would at length attain to a more splendid, as well as to a more substantial form, than ever they had done; and that they would give forth their developements with lustre, as well as with strength.

These remarks are made, not so much in the view of the consequences that may be expected to flow from the direct operation of the above measure, as in that of those that may result from other measures of the same class, into which the adoption of the above measure may lead. I apprehend, that it is no ways difficult, to institute a class of measures, by which the degree of commercial confidence, to

which individuals are respectively entitled, might be determined with great precision ; so as to render any important mistake in regard to this essential particular, scarcely possible, without gross inattention. This advantage, however, can only be attained by giving publicity to private business, such as our feelings could not at present well bear. The splendor of fashion, and the magnificence of wealth, derive much of their influence from the veil, under which the affairs of their votaries are shrouded. Until the mercantile character, under the influence of systematic improvement, shall have attained to independence ; and, until merchants shall have learned to place their reliance more on their individual prowess, than on the factitious prop of public opinion, we must content ourselves, with a very moderated use of this publicity. It may be remarked, however, that this age, more than any other, has witnessed the fragility of unwarranted assumptions, and attested the stability of substantial endowments. Our excise and custom-house establishments have carried the light of day, through many labyrinths, in which, a recondite virtue was supposed to be lodged ; the income and consolidated assessments have severally followed up the advantage, thus procured, into other departments of civil life : while the multiplied calamities and bankruptcies of individuals have led to private disclosures, that have in a manner dissolved the mystic charm. Already we perceive esteem and respect following individuals, who have earned a title to public confidence, even amidst the greatest bereavements, and refusing their honours to the

darlings of fortune, though surrounded by the most fascinating displays. If ever the spirit of manly independence, operating under christian principles, and possessing all the advantages of an organization of society constituted for its service, shall attain the ascendancy amongst the mercantile and industrious part of the community, we may hope, that their morbid sensibility in regard to their affairs, which is, in truth, the main cause of their depression, will give place to a soundness of nerve, that will enable and dispose them, to eye every part of their concerns with the most steady earnestness.

It is impossible to leave this subordinate part of the subject, without adverting, very particularly, to a matter, that may, without any impropriety, be brought under the review of the great financial board now held to be constituted. It regards that understanding that subsists respecting bills of exchange or notes of hand; all who receive, pass, or indorse which, being held as impledged for the resolution of these documents at maturity, and considered as obligated, in case of failure on the part of the acceptor and prior indorsers, severally, in their order, to make good the amount, for which they stand thus impledged. Nothing can be more obvious than the advantage that follows from having this understanding universally attached to foreign bills of exchange; it augments the security of general intercourse, and it is the main prop of the commercial world; for it is the understanding of every civilized nation, and it is universally protected by laws and customs, and

feelings, that render this understanding an obligation, of the most sacred and urgent kind. But, why should this understanding be extended to notes of hand, or domestic bills of exchange, which, in the main, are merely circulable vouchers of debt, marketable objects that may be disposed of, under the deduction of legal discount? It is proper, that every one who passes such an obligation, should warrant its tenor and import, in the same way, that a vender warrants the circumstances of the commodity that he delivers; and that he should, for this reason, attach his testimony to its genuine character, by a simple indorsation; but is it at all necessary, to understand that all through whose hands a voucher of debt may pass, should be held as pledged for its validity, and as responsible for its resolution? The similarity betwixt foreign and domestic bills of exchange, perhaps, has led to this understanding; the necessity, under which bankers and others, who discount such paper, are laid, of exercising their avocation, under the profit of a mere deduction of the legal interest from these vouchers, has given currency and consistency to the obligation thus established; but the transference of such paper, taken as a class of transactions, certainly stands on no higher ground than that of the transference of any other marketable commodity; and while we do not warrant the ultimate resolution of these, the practice, and the principle by which this practice is supported, are alike objects of fair animadversion, and may be subjected to that renovation, which existing circumstances may require.

I am aware that the great object, as well as the direct tendency, of the understanding at present established, in regard to these circulable vouchers of debt, is to provide validated documents of real value, for the purpose of expediting the general process of commercial and financial intercourse; and that as things now stand with us, every facility for expediting this process, every circumstance that can confirm the validity of transferable obligations, is a real advantage to the community. In making this admission, however, it is proper to take along with us, the multiplied sinister contrivances, to which individuals may and do resort, in order to obtain, for their own use, the benefit of the advantage thus procured; and the extremely nugatory nature of all our attempts, to detect these contrivances, and to repress them when detected; together with the deplorable consequences, that necessarily ensue from the final disclosure of those unsubstantiated appearances of wealth, that are thereby imposed upon the public, and circulated with perfect impunity. In setting forth a great plan of improvement, whereof individual independence and universal amelioration are the great leading objects, and in proceeding to take to pieces the great frame of society, held to be established amongst us, for the purpose of purifying its general principles, and removing its tendency to direct and unmitigated concretion, it becomes us to clear away every principle that must traverse its operation; and, above all things, to draw without its range, practices that are totally subversive of its grand design. If this im-

plication of obligations, be one of those things, which of all others, tends to bind up in one mass, the whole energies of society, and to protrude them thus bound up, into one common destruction ; (and who that looks attentively at the matter, can have any doubts upon the subject?) the concretive influences, now before us, cannot be too completely expelled from our system ; and, since we hold ourselves to be already provided most amply with validated paper, and with such other substantial means for expediting general intercourse, as necessarily render the intervention of these implicated obligations in this view, in a great measure, useless; it becomes us also, to take up the subject with that earnestness which its importance deserves.

These considerations, it is apprehended, discover to us plainly, that however well established the rules respecting the obligations incurred in indorsing bills may be, yet that those rules rest upon no principle that can preclude such alterations in regard to them, as may be necessary for our plan. Taking up the matter at this point, I proceed to propose a very simple modification of these rules, which, in my opinion, must, without infringing upon any established principle, produce very important and very beneficial effects upon the process of general intercourse. In place of holding every indorser as responsible for liquidation, who has not accompanied his indorsation with an express exception to this rule, I would have the law to be, that no indorser who did not, by a formal declaration, assume responsibility, was re-

sponsible for more than the tenor and import of the note that he indorsed. Under this modification of the general rule, all parties would possess the same option of guaranteeing, or refusing to guarantee bills, that they do at present. The difference produced by the alterations proposed, arises from this circumstance, that the new obligation incurred by guaranteeing, would thereby be expressly declared, in place of being indirectly implied. At present, few indorsers make exceptions as to the bills which they pass; because such exceptions are held to indicate either something captious or invidious in the parties transacting, or some irregularity in the circumstances of the transaction itself; insomuch, that a single exception of this kind would go far, not only to arrest the progress of a bill in its circulation, but to discredit all who were implicated in its support; matters that could not fail to produce great disadvantage to all concerned, and much animosity on the part of those who had been thus disparaged. For these and other reasons, exceptious indorsations being seldom adhibited, the general rule, that indorsers are responsible for liquidation, goes on, as if there were no exceptions whatever to this rule; and, I am hence led to infer, that under the proposed alteration, a corresponding practice would take place. In ordinary cases, few indorsers would chuse to adhibit their credit, in support of any circulatory obligation; and I apprehend there are fewer still, who would venture to require any other person so to do. Their so doing would argue manifest distrust in the prior obligants; it would be requiring

the other party to assume a very peculiar degree of priority and importance.

It must be observed, however, that these views are set down, expressly, in the prospect of drawing into action, real and repressing fictitious instruments of exchange. Domestic bills and notes of hands, may be transferred as subjects of value, with great propriety; for it is not at all meant to interfere with their character in this capacity. When they are passed as ordinary transferences of value, I am far from wishing any party unnecessarily to limit his security in his commercial transactions; it is necessary, and it is proper, that both parties take the whole circumstances of their transactions before them, and regulate their mutual obligations accordingly. In such circumstances, the party transferring the obligation, ought to be willing to remain personally obligated, until the obligation transferred be liquidated, if so required by the party with whom he transacts. He disposes of a piece of property, which brings him its value; if there is a question as to the absolute validity of the pledge which represents this property, the question ought to be set at rest in express terms. But, in general, I apprehend, that the best way of effecting this object, is to create some new obligation apart from the original document. The act of obligating one's self, where admitted danger is incurred, requires deliberation, it places both parties in circumstances that may render very specific and circumstantial limitations, as to the extent of the risk incurred, necessary. In general, the

party receiving a bill might, with propriety, require from him who passes it, an express obligation equivalent to a validating indorsation; admitting his obligation to the extent of the sum implied in the transferred obligation, in case that obligation should not be liquidated; and I can see no good reason, why this separate obligation should not be couched in such terms, as to infer as immediate execution, as in the case of an indorsation. All that I contend for, therefore, is, that in ordinary cases, this obligation form no part of the original note of hand, that it be only effective in the hands of the party who receives it, and that its obligancy cease if not forthwith, in a bona-fide manner, enforced, and that of course it form no constituent part of the process of transfer or circulation. Hereby, neither party can receive from the other, any injury or disparagement; hereby, no obligation can be circulated otherwise than on its own intrinsic strength. By this simple regulation, also, many evils, to which multiplied acts of parliament do not at all reach, would be remedied most completely.

It is evident, that there are necessarily a multitude of cases, in which it is no ways necessary to resort with these dormant obligations. In regard to bankers, it is their business to circulate accredited paper, and therefore their express obligation may accompany every bill that passes through their hands, without at all disparaging prior obligants. In the case of foreign bills of exchange, a special exception from the general rule is, as has been already

noticed, indispensible, not only from the nature of the case, but from the general circumstances connected therewith. With regard to unaccepted drafts on London, and indeed, with regard to all bankers drafts, and drafts for special purposes, in which the drawer is held to be the principal party, the general rule may be preserved without any inconvenience, merely by having the term "*recourse being always had on*," placed immediately after the words, "*value received*," in the face of the draft. In these, however, and in all cases, wherein responsibility is implicated, it seems to be indispensibly necessary, to have the designation and place of residence of the person obligating himself, engrossed in the obligation. The great object of indorsation being held to be a warrant simply as to import and not at all as to validity, any thing beyond this warrant ought to be most distinctly set forth.

It is impossible to dismiss this part of the subject without adverting more particularly to two corollaries that have already been hinted at, as necessarily flowing from the creation of these separate counter-obligations. These obligations it will be remembered, serve only to warrant to the party in whose hands they are lodged, the validity of these notes to which they refer. One of these corollaries is, that these counter-obligations ought not to be transferable. It is competent to every one who wishes to give his responsibility along with his indorsation to do this, in express terms, upon the bill itself; but it is altogether improper to permit the

circulation of indirect obligations, that may be effective or latent in the option of those who hold them. The other corollary is, that these counter-obligations should only have effect, by delivering, within a short limited time, and in a *bona fide* manner, the principal bill along with the accessory obligation. If a person is compelled to refund a particular sum, it is proper, that the instrument which represents the sum, should be put into his hands, in order that he may be able to operate his own relief, in the same, or in some other way: and if he does not do this directly and immediately, it is proper to understand, that he departs from the warrant which he holds. Accompanied with these advantages, the general plan, besides relieving the process of commercial intercourse from the perils inseparable from the circulation of fictitious paper, precluding pernicious and unnecessary commercial entanglements, and, when accompanied with suitable provisions, maintaining reproductive establishments, in a state of comparative independence, must conduce much to the relief of those in embarrassed circumstances, and to the amelioration of bankrupt subjects. As things stand at present, the holders of obligations distrain from all obligated, as much as these can pay, and they make the total sum bear with full force upon each obligant successively; according to the proposed plan, however, none who are not expressly pledged thereto, can be at all assessed, without the delivery of the original obligation, which necessarily imports similar means of redress to the person obligated. It is evident, there-

fore, that following out these regulations, direct responsibility will seldom be enforced, and when inforced, will seldom be so pernicious as it now is.

Although these are simple, they are on the whole highly effective provisions; they tend to produce caution and hesitation in the formation of obligations; as such, they must not only interpose weighty obstacles to that concretion of property, which arises out of the complication and multiplicity of obligations; but they must fix down the public attention to the principles of fair dealing, and render economy and assiduity in the application of accessible resources indispensibly necessary; while they preserve individuals and establishments necessarily in a state of comparative independence, and contribute powerfully to preserve the means of society from the depredations of unprincipled adventurers.

It is proper, however, in order to preclude misapprehension respecting the operation of the above rules, to take a closser and nearer view of their character and tendency. In regard to the rules now in existence, it is evident, that they are productive of some salutary effects. In the first place, they serve to bear up the value of all circulable obligations, at one certain par; whereby, the resources of persons of all ranks, may be steadily brought forward into regular action, and their full imported value may be circulated, upon equal conditions; for those trifling commissions that are paid to established bankers, scarcely deserve to be named; they

barely defray the unavoidable expences of such establishments, and they are always cheerfully accorded as a fair compensation for the accommodation thereby procured. Secondly, these advantages serve to bring forward numbers of enterprising and deserving individuals, who, without this facility of accrediting their circulable obligations, could never obtain the funds necessary for maturing their projects. Thirdly, it is out of this source that our commercial and financial systems are constantly recruited; it is, by its influence, that the energies and resources of the nation, are kept in a state of constant progression, notwithstanding the multiplied and tremendous disasters and overthrows that so frequently assail them. So that, in fact, it seems necessary to follow, that it is out of the facilities for creating accrediting, and circulating definite obligations, that all our acquirements, social and civil, arise and subsist.

Let us not, however, allow ourselves to become bewildered with the immensity of these appearances. We know that the equality, maintained in circulable paper, is procured at a price that far exceeds the value of the advantage thus procured. It is unnecessary to notice, the commissions writhed by usurers from needy holders of obligations, as premiums for money advanced, and even for bare indorsations; for the monopolizing grasp of the leading classes of the community, in effect, almost entirely absorbs every benefit arising from this leading advantage, in the present system. But must not the advan-

tage itself be held to be illusory, and at the best to be dearly purchased, that is procured by binding up the fate of individuals in most opposite situations of life? which, in the end, tends to render the judicious substantial trader, amenable for the transactions of the desperate adventurer; and which, implicating vast and unbounded hazard, under the mask of accommodation, subjects all to one fatality; protruding establishments of the most essential importance, into the abyss prepared for those that are reared on the spur of some transient occasion? It is in vain, in such circumstances, to point to the number of individuals, buoyed out of their native station, and rewarded with a temporary eclat; these, for the most part, are raised aloft, only, that their plunge into destruction may be the more remarkable. The station which they occupy, is, for the most part, attained by the delodgement of others, whose fate they must soon follow; it is seldom attended with much tranquillity or happiness, and when its advantages fail, it generally corrupts and embitters enjoyment through the subsequent part of life. The sources of prosperity may again be thrown open, the course of improvement may systematically go on, but who that observes the insecure and precarious tenure, by which the advantages therefrom proceeding are held, can do otherwise than pity the race of men that are immersed in its streams?

Let us next turn our attention to the proposed alterations. It is evident, that these do not destroy the peculiar advantage of the present rules, though

they circumscribe and modify them. That they are not equally conducive to the preservation of obligations in circulation, at par, can scarcely be asserted. Their object is to drive out of the circle all obligations that do not deserve a place in it; for it is neither their object nor their tendency to admit any circulable obligations, into the process of intercourse, that could sink below par. They cannot prevent that expansion of the state of individuals that is conducive to prosperity, although they may retard the progress of this expansion, until individuals shall have matured and established themselves in this state. As these alterations all serve to stamp a real value on every obligation that arises out of them, by rendering the condition of all the individuals obligated, more secure and independent than formerly; as they tend not only to diminish the force of general misfortune, when the means of individuals cannot support the weight of their obligations, but to retain out of its range, the means necessary for renovating the condition of society and the face of the country; so when the force of any general and unavoidable misfortune shall have spent itself, the proposed rules will appear to have preserved much more effectually than the former ones, the seeds and springs of future prosperity. A plenitude of the medium of exchange, universally validated, and supported in this validity by means that render it irrefragable, it must be noticed, is always at hand, prepared for use, and ready for service. In consequence of the independence and influence thereby secured in favor of steady enterprize, the whole

foreground may be expected to be occupied by those who can maintain their station there, with power and consistency, and who can bring back to their country, the full value of the whole fruits of its general industry, not only unimpaired, but in high condition. In consequence of such acquisitions, all the subordinate classes of society may safely calculate on receiving returns correspondent to their claims and rights, respectively. Industry will be rewarded, its fruits will bear their full value, and this value will reach our coffers in its full tale. Hence, those, in whose favor these fruits are produced, will hold their properties upon the most solid and secure basis. Such advantages far transcend that of being raised above one's proper level, in order to enjoy the intoxication of a few ephemeral pleasures and honours. On the whole, we may presume, that both the holder of property, and the really industrious and deserving man, must be alike benefited, by having the foreground of enterprize, thus prepared for the use of persons of substantial means and experience. That this ground must be placed in favorable circumstances for such, cannot be doubted; and so long as inducements and incitements suitable to men possessed of wealth can be procured, so long as fixed can be advantageously converted into circulable property, so long also may our general attention to mercantile affairs, and our success in these affairs be calculated on, and so long will the ground of enterprize be honorably and profitably occupied, and the great battles of the industrious be fought and maintained by men ca-

pacitated to fight these battles, and to meet all their consequences. Towards this object, the general strength of the nation will gradually be drawn; and, in the end, the post of greatest danger may be so fortified and defended, as, in effect, to become that position, that shall eventually be the most secure.

But while we suppose so much solicitude to be exercised in depressing improper assumptions of financial importance, and such pointed measures to be adopted for the purpose of delivering the process of general exchange, from the intervention of fallacious representations of real value, we must remember, that commercial intercourse, cannot possibly subsist, without a proportionate extension and consolidation of commercial confidence. It may be proper to circumscribe the operations of this principle, by divesting it of all extrinsic and unnecessary influence; to moderate its movements and operations, by resolving these as frequently as possible into objects of real wealth and substantial value; and to regulate that progression of improvement that arises out of it, by frequent appeals to the rational perceptions that accord with independent circumstances. It must be recollected, however, that the more extended our powers of reproduction are, the greater ought the facilities for distributing the fruits of these powers, and realizing their value to be; and that the more secure and stable the process of distributing these fruits and realizing their value is, the greater must our confidence in these results become. Our capacities, for profiting by all these

things, must at the same time be augmented; our speculations on the produce of these capacities must, in like manner, extend themselves; our commercial intercourse, our financial operations, and every variety of confidential transaction, must all, also, be severally augmented. And the truth is, as it is into increased accession of mercantile prowess, that successful enterprize, in the way of business, tends to resolve itself; (and it is into this object, that the above system must be held to resolve itself,) we cannot but perceive plainly that before any considerable lapse of time, the whole advantages resulting from these validated impledgements, will be resolved into this object. Upon the strength of that financial basis, which the mercantile adventurer shall upraise for himself, his undertakings will be laid, and upon that basis they will have stretched themselves amidst extended fields of fresh enterprize; wherein, if duly supported, they will find resources and energies, to bear them up in every part of their progress. Do we not here discern some coincidence betwixt our existing system, and that which we consider as the general result of the above measures? and do not both necessarily give rise to these financial establishments which we call banks. There, the value of all circulable wealth is weighed and ascertained; and therefrom that value is drawn out, in those proportions, and on those occasions, that serve best the purposes of the community. To the establishment of banks, therefore, since our circumstances necessarily lead us; to them as impressed

by the proposed plan, it is proper that we now briefly animadvert.

Let it, in the first place, be distinctly understood that the financial establishments, in favor of which we suppose the validated impledgements circulated as the standard of value, to have been created, to be no other but *banks;* for as banks have a direct advantage in circulating impledgements, we must suppose, that they will always be well disposed to seize upon every opportunity of procuring validated ones. It is necessary, however, that those who emit impledgements, should be under a positive obligation to receive them back, whenever, the course of circulation is at all burdened with their weight. But these impledgements must be received as the ultimate resolution of all wealth, as the instrument of exchange which no one can with impunity refuse; must we therefore consider these bankers as under any obligation to take back their own validated paper, and to return either bullion, or other impledgements? The very surplusage of the instrument of exchange, which we suppose to have taken place in the market, evinces the impropriety of this; it does not call for another medium or for bullion; it calls for the absorption of some part of the medium already in circulation, for the substitution of some instrument that will enable the bearer to procure it again at pleasure, with that interest which is the proper fruit of money, and not for the intervention of any other circulable object whatever. It is proper, therefore, that one of the condi-

tions, laid upon those who have the intention of converting fixed into circulable property, should be, that the establishment, in favor of which this conversion is made, should be obliged to receive back their impledgements, and to re-discharge their amount, with the usual bank interest for the period during which these may have been deposited, at the pleasure of the holder.

In order to give validity and importance to these promissory oligations, I would stipulate still farther, as a previous measure to the distribution of validated impledgements, not only that the above conditions should form constitutional articles in these banking establishments, but that these establishments should, as a preliminary step, assign over into the hands of the great financial board, constituted as aforementioned, real property, for the financial business that is thus left out for the occupation of unvalidated retributive impledgements, equal in value to the property formerly mortgaged. For instance, a banking house allowed to procure on the faith of £90,000 of landed property, validated impledgements to the extent of £60,000, behoved, in the first place, to assign over to the financial board, above constituted, not only the above property in relief of the £60,000 of validated impledgements; but property of a new description, of equal value with that previously mortgaged, which new property, together with the reversion of the former property, would remain in security of the unvalidated retributive impledgements. The personal

obligations of the individual partners in banking establishments, being implied in all these different kinds of obligations: and recourse on the property mortgaged for all costs, being in every case of need, prepared to follow without difficulty, the one species of obligation, would rest on as secure a footing as the other. The whole would receive redoubled strength from this circumstance, that bankers, in carrying on their business, to the extent necessary to meet all these incumberances, would find it necessary to employ a vast capital afloat. To procure therefore the privilege of circulating validated impledgements, must be no easy matter; to oppress the community with the instrument of exchange, or to endanger the progress of improvements, must be accordingly altogether out of the question. The resolubility of these retributive impledgements, and of all other unvalidated notes and obligations, must be admitted to be, in like manner, removed at the greatest possible distance from either difficulty or danger.

It has already been remarked, that it would be highly proper to run off the validated impledgements, in a gradual manner; so as to set forth, in its true light, the real value of these securities possessed by the public, in relief of the circulating medium; and so as to discharge the properties mortgaged, at stated periods. However adequate the property impledged may be to the burden which it supports, it is necessary for us, occasionally, to have before us certain displays of its value;

and however regularly its incrementive and productive qualities may advance, it is desirable that these should occasionally be laid fully open to improvement. This it may be observed, however, is not only a matter of manifest importance, but one, in the management of which, much delicacy is necessary. It will be recollected, that it is from these banking establishments, that the financial supplies of commercial and industrious processes are drawn; and that it is upon the regularity of these supplies that their movements depend. If any thing, therefore, like trepidation or confusion should arise in the accomplishment of this object, in that of removing out of way one set of impledgements, and supplying their place, with a fresh set on a new basis, much serious mischief might ensue. It may indeed be impossible to suspect, that an overthrow of any banking establishment itself in the circumstances supposed, could take place; for the foundation provided for it, like the broad basis of a lofty pyramid, precludes all hazard as to the absolute stability of its obligations; but in case of any difficulty in arranging the business of particular establishments, there might be some confusion, which might render it necessary for them to curtail their discounts; a contingency, which, in certain instances, might go far to disarrange the general system of improvement going on in their particular districts. The importance of removing every inconveniency, and of obviating every difficulty, in the complicated operation of repledging the medium, thence appears.

But this object most happily, has already been fully provided for, by the regulations now held to be adopted. If it is one of the primary articles, in the constitution of these financial establishments, that each of these shall mortgage a double set of properties, the whole means necessary for this purpose may be held to have been completely secured. The property, mortgaged in immediate relief of the validated impledgements, is set aside on such principles, as to render it directly effective in relief of these, in every case of need. The other, set aside in security of general obligations, and comprehending the reversion of the first mentioned property, is also attachable, as an ultimate resource. Possessed of these advantages, every banking establishment must have at its disposal, the whole means necessary for procuring right to a new set of impledgements, whenever these shall be awanting; and to be already, a great length, advanced in the way of obtaining possession of them, as they may become due. At maturity it is only necessary to meet the impledgements running off, by fresh impledgements, attained on the credit of the property formerly mortgaged; and to drop into the mass of security, a weight of property held for the general obligations, equal to that which had been removed from it, to the relief of the new validated impledgements. In this case, the affair balances itself; for the diminution and increase are made by one and the same operation; so that the affairs of each establishment, may move and circulate upon the basis of their own effective strength. For all its

engagements, the public would hold in security, first, the heritable mortgages in relief of the validated impledgements, above mentioned, and next, the means that may be resorted to, in case of need, comprising not only banking capital, but hereditary effects, through all of which, the validated impledgements may run, in virtue of the personal obligation they are held to comprehend.

It is evident, that by rendering it thus necessary to bring forward property and resources, for the service of the public, a double advantage is created, over and above that of establishing the public confidence, thus firmly, regarding the responsibility of these financial institutions; for the foregoing plan represses the claims of those, who, without any real occasion for it, would burden the course of exchange, by converting their fixed into circulable property, and it advances commercial credit to its natural respected situation. These are both most important objects; because it is quite possible to suppose, that, in certain circumstances, the process of financial intercourse might be overwhelmed by a profusion of impledgements, and, because it is certain, that, in all circumstances, our enterprizes and undertakings must proceed chiefly on ground which commercial confidence may provide for them. The credit, bestowed by merchants upon each other, is a principle, which increases in strength along with the wealth that it transfuses; when well regulated and duly supported, it serves the ordinary offices of a medium of exchange, without inferring any

disproportionate burden or risk to counterbalance this advantage; and it necessarily retreats of its own accord within appropriate bounds, whenever its offices can be dispensed with. It will be recollected, that it belongs to the financial board now held to be constituted, to watch over the rise and fall of this, as one of the means of financial intercourse, and that it therefore becomes it to digest the above and every other consequent provision, in such a manner, as to make these bear directly upon this object, in that way, which may be most conducive to general advantage.

Still, however, much remains to be done, in the view of relieving the general process of financial intercourse from an unnecessary load of validated impledgements. To advance the character, and consolidate the constitution of banking establishments, to render it necessary for those who would erect these, to transfer into them wealth and high respectability, as already proposed, must conduce alike to the confirmation of the general system of finance now held forth, to the suavity of the general movements of this system, and to the repression of abuse in all its various departments and offices. It must be recollected, however, that a vast plan of improvement is supposed to be going forward, and that there is much reason to expect that the claims of individuals to institute such establishments, may become so multiplied, and be so nearly alike, that it may be feared, either that the general course of exchange may be ultimately overloaded with financial

emissions, or that the great financial board itself, foreseeing the danger of this, may make its selections among those competing for the privilege of setting up banking establishments, in a way, that will be pernicious alike to the morals and to the interests of society. This circumstance suggests the propriety of levying a tax upon these impledgements, proportioned to the advantages connected with the power of uttering them. Thereby, the profits of these establishments must be brought down to a proper level; and thereby, the amount of the impledgements emitted, must be circumscribed within reasonable limits; our necessities will draw out our emissions, as they draw forth our labor and solicitude, to their appropriate boundaries; emolument, sufficient to form a fair compensation for the trouble and risk incurred, must still be left in the hands of the utterers; but this compensation being once ascertained and fully secured, the general good requires, that all unnecessary allurements and facilities, for the creation and circulation of impledgements, should be withdrawn.

Here, therefore, we perceive that, by the above scheme, not only a great mass of public resources, but a vast fund of public revenue has been provided. I apprehend that the paper currency, now circulated within the united kingdom, cannot be less than sixty or seventy millions. Taking along with us the vast accession of wealth and means, acquired in the developement of national power and wealth, under a system, whereof individual advancement and in-

dependence are the necessary results, together with the facility thus held to be obtained for the universal application of the medium of exchange, in adjusting every species of claim; I apprehend that this amount must soon be extended to one hundred millions. The medium, it will be recollected, passes not only between master and servant, landlord and tenant, but betwixt husband and wife, father and son, who frequently, in the capacity of merchants, tell down, in the current standard, the appreciated value of their claims on each other. In such circumstances, the demand for the instrument of exchange, cannot but be very great, and as the advantages connected with the power of uttering it, must be proportionable, I apprehend that at least two millions sterling, might be annually raised by stamp duties on validated impledgements, over and above the sum necessary for defraying every general public expence; and this, without at all disparaging the stamp duties that are at present levied. When it is considered, not only, that this revenue may be raised without traversing any one set of interests whatever, but that it arises out of a scheme, which necessarily produces much real and essential, public and private good, an argument in support of our general system of finance, of the most powerful and substantial nature is obtained *.

* Out of the circumstances in which these validated impledgements are placed, I apprehend there arises a mode of fabricating the notes by which they are represented, that in some measure precludes the possibility of forging these notes. Let it be assumed, that paper of a consistency and tenacity, and ink of a

That the above measure would have a direct tendency to restrain the emission of validated impledgements, within appropriate bounds, cannot

durability and tensity, sufficient for the purpose can be procured, and that engravers of very great and peculiar powers, in the execution of highly finished pieces of etching, can be found in numbers adequate to the object in view. With such advantages, let it be supposed, in the first place, that in place of that useless ceremony of giving to the paper, what is called the water mark, a strong and vivid impression of the royal arms, with the denomination of the token circulated, above, and that of the duty imposed on it below, were severally stamped upon each note; the whole impression being so large as to cover one third of the paper, and so accurately designed, as to arrest the attention of all through whose hands it might pass. In the next place, let an engraving be procured, by which government declared the conditions on which this note was circulated, and let the impression of this be taken off in *pale blue* ink. This legend might be highly decorated, and—after setting forth its authoritative circulation, and the guarantee appended to it, the value of the token circulated, and the district, for the service of which it was calculated, together with the period within which its circulation is to be permitted, and the office whence it is issued, and in which it will finally be resolved—let the necessary government officers inscribe with *yellow* ink, upon each note, as its current number, the amount to which the note, then put into circulation raises, in a consecutive series, the sum circulated by that office—and thereafter subscribe their names and offices with the *same* ink. In this state I would understand the validated impledgements to be delivered to the financial establishments. Upon these, accordingly, it would become incumbent upon these establishments to adhibit, in technical terms, their whole engagements to the public. This, however, I would have done in *jet black* ink, transverse upon the adhibition of government, with the numbers and subscriptions all in *red* ink: which last, being in *pale blue* ink, with the signatures in *yellow*, and running up and down, would no ways impair the effect of the principal adhibition.

be doubted. There is, however, another provision, that has already been hinted at, which must tend to reduce the whole matter to still greater pre-

Here, accordingly, we have various checks sufficient to repel the audacity of the most desperate forger. First, there is the difficulty of forming the paper and its stamps; next, there is the the variety of colours of ink, which would render no less than four applications of the plate necessary, to forge any one single note: besides this, there is the consummate workmanship and materials to be combated. To these difficulties, the traverse position of the different legends, giving points of contact at crossing, which might, in some measure, set at defiance the powers of imitation, would render the aggregate labour so complicated that no conceivable degree of skill and accuracy, could preclude discovery.

In order that the utterers of such notes, might have a sufficient inducement to bestow upon them the most superlative kind of materials and workmanship, it would, in the circumstances in which we suppose these financial establishments to be placed, be proper, to extend the period of the currency of their notes, to eight or ten years, (it being obvious, that all the circumstances of the establishment ought to be calculated on enlarged conceptions,) and to exact a penalty equal to the value of the stamp and the remanent current interest of the note, from every one who presented a note in a mutilated or defaced condition. In order, however, that an effectual check on every thing, that has the appearance of being uncandid or illiberal in the conduct of these establishments, might be repressed, it would also be proper, that the great financial board should have the power to take full cognisance of these validated impledgements, and in cases of negligence or abuse, to issue orders to any establishment to withdraw impledgements out of the circle. At all events it would be indispensably necessary, to provide that every attempt to issue notes that were defaced and mutilated, subjected the parties so doing, to a penalty, and to make it a species of felony, to utter a single note after the period of its cur-

cision; I refer to the restriction of the authoritative circulation of validated paper to certain districts of country, generally comprizing several contiguous counties. This provision, it must be noticed, behoved to be modified in two different ways. First, as it must be of considerable importance to banking establishments, as well as to the public, to be able occasionally to resort to validated paper, circulable all over the united kingdom, each establishment ought to be furnished with a certain proportion of its impledgements, (mostly of the higher denomination,) in this universally circulable state. Secondly, although the authoritative circulation of validated impledgements ought to be restricted within a certain territory, yet the option, which the public must always have, of passing and receiving these impledgements as ordinary circulatory paper, ought to be no ways impaired. In certain districts of country, validated impledgements might accidentally become superabundant; in others, these might become deficient; it is therefore both reasonable and proper, that parties thus situated should be allowed mutually to meet one another's wants, in so far as they themselves are disposed so to do. This, perhaps, would not happen very frequently, for I apprehend, that by a careful examination of the reports prepared to our hands, respecting the

rency expired. These powers may, at first view, appear to concur too much with arbitrary domination; but, it must be recollected, that the authority of parliament, and the scrutinizing eye of a jealous public, on every side, watch over the procedure of that council, whose powers are held to be thus extended.

population, trade, and general industry and intercourse of each district, conjoined with the authoritative returns of public imposts, in all their varied kinds, something like a graduating scale might be made out, *a priori*, of the quantity of the circulating medium that was requisite in each district; but whether this could be done or not, it is evident, that by keeping the character and circumstances of each district, steadily in our eye, and giving way gently to the general impulse of its demands, a very considerable degree of accuracy might soon be attained; sufficient, under the limitations aforenoticed, to preserve the most exact regularity, in the circulatory process, if not of each district, at least, in that of the whole united kingdom at large. This, it must be noticed, is a matter of vast importance, for the greatest improvement and advancement would be dearly enough purchased, if attained at the price of an unequal acceptation of the common instrument of exchange, within the same kingdom.

The direct consequence of thus providing every particular district of our territory, with a validated circulation peculiar to itself, and thus endowing it amply with the means necessary for enabling its inhabitants to profit to the utmost of the great course of improvement, held to be set in motion around them, I apprehend, would be, a very general excitation of the whole energies of the nation, and a harmonious developement of the resources of every district in the kingdom. The general wealth of

the country, now pent up within the capital, and sparingly transfused amongst a few central cities, would be brought into high operation, and would increase with the extension of the means upon which it might be exercised. In place of corrupting the propensities, and debilitating the stamina of the body-politic as it is too apt to do at present, it would renovate the character, and invigorate the general system of the nation; it would draw forth into action the most dignified faculties of our nature, it would give ample employment for our highest power and talents, and abundant gratification to our most virtuous dispositions. The face of the whole country would be improved, its fields would be crowned with the most exuberant productions of nature, and its cities embellished with the noblest works of art; within every district, its appropriate processes of reproduction would be set fully in motion, improved and extended to the utmost. Each of these processes would maintain around it correspondent and connected establishments; an organization of society, and a concatenation of objects suited to all these circumstances, would thence be constituted. Central cities, with their peculiar casts of character and refinement, would be everywhere multiplied and increased. These cities, the receptacle of the industrious and enterprizing, the certain harbingers and supporters of improvement, in the various departments of agriculture, and in our more refined and exalted avocations, would become no less splendid and magnificent in their aspect, than wealthy and powerful in their condition. Over

all these, individuals, of high mental prowess, and of vast force of character, would shed a resplendent lustre, and with their long train of friends and dependents, they would dignify and re-animate all the pursuits of social life. A general advancement in the arts and enjoyments of life, and an analogous elevation of temper and of conduct, would thence come to prevail. These various attainments, together with the means necessary for supporting and unfolding high moral and intellectual improvement, would thence be gradually fixed in establishments and institutions, which would give a consistency and force, as well as a stability and perpetuity to the blessings thus provided, sufficient to render the whole organism of human society at once supremely beautiful, and transcendently majestic.

It must be carefully noticed, however, that such advantages have no necessary connexion with the foregoing, nor indeed, with any financial scheme, when taken by itself, however perfect and comprehensive that scheme may be. A financial scheme, simply considered, serves its end, when it enables individuals to represent their property with promptitude, and to commute it readily, when requisite, for other marketable objects; and it is evident, that this advantage may be possessed, without at all ameliorating the condition of society. Nay, when the state of a community has become stationary or retrograde, this very advantage may contribute to its corruption: abundance of financial means will contribute to waft the substantial wealth of a commu-

ty, amongst the sons of adventure more readily ; and it will afford more frequent opportunities to the profligate and desperate, to writhe from the virtuous and respectable, the means by which their station and character are upheld. It is only where the seeds of improved industry and of profitable enterprize are plentifully sown, that a plenitude of circulable means can do any good ; it is by approximating to these their appropriate reward, that the public energies thus called forth, can be confirmed. It is requisite that these energies, under this advantage, should be profitably exercised upon the common resources of a nation ; and then the office of a scheme of finance is, to accommodate this progression of things, to the circumstances of that nation. This will appear abundantly obvious, if we consider that it is the province of the medium of exchange, to appropriate to all, their respective share of every public good ; and to do this in consideration of the contribution that each can bring into the public stock. The greatest property, therefore, which such a scheme can possess, is, to do this business harmoniously, and in coincidence with existing circumstances ; for it is by the developement of these circumstances thereby produced, and not by the funds which influence these circumstances, that the condition of a community is formed. A good financial system, indeed, facilitates the movements of the wealth of a community amongst its members, and makes this wealth at all times to carry along with it its relative value ; but before any substantial and universal good can thereby be

procured, this value must not only be borne out, but it must circulate amidst an abundance of objects of corresponding value: in circulating, it must also call forth, and bear forward the energies of men, and the resources of the country, towards the procurement and the improvement of the objects requisite, in such a way, that its influence may be maintained without difficulty over the widest possible range of things.

The great point of superiority in the proposed scheme of finance, above that which now exists, may therefore be held to consist in its comprising under its influence, a vast expanse of general improvement, in its being most intimately combined therewith, in its being completely adapted to, and coincident with, the movements of that progression of things that is thus set forward, and in its tending constantly to resolve every advantage and every attainment into the augmentation and concentration of this progression. As the rapidity and facility of applying every resource, and every energy to its respective object, becomes, in such circumstances, a most important and most valuable consideration, so all these qualities in the proposed scheme of finance, give it, in the existing state of things, the highest claims upon our immediate regard. It will be recollected, that the medium of exchange, is alike needful in maintaining personal and social independence, and in developing the powers which these implicate; and that this independence and developement are essentially ne-

cessary to the beneficent and ameliorating system in which we are emerged. It will be noticed too, that this whole progression of improvement is held to be thoroughly pervaded by the principles, spirit and temper of our holy religion ; to be accommodated to the social and civil organization with which we are connected, and to have for its object the advancement of the character of the individual as well as that of the community ; that it is besides to be considered as completely furnished with appropriate provisions, and as concentrated and organized in institutions and establishments, which must give to its movements redoubled efficacy. May we not therefore hope, that the operations and influence of the advantages induced, will be subtile as well as sublime, forcible as well as expansive, and that the blessings resulting from these will be both substantial and stable, both multiplied and comprehensive ?

That industry and enterprize are noways inconsistent with the highest displays of every virtue, is a position, to which our age furnishes abundance of testimony. In our provincial towns, which not only had their origin in the humble avocations of life, but which still rest implicitly on the succesful prosecution of these for their maintenance and prosperity, we perceive, in spite of the vacillations to which the affairs of these are subjected, numerous displays of a dignified and beneficent character conjoined with the merest exhibitions of burgage wealth and power. There also, an elevation of mind, and a force of character, harmonized with the

meekest and most devoted attention to the most minute relative duties, are not unfrequently displayed. Amidst the bustle of business, and the confusion of transactions, a simplicity and chasteness of taste in the decorative arts, and a comprehensive power over those subjects, wherein genius and high intellectual talent are necessary, are also to be found. Nor are the sweets of domestic comfort, nor the unsophisticated delights of primeval felicity, at all banished from the recesses of our dusky cities. A superior relish for rural enjoyment, and a more vigorous application to agricultural improvement, are occasionally the direct results of long and arduous plodding in the overburdened storehouse; and a high sense of moral obligation, nurtured in the direct road to gain, there, too, sometimes appears in all its native beauty. Whence do these inestimable advantages arise? Is it not from the glowing mildness of our holy religion, and from the invaluable institutions whereby this mildness is unfolded and exercised. Its spirit and its principles never forsake its votaries; nor do they ever fail to lead them to the highest use of all their advantages; it teaches man, in every condition, to respect himself; it prepares a sanctuary for his griefs; it expands his best propensities; and it furnishes motives and views that raise men above difficulties and obstructions. It is into the service of this system, that our great scheme resolves itself; the plenitude of provisions, and the ample range for exercising our powers as connected therewith, cannot but be alike

conducive to the prosperity and the improvement of a nation thus situated.

I am aware that there are multitudes to whom all those high results of the system now proposed, will appear to be of little moment. Elevated above the disasters that befal others, some individuals feel their complacency in their own condition, augmented by the contrast of surrounding calamities. Others, in circumstances that enable them to profit by general misfortune, congratulate themselves on every facility by which they can the more readily appropriate to their own use, the means of their neighbours; while a third class, perhaps far more numerous than both—either become indurated amidst continued disappointments to every thing that does not immediately affect their own concerns, or so untutored in their apprehension of things, as not to perceive the indissoluble connexion that subsists betwixt general and individual prosperity,—not only shut their eyes upon the blessings that flow from universal improvement, but perversely traduce and vilify every plan and measure, by which this end can be promoted. These different classes are on the whole, perhaps, no less formidable from their influence, than from their numbers. Although, therefore, it is not my business, either to meet the fastidious objections of the merely capricious, nor to accommodate my views to the oblique perceptions that arise out of a diseased temper of soul, it is not proper to dismiss this subject, without extricating the great principles of our social union, and the cha-

racter of the leading institutions by which this union is upheld, from the degrading influence that is sometimes exercised over them by these personages. To enter into any elaborate exposition of the fallacy and unworthiness of these misconceptions happily is not now necessary, for after what has been already stated, a very few plain considerations will abundantly display both their absurdity and their wickedness.

Let it be remembered, that all the blessings and advantages, which we individually enjoy, result from the strength and harmony of social improvement. Labor, until it is combined and concentrated, is neither very powerful nor very productive; but when it is advanced by the force of genius and enterprize, it involves every human concern within its influence; the character and circumstances of our friends, connexions, and dependents, the substantial use and importance of every object that surrounds us, have at length become enveloped in a progression of improvement, and are more or less valuable to us, according as this progression can be made to bear upon our circumstances, with more or less advantage. It is under this influence, that all our affairs are ameliorated, and rendered coincident with our views and desires; and it is hence, that our characters and deportment, our circumstances and condition, both as individuals and as societies, are severally advanced and improved. Besides this, is it not by the renovations that go on around us, that our intellectual powers, and moral perceptions, are

fully compressed and drawn up under the institutions of our country? Do not these, and does not the form of society comprize attainments, that are essential to the education, as well as to the happiness of the individual? Under what influence are even our private attainments exercised and unfolded? Is it not under that of surrounding improvement, the elements of which have been already instituted, and in the virtue of which they must unavoidably participate? Every attainment, therefore, private as well as public, tends constantly to resolve itself into others of a higher cast, and to prepare for our service, means and objects of continually augmenting value and importance? Thus it appears, that as it is in the concatenated strength of the whole nation, that the security of each individual of that nation consists; so it is by the energy of the aggregate improvement of society at large, that that of its individual members must be measured; and it is through the influence of this aggregate improvement, that the amelioration of every individual is augmented and extended. This is the great plan of nature, and one of the brightest displays of that plan; it is by contributing to ameliorate those around them, that individuals ameliorate themselves; and it is in proportion to the extent and importance of this general progression of amelioration, that the improvement of the character and condition of individuals is advanced. Every one who fixes his attention on these subjects, on the welfare of his friends, and on the general good of society, must perceive how very interesting these considerations are. They

risk the absolute degradation of all that is dear to them, who risk that of the community, in which they are implicated. To shut one's eyes against such objects, to steel one's heart against the sentiments they are calculated to produce; what is it, but to narrow the sensibilities of the soul, to fix them down to puerile indulgences; and not merely to subject our apprehension of things to the dictates of mere animal instinct, but to level to these apprehensions the whole faculties of our mind?

But, by giving way to selfish feelings and contracted notions of things, men not only deprive themselves of much positive advantage, and incur great moral turpitude; they thereby, also, either in their private capacities, or in those of their friends, associates and connexions, become the direct instruments of their own distress. The pressure of the taxes, the sumptuousness of the age, and the incumberances of domestic establishments, these, and the spirit of the times, serve all to draw off the means and resources of individuals; while the difficulty of finding situations, wherein our respective dependents may meet, in their own persons, their own exigencies, makes the whole weight thus induced, force forward into the fields of adventure, the greatest part of the community, either in a direct or in an indirect manner, and makes them involve their friends, and all the interests that these can carry along with them, in a labyrinth, wherein sudden and irremediable destruction frequently overwhelms the most secure. In such a state of things, can sel-

fishness be reputed prudential? Let it be remarked that these evils are not superficial or transitory; they are radical and progressive, they are forerunners and abettors of that system of coertion and concretion, which has been so much reprobated. It is not enough to say, that we are not under the domination of France, nor of French principles. It has long been the boast of the French ruler, that, without striking a blow at our country, he will at length bring it under military influence, and render our subjection to his tyrannical schemes, more and more unavoidable. Our standing armies, our accumulated public burdens, conjoined with general and incessant financial embarrassment, will, he thinks, speedily render coertion of the most extreme kind familiar to all of us; and thus make our complete absorption into his empire, not less tranquil than unevitable; so that, in the end, a change of dynasty and of constitution will be mere matters of form.

Indeed, if we attend to the nature of the case, we will perceive, that however different they may be in their operation, there is a wonderful coincidence betwixt the principles and results of the French system, and that of those to which we must remain subjected, in case no new field of enterprize, and no new financial provisions should be procured. It belongs to both of these systems, to destroy every institution and establishment that tends to support or advance individual or social independence. The French system accomplished this object, by over-

turning the throne and the altar, by converting the sceptre and the mitre into abject tools in the work of destruction, and by levelling with the ground every monument of power and genius to which violence could reach. Without raising its arm so high, our system would either bear down every thing respectable, or undermine its authority and stability. Both the one system and the other, in place of raising new and more glorious establishments, in the room of the old, (as some visionaries fallaciously imagined,) proceed to draw out into one vortex, the whole power and wealth of the community, and to place these unreservedly in the hands of the supreme ruler, whose power tends constantly to the most absolute concretion, and whose mode of exercising this power, always approaches, as nearly as possible, to simple coertion. Do we not see in these tendencies a system instituting wherein not merit, but corruption, in the competitor, must decide in his favor? do not we perceive numberless establishments and attainments, the result of much and incessant solicitude, taken piecemeal from the field of enterprize, and chained to the chariot wheel of irresponsible power? That noble field, wherein the claims of multitudes are decided by dint of high emulation, may soon be parcelled out amongst the privileged and the powerful; in which case, no stimulants, excepting those of coertion or corruption (these are of all others the most congenial to men in such circumstances,) will be capable of inducing those parties to give up the advantages which, with so lit-

tle benefit to themselves, and so much detriment to the public, they shall have capriciously usurped.

These considerations, in the view now before us, are all of the highest importance. Labor and occupation are necessary to the existence and happiness of the individual, not less as a mean for procuring him the means of subsistence, than as the immediate instruments for exercising and improving all the faculties of the soul. Every new step in the progress of social advancement, produces new objects of enterprize and solicitude, it relaxes the reins of concrete domination, it augments the blessings of social existence, and it gives to independent industry a general excitation; it is under such influence, that individuals are respectively disposed to do their duty to society. The prospect of participating in the general advantages of improvement, gives efficacy to what is done, and enables and induces men to put a full value on all the results of these exercitations. If, in the independence of individuals, a progression of improvement receives its support; it is in this progression also, that this independence is disclosed and exercised. Every thing accordingly that frustrates or impedes this independence, this progression of improvement, this social and individual advancement, like the levellings of the French democrats, dilapidates the energies and resources of a country, and prepares its means and resources for absorption into the hands of the supreme power; rendering the condition of individuals of all ranks, more and more

helpless and forlorn, and facilitating the erection of a concrete coercive state of things, wherein the capricious will of rulers may, without any appeal to the sense or conscience of men, both distribute and circumvent the means and powers of society; and wherein, of course, a calm morbid listlessness will take the place of generous and emulative competition. To enter more deeply into the argument, at present, is not at all necessary; the whole tenor of the preceding illustrations goes to shew the high importance of the rising propensities of our nature, and the multiplied evils that necessarily flow from the subversion of these propensities.

There is, however, another class of objectors to the preceding system, whose voice demands more of our regard, than those whom we may hold to be dismissed, because it accords more with the unsophisticated tone of human suffering. These have no fault to find with the system proposed, excepting only, that it embraces too many objects, that it appears to be too complex, and to imply in its execution not only much difficulty, but great and manifold danger. To overstrain the sinews of society, or to hazard its best interests, are objects, which, of all others, I would most avoid; but I have long been of opinion, that it is not only easier, but safer, to act according to principles, that are well founded, and that are extended on a proper scale, than to take up patches of amelioration at random. It must be recollected, however, that this is merely the developement of a project, and that the

developements of a project, are not to be rejected, merely, because these are carried forward and traced out from the root and from the stem. There can be no difficulty in admitting the advantages of this radical elucidation, when particular parts of the system are approved of; for if these parts are notonly amply set forth, but disclosed, as connected with a good root and branches, their full developement must on account of the plenitude of its disclosure be so much the more valuable: and if these points be but partially good, and partially applicable to their existing circumstances, the means of finding out and ascertaining deficiences and imperfections are, at least, to a certain extent, candidly set forth and illustrated. It is my own opinion, however, that the whole system, taken entire, is neither so difficult of apprehension, nor so arduous in the execution, as its extent seems to indicate. The principle of improvement, when confined to real and palpable objects, is not very complex in its operations. When regulated by the spirit of Christianity and feudal subordination, it can scarcely at all swerve from its ameliorating tendency. But the system, now set forth, not only proceeds under these influences, but it developes itself precisely in that way which is conformable to our real interests, as these are understood and defined by all intelligent and respectable men. In its progress it embraces all our circumstances, all our peculiarities, and all our great and leading concernments; these it assimulates to its nature, and bends towards great and appropriate ultimate

objects. It violates no received maxim or principle, it elucidates the different tracts in which these may with advantage be applied. The difficulties and embarrassments that necessarily attend its operation it carefully and pointedly obviates, and although, amidst the multitude of affairs which it embraces, there are no doubt many things that require amendment, nothing that deserves the name of perversity or misapplication, it is humbly conceived, has any place in its devolutions. That, however, the grand design, primarily in view, may be regularly followed out in the different great departments of our national economy, will also, it is apprehended, fully appear in the cursory survey of the most important of these that now follows.

It will be recollected, that the leading object, set forth at the commencement of this treatise, was to provide for the financial embarrassments, under which the country labors. These embarrassments, it was noticed, were of two kinds, those of the commercial world and those of the stock exchange; each of which, though affected by different principles, resolved themselves into an augmentation of the general financial difficulties of the nation, and thus rendered the necessity of adequate provisions for supporting the process of general intercourse, obvious to every one. An abundance of means, and a plenitude of power for increasing these means indefinitely, it was seen, so far from remedying the evil, rendered it greater. These, from the want of the general medium of distribution, were

either destined to perish, before their value could be realized, or so encumbered in their progress into the hands of the consumer, as to be of little general avail in the process of intercourse. The deficiency of the precious metals, originating in the circumstances of the times, and pressed upon the public mind by indiscreet politicians, it was shewn, was but incidental, and no more worthy of attention, than a multitude of other contingencies, whose operation was no less powerful and important, though more subtile and recondite. After traversing the established courses of industry and commerce, and sweeping off from the face of the earth, every person and object that opposed itself to his designs, the French ruler had at length succeeded in shutting against us the European markets, which, in our circumstances, was tantamount to preventing us from converting the most valuable productions of our industry into absolute and circulable wealth; and as this was done at the very time, that the transmission of such wealth into this depot, had, from our habits of consumption, become indispensibly necessary for us; so, besides despoiling us of a vast portion of our national means, this despot had thereby effectually enthralled under his domination, a great part of our reproductive industry; which, from the train in which its fruits must run, has at length become chained down under his destroying influence. In the course of the illustrations that were given in this view, it was shewn to be impossible for us, or for any nation that had not determined to sink itself into barbarism, to meet such policy

in a direct manner, by interfering with the occupations and engagements of those under its own authority, in the way of retaliation. And, as our circumstances are such, that we have little hopes of ever being able to counteract this destructive influence in those markets with which we have been connected, so long as the French power therein shall remain entire; so it has become necessary for us, forthwith, and by every mean within our power, to proceed to transfer our courses of improvement to distant and more favourable climes—to countries to which the French system does not reach; and in order to the attaining and securing of this object, to institute new and more extensive commercial and political connexions; whereto our habits of industry and consumption may become appended; and whereby a market, for realizing our commodities and productions, and for obtaining their appretiated value, in subjects of equal value to us, might become established.

In the course of the illustrations that were given in this view, the circumstances and character of our own processes of intercourse and reproduction, those of the ancients, and those of the various nations of Christendom, as also the relations, in which the different European powers now stand in respect to the general principles of our civil and social organization, were set forth in the most ample manner. A line of policy was thereafter drawn, for our future procedure, suited to our character and circumstances, and stretched forward in that course, which

it is evidently most proper for us to pursue, in regard to the various interests thus seen to be implicated in our affairs. In these illustrations, was necessarily comprised all our great political, commercial, and financial interests, carried forward in high progression, in a direction coincident with the public good. This line of policy, it afterwards appeared, not only coincided with the improvement and extension of all our reproductive processes, but with the advancement and amelioration of our individual and national character and condition, taken in the truest and most enlarged sense. The importance of each of these leading interests having rendered it necessary to delineate a particular plan or project, suited to their respective positions in the grand progression, the matter, which was thus introduced into the general scheme was brought forward, and illustrated, under one great leading design.

In the first place, in regard to our political interests, it was shewn, that it had become necessary for us to take a most liberal and extensive view of all our advantages, duties, and obligations; to form connexions, and to institute measures, correspondent with these; and, having thus prepared ourselves, to proceed with the most determined firmness and perseverance in that course which these things had unfolded. The importance of our naval superiority, the fallacy of neutral claims, and the great objects which superceded these, were thence taken into account. A plan was thereafter set forth, for harmonizing our maritime rights under

the influence of these paramount objects with those of neutral nations. As the particular state of the world, our local circumstances, and the various methods of communication, by which our affairs are resolved into those of Christendom at large, sufficiently evince the importance of those great European interests that can be made to bear on these most momentous, though much misapprehended, points; and as these circumstances taken in all their different relations, necessarily lead us to place certain common European rights and claims, on the foreground of our great scheme; wherefore, the interests of our ancient natural allies appeared as a counterpoise to the overgrown pretensions of our neutral friends. On the whole, it thence became evident, that it was proper for us, to take strong and decisive, as well as liberal and extensive views of our duty and obligations, and, in the way of harmonizing the general interests of all with whom we were necessarily led to form connexions, to be also necessary to keep steadily in our eye the great leading objects of our coalition. As the line, in which such principles move, necessarily leads all parties to the adoption of measures, coincident with the the ulterior views for which neutral claims are, by universal consent, held to be constituted; so, in the course of the developements that were set forth, the whole political and general interests of Christendom were illustrated and implicated within one great plan of social and national improvement.

It is proper to notice, however, that the great and

leading results of the plan, in this light, have not, and indeed, cannot be traced out at full length, without taking along with us a number of facts and circumstances that have not been yet brought under our review. But, in general, it must be noticed, that the plan now set forth carries the whole moral and physical energies of the British nation, into new and appropriate regions,—regions, wherein, the improvement and enterprize, to which their presence never fails to give rise, must do most essential service, not merely to the parties immediately affected, but to the world at large, and to the great cause in which we are nationally embarked. It is in the New World that the energies of our race can, at present, be most advantageously unfolded, and in unfolding themselves, send forth those means, for maintaining and defending the great cause in which we are embarked, that are so much wanted. It is here alone, that improvement and advancement, and expansion in every thing that is valuable, can be set fully and without hazard in high progression; and that the excitation necessary for calling forth and exercising corresponding improvement, advancement, and expansion, in the Old World, on a great scale, can be obtained. These attainments, it must be noticed, come all fully into the service of our belligerent and other great national concerns. Naval stores, necessary supplies of rude and precious commodities, and a population, prepared for giving effect to the great objects in view, the preserving from destruction the great institutions and establishments provisions and attainments of Chris-

tendom, and making these, severally, in their place, bear on the amelioration and improvement of the character and condition of men of every race, being thence to be procured, in the greatest abundance.

I am aware, that out of these very excellencies of the proposed system an objection arises, which, in our present circumstances, will appear to many to be unanswerable. If our countrymen at large are to be thus surrounded with high improvement, whence are our supplies of soldiers and of seamen to be drawn? If excitation to peaceful industry and regular enterprise be rendered thus strong and efficient, how are the various subordinate departments of life to be occupied? It is not necessary for me here to meet this objection in a direct manner; though it may be noticed that it must necessarily be obtempered by this consideration, that, in the most flourishing circumstances of society, there are always vast multitudes, who instinctively betake themselves to rude boisterous and hazardous employments, without any regular inducement or coertion. My answer, however, to this objection, is rested upon higher ground. Here, as in every other case of real urgency or necessity, when the ultimate object can be obtained by means that are fair, legitimate and appropriate, a change of measures, in correspondence with that of the general principles in operation, cannot be condemned; nay, it must be directly approved of. It is necessary, that these measures be coincident with the established character of the system; but being thus coincident, it is not needful that they meet the fas-

tidious perceptions of all whom they may affect. The coincidence of the conscriptive laws with our system, in the case of our nautical warriors has already been illustrated, and it applies without any qualification to the case now before us. Although, therefore, I am by no means partial to any extension of these laws, I am far from objecting to their adoption in the present case, provided that these should really become necessary. Betwixt the perpetuation of a system, whereof misery and wickedness are the most operative principles, and one, wherein, the reverse of this takes place, though that system should be incumbered with general conscriptive regulations, I see no difficulty in making my selection. I would consider it proper and needful to smooth the operation of such a system, by taking away every unnecessary asperity in the military life. I would think it but equitable to hold before those engaged in this occupation, every conceivable high and appropriate incentive; (and in our circumstances, as the first nation in the confederacy, and best qualified to take the lead in every valuable enterprize, these incentives must be many,) but having so done, I would set determinate limits to my paternal care, I would adopt the general views of the Spartan school as far as these were consistent with our own; for I would lead soldiers along their high career, by motives and incitements consistent with their duty and condition, and I would cultivate their military zeal and patriotic fervency, with as much assiduity as in opposite circumstances, I would do the most necessary propensities to concordant useful industry.

Besides this, in judging of such matters, it must be remembered as a leading point that as our system is constituted of renovating and ameliorating principles, so its operations can be carried forward by dint of general and universal improvement in human affairs, even more effectually, than by successful military prowess. To war and destruction it is necessarily opposed; to advancement and exaltation it is necessarily allied. We must indeed repress the progress of the common enemy by direct force, for we must combat his desolating energies in the bloody field; but it is only by transcending the sphere that he can describe that we can finally prevail. While he desolates and destroys the face of the globe, and degrades its intelligent inhabitants, it is the business of our system, to replenish the earth with all that is great, and to exalt all in it that is human. By wielding this great engine as we ought, we will gradually dilapidate the foundation of his power, we will withdraw from under his authority, one part of his means, and paralyze the operations of another. We will even occasionally transfer them under our banners, and, while we merely display our superior character, wither up and overwhelm all that is inimical to us. Along with these considerations, it must be remembered, that, by the plan laid down, a great nation of active friends will be annexed to our system, who, at the present time, are disengaged, or rather are yoked under hostile banners; and that to each of our friends we will have allotted a sphere of action correspondent to their circumstances. Reference is here made to

America as implicated in the same cause; and if America, in consideration of a subsidy, conjoined with the other advantages that necessarily fall to her share, as already illustrated, should undertake the maintenance of that part of the system, which it suits all parties that she should burden herself with maintaining, in her own quarter of the globe—does not a vast disposable force appear in reserve, that would, without this provision, have been otherwise occupied? This, to her, is a most important concession. But if America leaves to us the empire of the ocean, does it become us to object to her exercising the supreme military power in the new world? Her interest, her condition, and her principles, conjoined with the heterogeneous elements of which that part of the world is composed, form as good a guarantee to the nations against her abuse of this power, as our circumstances do against our abuse of our maritime rights. Any subsidies that we may bestow upon her in order to enable her to exercise this power with advantage, it must moreover be remarked, will ultimately resolve themselves into the augmentation of these reproductive powers, whence our own supplies from her are drawn; and thus dispose and enable her to deliver to us in full tale, the value of all the good offices and commercial investments that have accrued to her from our good-will. With such counterbalancing considerations before us, can we be greatly alarmed at any consequences that may result from this advancement of a scion from our own stem, amongst the independent nations of the world? may we not rather congratulate ourselves

on having thereby procured appropriate resources, for the military, as well as for every other part of our great system?

It is very evident, that advantages, similar to those that subsisted during the high tide of European intercourse, would arise out of the connexion thus held to be instituted between the British and American nations. There can be no doubt, but a similar balance in favor of British industry, would soon be formed within the American territory, on which government could, without difficulty, operate, both in the way of subsidy and of remittance; and in operating, confer decided benefits upon the industry of both nations. The wealth thus represented and circulated, however, would not only relieve and animate the industry of each nation, but it would advance into high respectability, all those interests that were favourable to the growth and establishment of the national power of each, combined and co-operative as these are now held to be. As has been already mentioned, it would accelerate the movements of these reproductive processes, whence our most invaluable supplies would be drawn, and enable us to replenish our stores on terms the most favourable. If a suitable spirit prevailed for any length of time, this progression of improvement would not only become vast in point of extent, but be at length so closely combined in all its parts, that it would be difficult to set limits to its course, or to force its concatenations asunder. For it must be noticed, that the wealth thus pro-

duced would not only be constantly increasing, and at every step forming the basis of farther advancement; but it would tend directly to substantiate itself in fixed establishments; it would become concentrated and organized in institutions correspondent to the progression going forward; and be exercised under a form of society, that would harmonize every movement with this object.

If we look somewhat more closely into the united progression, thus held to be instituted, we must perceive connected with it, a multitude of considerations of a most important kind. We are at present under some alarm, least America become a maritime and a manufacturing power, and the circumstances in which she at present stands, certainly have not only this tendency, but a direct influence in placing these in opposition to our nation; under the circumstances however that have been supposed, no such consequences can be apprehended. America, in that case, must follow out her own interests and her own objects in their natural course; these are the improvement of her territory, the increase of her population, and the consolidation of her government. Such matters imply a simple and domestic mode of living; enterprizes chiefly in the agricultural department; and such an absolute destination of energies and resources to correspondent and connected pursuits, as to render the assistance of Britain, in the character which she must hold in this great connexion, one of the greatest blessings that could possibly accrue to her. To consume

her population, and her means, in boisterous and hazardous employments, wherein, celibacy and licentiousness go hand in hand with desperate adventure, in engulphing the best hopes of society, would be none of her objects. It is not meant to say, that there is not already enough of corruption and libertinism in America to give rise to undertakings the most opposite to rural simplicity, that it is possible to conceive; but as it is sufficiently obvious that there is a counteracting tendency inseparable from the developement of agricultural affairs, which must do much more than counterbalance such desolating propensities; and as to a government situated as that of America necessarily is, the ephemeral advantages that might result from an application of its energies and resources, in the way either of extending its maritime power, or of rearing up manufacturing establishments, must appear altogether unimportant, when brought into competition with its leading territorial and national interests; so we cannot conceive that these tendencies would produce any very decided effect.

But whatever the feelings of the American government and people upon this subject might be, it is perfectly obvious, that there is a sufficiency of objects around them, to fix down their attention, and to absorb all the means that could be brought within their range, without leaving them any leisure or inducement to resort to extraneous undertakings on any vast or national scale. Next to the developement of her territorial advantages, that of securing internal

tranquillity, is a matter of the greatest importance to America; and this can be procured no other way than by following out the great design of the scheme of improvement now set forward. Spain on one hand, and Britain on another, have a direct interest in maintaining this tranquillity; and America can obtain no better pledge for her own security and prosperity, than by building up the fortunes of these her well disposed neighbours and associates.

In doing this, America will no doubt be led to set agoing extensive military operations, and to form her population into a general militia; but this, though it will render her by far the greatest military power out of Europe, will never constitute her a military nation. The political strength of America consists in her high progression of improvement, and in the coincidence of this progression with the circumstances of the world. To traverse this progression by military schemes and movements, would paralyze the government, without producing any compensating effect. It would harass the people, dry up the genial sources of their improvement, and most likely produce the calamity of civil discord. America, therefore, by drawing up, under British and Spanish influence, her military strength, may succeed so far as to give casual relief to the belligerent powers; she may provide most effectually for that safety and tranquillity in the Western Continent that is so desirable; because to her no sacrifice is too great not to be made for such an object; but America can never stretch her power beyond

this point; and she must thenceforward seek the depression of the great destroyer. Indeed, until her whole institutions shall have been subverted and destroyed, we need require from her no pledges for her fidelity under such advantages, except those that arise out of the general circumstances of the case.

In weighing the importance of these considerations, it is necessary that we take along with us this fact,—that this whole progression of improvement is the best and the most direct instrument for rescuing the different nations of Christendom from that concrete thraldom, under which they at present labor, and for procuring for the common cause, means and resources equal to the great object in view, that can, at present, be thought of; and that it is such as must sooner or later completely prevail. When Bonaparte sets forth his glory and prowess, the rampants of his authority, as objects for which his people must shed their blood; how deeply must the coutrast which our system affords affect them? While his subjects feel their subjection to his will to be unbounded, see mountain forever arising above mountain, in their attempts to bring all things under its control, must not this bright display of social concord—our magnanimous zeal in rejecting every thing injurious to universal improvement thus set forth before them—open their eyes to their own abject situation, and, seeing they are but the vile tools by which this display is to be overwhelmed, discover to them that the cause in which they are embarked is not more

hopeless than wicked; dispose them to withdraw themselves from under his influence, to range severally around their national standards; and in conformity with their ancient spirit and character, prepare and capacitate them for asserting their separate independence, with decision and effect.

It is unnecessary to enter farther into the advantages that would necessarily result to our great political interests, from a complete identification of those of America with our own. Our navy, freed from embarrassing contestations, would of course arise to its highest splendor. Our national finances would obtain a solid and irrefragable basis, and would, in all circumstances, and in all their operations bear their highest imported value. Our army would be relieved from many accumulated evils that attend expeditions to distant countries in tropical climates. Besides this, the American nation, and our own, like those of Spain and Portugal, having learned to co-operate in the same cause, would come to respect one another, to emulate each other in good offices, to exercise themselves severally under the institutions and customs, and under the spirit and principles, peculiar to each; and thus contribute to ameliorate the character, and to improve and exalt the sentiments of one another.

In the next place, let us turn our attention to our commercial interests, for the purpose of discovering the advantages that must result to them from the operation of the foregoing system; com-

prehending under the term commercial, not only those matters that are purely mercantile, but, those that necessarily become such, from the exuberance of our reproductive processes. The common interests of this class may be regarded either in a financial, or in a real or substantial point of view; either when drawn up in the form of abstract wealth, and in a capacity for being represented and circulated; or, when lying loose amongst our hands, in the quality of commodities and productions, useful and valuable to us according to our circumstances. In whichever of these lights we regard these interests, it is evident, that an extension of the range, through which their value and utility can be aggregated and diffused, is a primary object. To carry his commercial enterprizes over the vast sphere now held to be allotted to him, to make his operations bear fully on all the circumstances of immense rising communities, are both invaluable advantages to the merchant. But to do this in coincidence with the views and interests of the government, as well as of the people thereby affected; to carry along with him the general principles of amelioration and improvement; to obtain direct access to the first movements of the commercial principle; and to be placed in circumstances, in which he can affect, in the most direct manner, the operations of industry and the faculty of reproduction, must redouble the value of all these advantages. Thereby, his transactions will be vastly multiplied, as well as widely extended; and thereby, they will proceed under influences that will render them alike profitable and beneficial

in their operation and in their results. Thereby, also, the productions and commodities procured and circulated for the benefit of society, must be no less valuable in themselves, than estimable on account of their extrinsic effects; they must be no less conducive to individual advantage, than instrumental in improving the condition, and exalting the character of society at large.

All these advantages, it will be recollected, are supported and carried forward in full vigor, by means of that vast financial scheme, which arises out of the circumstances thus improved. The talents and powers of individuals are placed in the most favorable circumstances for developement and exercise, and they tend to the production of results important alike to the individual and to the public. The energies of the body politic, and the resources of each community are placed under the influence of the most benign and expansive principles, they are concentrated in highly improved establishments, they are enveloped in a course of things, whereof individual independence and individual improvement are the direct objects; and thus conduce to the advancement alike of the human character and of the human condition. Amidst this increase and diffusion of articles of value, the welfare of those that produce and circulate them, and the wealth by which they are represented, cannot but be promoted; for as the concerns of the merchant occupy the foreground of that vast progression of things, in which they are implicated,

as it belongs peculiarly to him to create, augment, represent, and circulate property in every shape; and as property constitutes the grand ligument of general society, in this high progression; so, we cannot but infer, that the transactions of the merchant, carried over that vast field of enterprize that is laid open before him, will participate fully of every occurrent advantage, and that his whole concerns preserved in a state of the highest security, will have the splendor of dignity attached to their value, and the weight of authority to their importance.

The entire adaptation of all these advantages to the circumstances of the commercialist, must appear still more evident, when we direct our attention earnestly to his situation. The want of a market, wherein his commodities can be converted into absolute value, is his great complaint. When articles of value cannot be realized, an increase of the means of society becomes its greatest misfortune; for this increase not only represses the progression of improvement, but overpowers and destroys its roots. According to the system now laid down, however, articles of real utility can never want a market, in which their absolute value can be found; nay, in the circumstances supposed, this market must have the farther virtue of attracting within its influence, abundant supplies of every thing that is really and substantially valuable, and of expelling beyond its range every destroying and deteriorating principle. In such a sphere, and amidst such diversified circumstances, industry and enterprize can seldom fail of their ob-

ject; the concentrating establishments being themselves roots of circulable as well as of real wealth, these can never fall off on account of the mere want of circulable means. On the contrary, these establishments, and the individuals connected with them, must remain self-poised on their proper basis; they are placed not only in independent but in progressive circumstances, they are surrounded with abundance, and endowed with powers and faculties that must render this abundance the instrument of their exaltation, as well as of their support. They are animated by the most powerful stimulants, and the ultimate and the immediate effect of all the operations that are hence induced, being an exaltation and amelioration of individual and general character and circumstances, the improvement and advancement of every mercantile interest whom these operations can any wise affect, and the concentration of all these various advantages in powerful reproductive processes must, necessarily, follow as matters of direct consequence.

These considerations serve to introduce into notice others of an import still higher. The hazardous situation, in which the commercialist must hold all his advantages and attainments, so long as the present system continues, is known and acknowledged by all of us, as also the embarrassments that in the most favorable circumstances incessantly traverse his procedure, and the insuperable disparagements, under which his name and condition consequently labour. All these evils, however, and the various

calamities that accompany them, are essentially precluded by the proposed amendations, which introduce a stability and security, into the current course of things, that is of the last importance in mercantile affairs. He is thereby placed on a basis that is radically strong as well as widely extended. There, every thing useful rises up into his hands; and there, accordingly, if he duly avails himself of his peculiar advantages, he need want neither means, nor objects on which to exercise, and into which to resolve, all his means and acquirements. The vast sphere in which his transactions take effect, and their immense influence within this sphere, their implicated adaptation to all its circumstances, and their harmonious co-operation with its leading movements, in a manner, identify and homologate his whole interests with the leading interests of the community; insomuch that every circumstance and event that advances the one, must advance also the other; while a cordial complacency and concordance in regard to his welfare, must prevail alike in the government and with the people. But this is not all. In consequence of the paramount nature of financial concerns, and the absolute dependence of these concerns on commercial transactions; and in consequence of the vast facilities which it is competent for states to accord to merchants in conducting these transactions, much deference and attention will be bestowed by these on mercantile affairs, which, of course, must raise every one who exercises them to high importance in the scale of society. His equitable claims, and essential rights,

will not only be recognized and sanctioned, but be supported, defended, and fortified by the whole power and influence of the state. To this advantage, the direct subserviency and articulate coincidence of his interests, with the leading interests of the states and nations will give complete effect; commercial intercourse will find no embarrassment to its progress, except that which corresponds with the advantage of the merchant; the subjects affected by it must advance in value, and everywhere bear their proportionate value; the resources of nations, and the energies of individuals drawn up under mercantile influence, will unfold themselves under mercantile auspices in the public service. Intelligence and improvement will be diffused amidst commercial affairs, these will become more and more conspicuous, and more and more powerful in their operation; and they will bear up both the character and the circumstances of the merchant. Thus the stability and security, attached to mercantile wealth and influence, will procure for their possessors the qualities of dignified and authorised respectability.

The dependence of merchants on contingent events is well known, and it may be pled as an universal exception to the representations now given. This remark, however, in the case now before us, must be obtempered; for the system abounds, throughout, with subjects of relief in every contingency. Where all the facilities and advantages to commercial intercourse inherent in a system,

so thoroughly digested under mercantile principles are in high progression around him, there can be nothing like a deficit in the means for realizing and substantiating the value of commodities. This universal market, it must be noticed, bears closs upon industry of the most important and extensive kind; it presents full resolution to the productions of such industry, and it effects this resolution, in the most direct manner. Such industry, therefore, it must always peculiarly favor, and its influence upon it must be such, that its operation will always be accommodated to the existing demand, which having met, it must always import its value. The obliquities of statesmen and financiers, being entirely banished under the proposed system, the progression in the resolution of subjects of value induced must advance with accelerated rapidity; it must become constantly more and more dignified and important, and it must exercise itself with constantly increasing power and effect. As the wealth and means thus obtained may assume every shape, enterprise may go on in every department of civil life. The merchant, himself, who at first plied amidst the scanty earnings of severe industry, may become a hero, a statesman, a legislator. That slender power, which, as a shade, followed his first acquirements, and displayed itself, as the emanation of commercial confidence attached to his person, may grow up into high and resplendent authority, sufficient to enable him individually to influence the measures of states and nations. This incipient wealth, and this nascent power and

influence, having in the course of its advancement been again and again substantiated in objects of real value and utility; and having stimulated, supported, and rewarded many reproductive establishments of more or less general utility, must, therefore, at every turn, have advanced the condition, and improved the circumstances of many valuable members of society. As these, in their progress, must have exercised as well as augmented their ameliorating influence, they must have unfolded, as well as nurtured many personal and public acquirements, andsometimes also have contributed to raise, as well as to support, various useful institutions. In the end, we see all this beneficence repaid to the individual, and to the class to which he appertains. This has taken effect, it is true, more from the circumstances of society, than from the intentions of its individual members; but as in the consequences that are produced, intentions and circumstances have been both blended and exercised, so we must hope that the character as well as the condition of the individual himself, has, in like manner, been both advanced and improved in the course of the progression. As the incitements that are produced by such a system of improvement, to still further and greater improvement, must continue to go on with augmented force and efficacy—its principles constantly tending to concentrate themselves, and to replenish their respective object; as the means, power, and occasions in which this system is enveloped are incessantly extending themselves, while the facilities and propensities which

these respectively possess for bearing on each other, must always remain undiminished; the conversion of means into funds, and of funds into means, may go on, indefinitely, advancing at every turn the character and condition of mankind, more particularly of that class whose business it is to conduct and influence these movements.

It is very evident, that the operation of the above system coincides most completely with the circumstances of those who have vast enterprises of any kind to bring forward. To all whom an extended term of credit is necessary, it must be most essentially beneficial. It not only enables those who may execute the subordinate parts of these enterprizes to accord the requisite accommodation; but it places the community at large in a condition to bear out the undertaking, whatever it is, under every advantage to its close. While the profusion of means, every where around, must enable and dispose individuals to regard great undertakings, with peculiar favor, the security attendant upon every exercise of well-directed industry, must attach to the conduct of all who exercise it, all that confidence and influence which may be requisite.

These remarks apply, in a peculiar manner, to the circumstances of those who may be led directly or indirectly into the East India trade, now about to be thrown open to the British nation. To these a lengthened term of credit is indispensible; but with this advantage, the ultimate success of all enterprises

in that line of commerce, can scarce be held to be a matter of uncertainty. It is not indeed necessary for the manufacturers of commodities for this market, to accommodate their merchants with a very extended credit; but it is indispensably necessary for these merchants themselves, to anticipate their engagements by a vast circulable capital, sufficient, to bring them through those difficulties and dangers with which commerce, amidst such a variety of untried channels, is always accompanied.

This is certainly a great hardship and inconvenience to these merchants: means for obviating it, however, arise out of the system now proposed. When thus obviated, this very drawback will prove of essential advantage to the trade. All, who have means to carry it on with profit to themselves, will easily find their way into it; but the difficulty of raising adequate capitals will most effectually preclude from it every other class of people. Not only so; but each individual, therein concerned, being necessitated to trade within his own stock, his transactions will be kept within narrow and appropriate bounds, the credibility of his assumptions will be accurately ascertained, and his anticipations of returns be fixed down by circumstances which cannot be controverted.

It would be an endless task, to go over the various important points, wherein the great project of improvement now laid open, meets the occasions of those who may be engaged in such expanded

transactions, as direct intercourse with the East necessarily implies. It is enough to say, that as two or more years must constantly intervene, betwixt giving instructions respecting commodities to be furnished, placing these commodities at the disposal of consumers, in a state prepared for immediate use, and thereafter carrying back the returns to the first owner, and that therefore, various provisions are necessary, which nothing but a vast financial project, extended alongst an immense progression of improvement, can meet. In such circumstances, the death or bankruptcy of some one or other of the parties concerned, alterations in the state of the market, the loss or capture of shipments or correspondent supplies, these, and every other contingency, must be fully met by the capital of the merchant who adventures into this trade. The extent of his capital must determine that of his dealings. His commercial credit may be unimpeachable; but it can operate only within a narrow sphere; it will carry him through his regular transactions, but beyond these its influence must be feeble. While these things discover to us the necessity of strengthening and consolidating the basis of East India enterprizes, they point them out, as very fit subjects, for supporting a peculiar financial superstructure, correspondent to their own circumstances. Many of the risks of these adventures, besides those of sea-hazard or capture, may be so fixed down, and circumscribed, as to become fit objects for the business of the assurer. A general system of agency may be burdened with many other parts of

these enterprizes. How these principles may operate, in the circumstances proposed, may be a matter of uncertainty; one thing, however, is evident, that they lay open a vast field of financial as well as of commercial enterprise. They exhibit a compacted order of concerns that may be regulated nearly by system. It was upon this ground, that the Dutch permitted rescripts on the returns of East India consignations, to be emitted, which rescripts were frequently of such small denominations, that the lowest mechanic might have an interest in this extensive trade, by vesting a moderate portion of his weekly savings in these rescripts. This provision had the double effect of preserving for the future exigencies of the industrious, a certain portion of the fruits of their labors, and of giving them a direct interest in the leading business of the nation. How preferable is this species of enterprise to that of the lottery! Here, moderate gains stimulate industry, at the very time, and by the very means, that they raise the individual into comparatively respectable and independent circumstances.

It is evident that many advantages, analagous to these, might be obtained, by adapting the financial operations of our West India colonies to their circumstances on similar principles. Colonial establishments require not only a very lengthened period for drawing forth the value of their respective commodities, but vast and constant investment of means, in order to preserve this value entire. The productions of these establishments,

it must be noticed, besides the capital necessary for bringing them into existence, require appropriate provisions for their transference to the place of their ultimate destination, for discharging the expences imposts and hazards that await this transference, and for drawing back their realized value from the general market into the coffers of the original owners. Do not all these circumstances indicate the vast importance, which universal improvement, supported by a suitable financial basis, must be to our West India establishments?

It appears to me, that there really is no good reason, for precluding our colonial settlements, from the advantage of a validated paper currency, procured on the principles now unfolded, and rested chiefly on the reproductive processes established within their own precincts. This advantage would enable the forlorn inhabitants of these distant regions, to bring into action a variety of native resources, which at present are of no avail to them. Many of their present productions, it is well known, in consequence of the political state of their ultimate market, are of no real advantage to them or to the nation whatever. Though brought forward with great care, and inducing great sacrifices, both in the mother country and in the colonies, they are generally so expressly calculated for a foreign consumption, which they cannot reach, that the whole value of some particular establishments, and sometimes every occurrent expence connected with them may be held to be absolute encumbe-

rances on the nation. In such circumstances, would not a validated paper currency, to circulate the value of native resources within the native territory, to facilitate internal improvement, and to give a new facility to native industry be of vast importance to them? It would enable colonial proprietors to circulate by their own means, no inconsiderable part of the value of their crops; it would give to internal industry of every kind, a direct and powerful excitation and support; it would bring forward wealth, on a new and substantial basis; and thus put these foreign proprietors in circumstances, to procure homeward remittances, in more appropriate objects of consumption.

But fixed wealth, lying in these remote countries, is liable to many contingencies, that must render it, if taken by itself, a precarious foundation for financial intercourse; and even such as it is, in consequence of its being generally vested in British resident proprietors, it is far from being so generally accessible for this purpose, as British property, lying within our native territory. These circumstances render it necessary to bring forward some portion of British native wealth, in a direct aid of these circulatory processes; and they, at the same time, point out the channel whence this wealth is to be drawn. It is from British residents, who have direct interest in the welfare of the colonies, that means may be drawn forward to this very object, in direct coincidence with the interest of the whole parties, therein concerned. Although the circumstan-

ces of the colonies, exposed to great and peculiar contingencies, and those of their reproductive establishments, for the most part heavily encumbered, are such, as to afford but a very narrow basis for financial impledgments, it is evident, that the deficit can be remedied; partly, by conjoining a sufficient number of reproductive processes under one great financial establishment; partly, by getting prior mortgagers to coalesce in this measure; and partly, also, by implicating the personal security of proprietors of estates, holders of mortgages, and others interested in the local welfare of the colonies, in these general securities. As many of these reside in Britain, and are thus so far beyond the range of colonial misfortunes, and as policies of assurance, in relief of the risk thus undertaken, could easily be procured, the real validity of the circulatory impledgments thus emitted, might be most amply provided for. At the same time, as the progression of improvement, thus instituted, would be constantly resolving itself in the improvement and advancement of reproductive processes—the proper basis of financial establishments; and as the consecutive discharge of prior mortgages would be constantly raising the value of the property impledged to higher ground; so the wealth, created, diffused, and concentrated, throughout the colonies, would be continually augmenting and consolidating itself, and their system constantly becoming more and more independent of extrinsic aid.

There is nothing that indicates more strongly

the characteristic excellence of the system now unfolded, than its exact coincidence with the interests of the proprietors of the soil. These preside over all territorial improvements, and they derive the ultimate and most substantial benefit of all improvement whatever, which benefit they constantly resolve into the highest services of the public. This scheme not only contributes most directly to the advancement of this class, but it does this in the way that is most coincident with their most important duties. In improving the circumstances of the community, this system induces territorial improvements, more particularly, those of the agricultural kind. Thereby, the condition of the landed interest is effectually advanced, and the most valuable means of the nation increased. The financial movements, thus induced, exercise and envigorate every thing that is truly noble and excellent in our circumstances; the hands of the state are thereby strengthened, and the aggregate enjoyments of the nation multiplied, purified, and exalted. The advantages, peculiar to the landed interest of Britain, have enabled the British land-holders to maintain a peculiar paramount influence over all the affairs of the nation. To this class the government and the people, the heads and the constituent members of all our great establishments, constantly direct their appeals. In all doubtful cases, these sedulously display the coincidence of their designs with those of this paramount interest; and when they can make this coincidence distinctly to appear, they never fail to consider their case as completely made out.

It is not at all necessary to enter into any statements, with the view of illustrating the important advantages that must result to the landed interest from the operation of the above system. Its whole developements, as already set forth, go to ameliorate the condition of the nation, and while we cannot but admit that the most valuable fruits of these developements must appear most prominently in the wealth substantiated on the face of the country, we must, at the same time, admit that the landed interest enjoys the best of these fruits. This, however, is not all; for the landed interest, from its powers and advantages, being in effect the safest guardian of the rights of the people, and the strongest bulwark of the sovereign, all the great and leading acquirements, arising out of the various operations and results above stated, naturally fall under their influence. Hence, a wonderful accession is made to their means, and a multitude of facilities is prepared, to enable them to avail themselves fully of these means. To all these advantages, due effect is given by the course of events, into which the above advantages conduct our national affairs. It is upon the landed interest that the nation reposes its confidence most absolutely. It is upon this class that the state confers its highest honors. To raise the individuals of the class thus favored to flourishing and independent circumstances, is therefore nearly tantamount to raising the general character of the nation, and placing its whole affairs in the most secure circumstances. Thereby, all the privileges and advantages of the aggregate body, being

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ed under the guardianship of those who have the highest interest in them, are strongly entrenched and fortified; thereby, the number of distinguished individuals, capacitated for filling every department of civil affairs, must be augmented, and their characters rendered more independent and respectable; and thereby also, the faculties, which these individuals respectively possess, for executing the duties and supporting the dignity of their respective stations, must be unfolded, and displayed with superior lustre and effect.

The primary object of solicitude with the proprietors of the soil, is, the increase of the capabilities, which their respective properties possess, for producing the necessaries of life. In our circumstances, no object can be of more general importance to us; for the whole united kingdom does not produce a supply of food sufficient to maintain its population; and our connexion with those states, that could make up the deficiency, stands on the most precarious footing. No evil is more tremendous than famine; we are in constant danger of it; yet our territory, if fully improved, might relieve us from this dilemma. Is it not, therefore, an object of the highest importance to place those, whose business it is to procure us this advantage, in circumstances that will dispose them to procure it? Vast investments of capital, however, are necessary for the improvement of the soil; the soil returns these investments only at distant periods, and does this, not in aggregate capital, but in the form of an an-

nual revenue. Nor is this all; this revenue is seldom equal to the money returns of similar investments in other properties, and it is exposed to a variety of public assessments, from which most other kinds of property easily escape. It is true, the capital that may be ultimately drawn from landed property in the common market, for the most part, amply repays investments in such property; but this aggregate capital cannot be realized, as we realize the proceeds of consumable commodities. Cumbersome writs and evidences, and a variety of difficulties, which occasion much trouble and delay, beset its progress through the market; and accommodation in regard to the terms of payment, to an extent that is never thought of in ordinary cases, lie all in the way, and greatly diminish the value of these ultimate returns. It must, moreover, be remarked, that landholders, at present, are generally much in debt, and constantly prone to sink themselves deeper in debt; they have a splendid station to occupy, and the real annual returns of their property seldom coincides with the expence thereby incurred. Do not all these things point directly to some mode of relief analagous to that which is now unfolded; whereby the valuable fixed property of the soil may be possessed, and at the same time circulated; improved, under the eye of its possessor, by means arising out of and circulated by its value, and which, in their financial career, must necessarily draw forth the resources, and exercise the energies of the community, under the influence of the proprietors of the soil?

These things fully display the vast importance of the plan of finance, above unfolded, to this most respectable class of the community. When taken in connexion with the general project of improvement, the aggregate benefits of their combined operation are seen to be increased still farther. These developements of internal resources require, not only the excitation and support of abundant means, but the energies of a flourishing population, in order to bring them up to their full value. The produce of the soil is a most cumbersome commodity; and the means, for facilitating its transference to markets at a distance, can only be obtained, when the presence of a great and industrious population is at hand. As the funds, raised on the plan proposed, must, from the constitution of their respective establishments, circulate chiefly under the influence of these establishments, the industrious processes subservient thereto, must of course, in the first instance, receive the stimulus of these financial means. From these, the circumambient progression of improvement must receive a certain excitation, so that, on the whole, commercial confidence, the great instrument of commercial intercourse, must be fully circumscribed by the proprietors of the soil. Each separate course of industry will then proceed to form its appropriate connexions, and, from a multitude of centres, improvement will spring forth, and develope itself, so as to strengthen and concatenate territorial improvement. That all these advantages must peculiarly benefit the local agricultural interest of every district, is evident; because the great local ca-

pabilities of each district, being the basis of its financial establishments, and the emissions of these establishments, being generally confined within certain precincts, the movements of the commercial medium, are, in a manner, chained down to the ameliorating services, and bound up with the peculiar interests of its appropriate territory.

Let it now be remarked, that out of all these advantages, the exaltation of the landed interest, the provision of abundance of necessaries, and the general improvement of the circumstances of the most important part of our population, a grand paramount object arises; this is a due proportionment betwixt the numerical population, the internal means requisite for the support of this population, and the condition and character of the community at large, which are thereby made to bear on each other in the most favorable manner. The rates of labor, the prices of commodities and productions, and the capabilities of those who are implicated in this general progression of things, being thus harmoniously balanced by the mere movements of the above system; and the fallacy of the fears and surmises, which are so industriously circulated, about the rise of articles of the first necessity and the depreciation of money, exposed; the process of general intercourse, like the movements of the human machine, will be most salutary, when most unrestrained; requiring, indeed, abundance of its appropriate supplies, and space for developing and exercising its peculiar energies; but, in other respects, sufficiently vigorous for perform-

ing every necessary movement, and plentifully endowed with all the faculties requisite for replenishing this vigor.

These views might be established and illustrated by direct reference to a number of particular instances. There are two leading points, however, in which their truth and importance appear so forcibly, that an elucidation of them will be sufficient for our present purpose.

First. The rapacious and turbulent character of the proprietors of the soil, during the high tide of the feudal system, is well known. What is it that has brought down this spirit from its lofty throne, and placed it under the banners of genial reformation, and which has so harmonized its operations, and consolidated its effects, as to render it the greatest bulwark of our social rights? Is it not the introduction of systematic improvement in subjects of industry and enterprise, which by multiplying and circulating articles of value, under commercial and independent principles, has so highly exalted the influence of accredited wealth, as to have rendered its influence paramount to that of heritable power? For the sake of obtaining possession of that circulable emblem of power, which commanded the use of those subjects of value that were constantly floating before them, the factious barons were necessitated to denude themselves of their cumbersome wealth and authority, and to commute ostentatious displays of grandeur, for subjects of more regular

personal gratification. In the prosecution of this end, the coercive importance that was attached to their persons, gradually sunk under that emulous and independent spirit which had now become congenial to existing circumstances. Equitable intercourse with their own vassals, the subjects over whom their concrete domination had formerly been stretched without control, and an incessant appeal to the medium of exchange, the universal standard of value, were also requisite. By these means, the barons made away with great portions of their fixed property, as well as of their power, part of which passed into the hands of the merely industrious, and thus raised not only particular individuals, but the whole class to which these individuals belonged, in the general scale of society. All this was produced in the regular way of the improvement, then going forward; the barons in the view of finding access to its enjoyments, in effect, rewarded the services of those who supplied their wants; they bestowed in return for their services, the instrument as well as the form of independence; and in doing this, they erected an effectual counterpoise to their own turbulent propensities. But good order being necessary for preserving industry in its proper train, means as well as power being essential to the exercise and display of power, the barons, though thereby rendered less dominant, became, in fact, more powerful and more splendid; though less fitted for repression, they became more capacitated for stimulation. Though less coercive in point of form, their power, in the exercise of it, became really

more determinate; and on the whole, while their influence, now denuded of its barbarous form, advanced, the barons were individually and collectively more dignified in their condition, and more replenished with those means of enjoyment, that were correspondent with their character and situation; and thus they gave to the progression thus instituted, stability as well as importance. In this way, their pretensions were counterbalanced, their acrimony neutralized, and their power and wealth, bent under that of the general system, infused into the operations thereupon induced, the whole insuperable influence of their order.

Although the system thus produced be now so thoroughly established, as scarcely to leave a vestige of its former character, there still remains much of the general principles of the old system in our civil institutions. While our landholders exercise themselves in improving their own and the general concerns, there are circumstances in our public institutions, that mar these beneficent operations, and convert public acquirements into the means of individual aggrandisement. This takes place in parochial and burgage affairs, as well as in the court and the legislature; and it is sometimes exercised, with peculiar vehemence and decided disadvantage, in those circumstances, wherein the influence of landed proprietors predominates. The individuals, whose interests are thus intruded into the chain of improvement, are generally those, for whom the bar, the army, and the senate

have no charms. While others are busying themselves in most honorable employments, these loiterers at home snatch at every opportunity of selfish aggrandizement that offers, and sometimes monopolize the influence of a whole community.

What is the proper counterpoise and check for this spirit? Will forms and provisions do it? By no means. These will only serve to fix these intruders more firmly in their seat. Will public censure effect this object? This, alas! has been nearly stripped of its authority; it is encumbered by such a multiplicity of affairs, that the real truth is seldom seen, and when seen, it is for the most part impotent to any good object. A new and high degree of systematic improvement, will, however, effect this. In such circumstances, the interests which individuals have in the public means for promoting the public good, must, of themselves, so overshadow any interest that these individually can have in the practice of fraud and injustice, that personal aggrandizement will be effectually paralyzed on its first appearance. At the same time, the public mind, aroused into action from the value of public acquirements, must be led to scrutinize every department of the public good with a jealous eye, to detect what is wrong, and to rectify with a high hand whatever is malverse. But, besides this, in the circumstances supposed, every public acquirement can only be valuable and productive, according as it is usefully and profitably exercised. It is not enough to be at the head of a public establishment, to have the patronage of it, and the

control of its movements, in order that the full advantages resulting from predominancy may be possessed; it is farther necessary for the same end, that the establishments themselves, in all their parts, be maintained in a proper tone and condition, and that their faculties and endowments be kept in full exercise in a manner correspondent to their character and destination; otherwise other establishments, instituted on more improved principles, and conducted in a more liberal manner, will spring up from the mass of resources every where around them, to rival, and even to supercede those that are under their direction. These, and other considerations of the same kind, cannot but have a powerful effect on all who may have reached to the influential command of public establishments. But whether these considerations have an adequate effect or not, it is certain, that under the course of things supposed to be instituted, the number of individuals in respectable and independent circumstances must become so immense, their relative power and wealth so extensive, and their interest in the general welfare of public establishments so great, that corruption and perversity of every kind must, on all hands, be wonderfully checked and counter-balanced. May we not hope too, that a dignified apprehension of general advantage and personal fame, such as that which was characteristic of the feudal era, and seems to be congenial to independent circumstances, will at length obtain the ascendancy, and induce individuals to seek their gratifications, not in the prosecution of mean and selfish advantages, but in

the successful developement of high and noble designs? In this state of things, the feelings and the interests of the most deserving part of the community would gradually be bound up together, and in their aggregate capacity be made to bear with full force on the improvement of public establishments; and, while the monopolizing propensities of individuals would be subjected to the discipline of liberal and extended views, and the desire of personal and family aggrandizement, would be raised to higher ground, the entire management of great and general establishments, harmonized and counterpoised by surrounding objects, would necessarily coincide with the best interests of the whole community. On the whole, therefore, out of the proposed course of improvement, it may be fairly expected, not only that the means, for attempering the asperity of men in power, would everywhere spring forth in abundance, but that principles, to give efficacy to those means, would at the same time be fully excited and brought into action, sufficient to exalt and purify the character of our public leaders, to combine their influence with that of systematic improvement, and to exercise it under the power of the general system, in such a way, that those public institutions and general attainments, over which their power was extended, would, in fact, become salutary vehicles for transfusing their personal wealth, and their inherent power, throughout the whole body-politic.

The other point to be illustrated, as shewing the

tendency of the foregoing system, to incorporate the interests, and harmonize the circumstances of landholders with those of their fellow-citizens, is, its furnishing means for bringing forward the fruits of agricultural industry, under such advantages, that these may be sold at rates as nearly proportional as possible to the rates of other commodities; its preserving these steadily at these rates, and its advancing the condition of all who may be embarked in enterprizes calculated for the attainment of this object, in a secure and steady manner. This, it is evident, is to be effected by the vast, incessant, and universal support and stimulus, which the foregoing scheme of improvement and plan of finance may be held to give to agricultural industry. As the illustration of this point, however, lays open before us a very important view of our general subject, and as by elucidating the real cause of the disproportionate increase of the price of articles of the first necessity, and the actual circumstances in which this question is involved, many of the misapprehensions respecting the depretiation of the value of money, that at present prevail, may be removed, it seems to be proper, in this place, to enter into the subject somewhat at large.

In looking at facts even as they now stand, we perceive, that there are certain circumstances which have a direct tendency to raise the general price of all commodities whatever. In the first place, there has latterly been a vast increase of our public burdens, insomuch, that it is said that these, including

whatever is necessary for defraying all the expences of the state, for carrying on the general business of the nation, for meeting the claims of the public creditors, and for providing for the local and particular emergencies of the country, have, within our days, been nearly doubled. These burdens, it must be noticed, are all drawn out of the public purse, in the way of taxation, and they have the general effect of raising the price of commodities more or less, according as these come more or less under the influence of taxation. In the second place, in consequence of the increased burden with which the expence of living is thus charged, and also in consequence of the improvement and luxury of the age, the rates of labor have in like manner greatly increased; a burden which, it is evident, must likewise advance in the most direct manner the price of commodities. These two contingencies not only render a greater quantity of the medium of exchange necessary for measuring the value of marketable objects, but they, at the same time, necessitate the consumer of these objects to seek this greater quantity out of his own resources. The purchaser of commodites must not only bear the expences incurred in fabricating commodities, by discharging the established claims of the fabricator, and of the merchant; but he must also discharge the public claims that are introduced into the price of these commodities. Although, therefore, in the valuation of objects of desire, a greater amount of the medium has in our days become indispensible, this does not arise from the depretiation of the me-

dium below its former standard value, it arises from the exaltation of the price of commodities, above their former standard; these comprizing in their accepted estimation, not only their own price, but a separate price which is contingent to them, and which the public must likewise discharge. Whatever effect the plenty or scarcity of money, therefore, may have in raising or lowering the price of commodities, it is altogether indisputable, that a cause exists, independent of this and of every other cause, which has a necessary tendency to diminish the power of the current medium over articles of desire, or rather to raise the power of these articles above the established power of the medium.

But on examining the real state of things more particularly, we perceive, that taking commodities in the aggregate, their current estimation has not been raised in proportion to the extent of the burdens thus induced. On the contrary, though commodities in general have risen somewhat in value, this rise is scarcely ever proportionate to the superinduced burdens. In many instances, such as in that of West India produce, cotton and iron goods, a palpable diminution of price has taken place. These facts are familiar to all of us, and they deserve much attention, because they strike at the root whence all these cavilings about the depretiation of money, which are so injuriously pressed on the public mind when enlarged plans of finance are resorted to, arise, and introduce the subject at large in its proper light. Since money thus comprises within a circumscribed

valuation, not only the first cost, but the superinduced burdens of a very large proportion of consumable commodities, may notthe truth of this position—that money, extensively considered as the general medium of intercourse, so far from having sustained any diminution of its power and influence, has in reality received an augmentation both of power and of influence—be held to be established?

When we direct our attention to the great and leading causes of this augmentation of the power of money, or rather of this depression of the value of commodities, we perceive, that there are two leading principles which pervade the whole of these causes. The first of these principles arises out of general improvement, and may be denominated the *fecundating influence of universal amelioration.* The industrious processes in our days having been generally improved, their force having been so increased and concentrated, and their operations so extended and concatenated, as to enable them to send forth results of the most valuable kind, in the utmost profusion, and these results, having by dint of mercantile capital, been transfused throughout the community, not only with the utmost facility, but with an influence, sufficient to stimulate and support progressive improvement, in every department ofindustry—whereby, ashas beenalready illustrated, its productions are rendered not only abundant and low rated, but intrinsically useful and essentially necessary in human affairs—the operation of improved industry, in relieving society at large from

the pressure of these superinduced burdens, must now appear so obvious, as to require no illustration. If the rates of labor have been augmented by this pressure, improvement renders its operations doubly effective; if the burdens on its productions have been increased, improvement augments their relative value, it multiplies and extends their amount. Society is on all hands benefited; for the value of the burdens themselves, is again introduced into the body-politic, in the way of expenditure on the part of those in whose favor they exist; insomuch, that these very burdens, in the end, come to be most direct stimulants to the industrious and enterprising part of the community.

To all these public advantages, the second principle referred to, that of emulation and competition, gives full effect. To this principle, let it be noticed, individual improvement and general luxury, are most powerful stimulants; it is the offspring of independent and ameliorating principles, and it is the most powerful excitator and sustainer of these principles in all their operations; it extends the range of human enjoyments; and it gives to the human faculties an ample command over that range. The means and the talents of society are thereby brought forward into full exercise, and made to bear on each other with undivided force. Universal collision is made coincident with universal improvement; the exertions of the individual, predisposed to exercises wherein the most valuable results are to be found, are stimulated alike by the dangers and by the advan-

tages that lie around him. Excellence is produced in abundance, and is thereby placed entirely at the disposal of the public. The public reservoirs of all that is valuable, by dint of emulative competition replenished, are, under its influence, also relieved. Thereby, the most valuable results of the highest powers of man are so attenuated and harmonized with existing circumstances, and so familiarized in their essential properties to our apprehensions, as to be accessible to the great bulk of mankind. As every successive progression in this course advances the common attainments of man to higher ground, the power of the emulative principle can suffer no abatement from the plenitude amidst which its operations proceed; it will have higher objects for its attention, a more exalted field for its occupation; but it will still possess incessant and unbounded stimulants to activity, such as will continue to animate all its exertions, and to render these, successively, more and more important. Money, which commands with the most absolute power all these attainments, though in like manner aggregated and increased, will also in like manner maintain its accepted value in the general estimation altogether unimpaired; its abundance will not render its power less valuable; for its capacities, enlarged by the multitude of objects under their influence, will receive constant excitation and constant increase. Amongst savage nations, emulous industry is unknown, it is where the value of the superior productions of industry, and of the power of commanding it, and its productions, has been most fully enjoyed

that the emulative principle has readily developed itself in the service of industry, and most steadily and completely exercised its exalting functions.

It is in consequence of the combined operation of these two leading principles, *improvement* and *competition*, that the superinduced burden of taxes and high rates of wages, aforenoticed, are not only counterbalanced, but frittered down to nothing. Nay, the circumstances of society are such, that the magnitude of the pressure sometimes has the most direct tendency to counteract the superinduced influence. A value is thereby given to certain latent principles of action, that is sufficient to attract both capital and improvement towards them; and new departments of industry spring up, that would never otherwise have been in existence, and become subjects of general importance. When capital and talent have been employed for any length of time in this service, they never fail to multiply and improve the commodities produced this way, and thus conduce alike to their cheapness and to their excellence.

It is very obvious, however, that neither improvement nor competition can be applied with proportional advantage, in every particular case. Into the agricultural processes, for instance, they enter but slowly and imperfectly, in comparison with those immense cotton and mineralic establishments, with which the face of our country is now studded. Labor cannot be greatly abbreviated in agriculture; and since the locality of every district bounds its

own range, the competition induced must be small. It is but in few places that improvement upon an enlarged scale, and according to a scientific plan, has been at all introduced into this branch of industry; and in none of these places, have the full advantages of surrounding resources been borne upon it, with full effect: in none, has that systematic refinement and energy been exercised in it, that have so long and so successfully been exercised in other branches. Amidst these disadvantages, let it be recollected, that the improvements of the agriculturist, perhaps more than those of any other class of men, must, from their character, be languid and disjointed: into their operations, necessarily ponderous and desultory, and therefore scarcely at all abbreviated by organized improvement, the full rates of augmented wages necessarily enter. From the results of these operations, distant and scanty as they generally are, the aggregate amount of public burdens are always rigidly exacted. Is it any wonder then, that the rise of price in the productions of such industry should be proportionally greater than it is in those of that industry, wherein improvement and competition exercise their unrestrained influence? These articles carry in their price, not only their pristine estimation, but the superinduced burdens of augmented public imposts, and advanced rates of wages; of increased ground rent, and various severe personal exactions. When such commodities are placed in competition with others, wherein various circumstances counterbalance the superinduced encumberances, the disproportionate

increase of price appears to be no more than a fair indication of their relative circumstantial value. As to any effect, that a plenitude or scarcity of the medium may have on this appretiation, it can be held to be no more than that which it must have on every other commodity in similar circumstances.

Thus, when the matter is fully attended to, we perceive, that this very fact, the disproportionate rise of price in articles of the first necessity, appears as a decisive proof of the steady character of our common standard of value. It is undeniable, that, taking commodities in general into account, their aggregate value remains nearly unaltered; that the changes that have taken place can be accounted for in the most satisfactory manner, under the principles that have just now been amply unfolded, and that in the price of articles of necessity, the exact application of these principles is palpable. It is the province of the circulable standard of value, to mark, with precision, the various kinds of vacillation in value that may take place ; and by means of this standard, we perceive the high effects of the operation of certain superinduced burdens and advantages upon the modes of appretiation. Wherefore, as these are precisely the results that were looked for, we must hold ourselves as possessed of evidence, sufficient to testify, that the absolute value, represented by our accredited currency, has not in fact been impaired in its accepted estimation, on account of any surcharge of circulatory paper, or on any other account whatever. This testimony is ev-

ery way more unequivocal and direct, than the indications of foreign exchange, which are often appealed to, as the rule for determining the abstract value of our circulatory medium. Such indications, let it be noticed, refer to the present relative position of commercial and financial intercourse; and they point to the plenty or scarcity of many other commodities besides that of bullion or accredited paper; while they lead into speculations, whereby the surcharge and deficiency may be remedied. But, without comparing the present with the former circumstances of a country, and ascertaining the causes that are really operative in producing the differences of value that are known to exist, the substantiated estimation of its accredited currency can never be satisfactorily explained. Discussions on the course of exchange may be of importance, when the general causes of unbalanced intercourse must be investigated, and when they can lead to practical ameliorations in the course of trade. This, however, is a subject of real importance to every one of us, and noways connected with the speculations of the bullion merchants. The value of our currency depends on our voluntary acceptation of it, in a public and in a private capacity; and to the accredited estimation of it, our acceptation, voluntary though it be, is tied down by rules, and circumstances, and necessities, which, being inseparable from our civil and social existence, no one will presume to break through. It is therefore on the country, its laws and institutions, its character and general procedure, and all our various public and private establish-

ments that this value depends; and while these can support all that bear on them in their proper places, our currency will remain unimpaired, in spite of all the vacillations of exchange. So long as our individual wants and expectations coincide with our general industry; and so long as the real and essential value of improvement, and that of the power of commanding it, can be maintained, so long also will every accredited emblem, by which this value is displayed and exercised, be respected, and be universally received at its accredited standard.

Taking these considerations along with us, a very few remarks will suffice, to evince the great coincidence and subserviency of the scheme proposed, to the interests of agriculture, both in an immediate and in an ultimate point of view. The flourishing population and regular circulation of wealth, held to have been procured, must necessarily diffuse the principles of improvement all over the country. The resources of each locality, being drawn forth and exercised under the influence of its territorial interest, its agricultural processes can never want means for their full excitation and support; and these, in their extension, will also advance every other reproductive process, with which they may be connected, as a mere matter of course, But this is not all; as the attainments of each locality, both general and particular, for the most part resolve themselves in the service of agriculture; so these, though commercially connected with the whole industry of the world, on the grand scale of

improvement now supposed to be instituted, must, from the nature of the case, become so concatenated together within their proper territory, that the whole energies of each district, will constantly tend to its appropriate resources, and be applied to these in the closest and most intimate manner; so as, in the end, to become condensed in their general interests. At the same time, as the validity of the funds, by which these processes are maintained, does not depend on the rates of exchange, or on the rise and fall of foreign commerce, any plenitude or scarcity of funds that may ensue, though it may retard the general course of improvement, will never paralyze the operations of agriculture, nor overthrow or destroy its invaluable results. On the contrary, at each great turn of affairs, it may be expected, that additional means and energies will pass into the service of this branch of industry, and carry it forward with renewed vigor in its appropriate course. In prosperous circumstances, the aggregated wealth and power of the country will tend most determinately to substantiate itself in territorial improvements; in those of an adverse nature, the superior security of agricultural investments will draw into their service, much floating wealth, that would otherwise be unprofitably employed. Hence, agricultural processes may be expected to become gradually more and more increased, improved, and extended, until their multitude and advantages shall have placed them in circumstances as nearly as possible resembling those of other reproductive establishments. Their fruits will become abundant and low-rated; their results will

be steady, and sedulously adapted to the wants and desires of the whole community; and, in spite of the solicitude and competition that may be induced, the advantages of the agriculturist, increased at every step, will not only bear him up to his appropriate station in society, but furnish him with abundant means, for supporting this station in society, with dignified consistency.

Out of all these results, there accrues to the landed interest, a peculiar class of advantages that tends to give much stability to the condition and respectability to the station of that body. Incessant improvement produces many changes of the most important kind. Almost every species of industry, husbandry perhaps only excepted, is completely involved in these changes, insomuch, that the value of the establishments and investments by which their respective processes are upheld, are, for the most part, prone to fluctuation and decay. On the other hand, every improvement and extension of the agricultural processes not only adds permanently to the value of the territory improved, but produces an increment in the value of land which generally outgoes the rate of progression, in which it is involved. Thus, while the absolute value of other reproductive processes, as well as their real and substantial importance, have to encounter the changes of the times, in which they are frequently sunk and overwhelmed, both the value and importance of those appertaining to agriculture do most steadily and incessantly advance. Let it now be noticed, that the

rate of this advancement must be more or less rapid, according as surrounding improvement is so, and according as it can be made to bear upon agriculture, in a more or less direct manner. In the circumstances we have supposed, the vast improvement induced will bear upon the agricultural processes, in the most direct manner; a flourishing population, sufficient not only to afford an ample remuneration for their necessary supplies, but to contribute accessions of strength to the whole course of agricultural improvement; and a medium of exchange, for the most part, emanating from the proprietors of the soil, and tied down in many of its chief operations to their service, are fully provided; while an influence in civil affairs, sufficient to draw forward every territorial concernment, into the foreground of public measures, is at hand to give full effect to these advantages. It must at the same time be remembered, that this class of advantages, so important to the landholder, does not detach his interests from those of his fellow-citizens; while the prominent situation of the landholder leads him to a sumptuousness of display, whereby his wealth is circulated rapidly throughout the whole body-politic, his personal necessities fail not to dispose him to trust to future improvement, for the means necessary to enable him to support his station. Is it not evident, therefore, that the landholder, his family and his dependents, more than all the rest of his fellow-citizens, must have their attention steadily fixed on the general interests of all around them; and in the advancement of these, regard the best possible provision for

enabling them to support their dignified rank? To other classes, the interests of surrounding improvement are of importance, chiefly as they happen to coincide with those of their own class; nay, even the particular interests of their own class, may, at times, be to individuals but an ephemeral consideration. To the landholder, however, every general interest must be at all times a matter of primary importance. He is in a sense the leader or representative of every other interest; and while he contemplates the progression of things going on around him, he necessarily and instinctively adopts those public sentiments, that belong to a general patron or protector. Whence it is, that the individual members of every other class confide on the public feelings of this paramount class, on every great occasion; and thus give real efficiency and importance to all the movements and operations of the territorial interest.

While the foregoing considerations disclose, in the clearest manner, the strong basis on which the estimation of our accredited standard of value is rested, and the satisfactory results into which our progression of improvement necessarily conducts the leading interests of the community, they, at the same time, bring into view, a very important question, to the solution of which, it is proper that our attention be directed, before this subject be finally dismissed. This question may be thus stated—Whether or not—since the necessaries of life, as well as every other subject of individual expen-

diture, are to be thus multiplied and increased, and their value respectively reduced in the standard medium of exchange—and since, in consequence of the concentration of the processes of industry, and the assiduous and intimate application of improvement and human talent to these processes, general labor will be much abbreviated, and its amount essentially diminished—whether or not, in these circumstances—the rates of wages, the appretiated value of the industry of the artist and of the hind, will not be proportionally diminished—and, since labor and ingenuity enter so deeply into the price of every marketable commodity, constituting frequently the principal item of its substantive value—whether or not, in such a case, as the direct effect of this falling off in the estimation of individual industry, a new turn will not thereby be given to the process of valuation, so that articles of desire, in place of advancing in the market price, may generally and progressively sink in that standard, and gradually lose more and more of their power over the medium of exchange? This is evidently a most important question, for it comprises in its solution, the general results of the foregoing scheme of improvement upon the condition of society at large, and it leads us into a clear view of the general bearings of our whole plan, upon the circumstances of the poor, as well as upon those of the rich.

Before entering into the solution of this question, let it be noticed, that if such a progressive diminution, of the value of industry, and of the sub-

jects of commerce, shall take place, very suddenly or disproportionally, and go on progressively; so as greatly to impair the power at present possessed by the industrious and enterprizing over articles of desire, and to subject them to correspondent privations—that then, a retrocession in the course of improvement must inevitably take place; the circumstances and character of the inferior ranks and classes of men will thereby be effectually lowered; and in their fall, these will bring down along with them, the interests of every other rank and class of men. All gradually losing more and more of their power of obtaining possession of consumable commodities, a diminution in the consumption, circulation, and production of these commodities will inevitably take place. That the momentum, by which general industry was impelled, must in such a case proportionally decline, is a position so evident, as to require little illustration. If it is the power, inherent in the industry and capabilities of individuals, that enables and disposes them to produce, to consume, and to circulate articles of value; then, whenever this power is diminished, fewer articles of value will be produced, consumed, and circulated; and since every such diminution effectually impairs the public faculty of producing, consuming, and circulating such commodities, so society must thereupon fall into a retrograde movement; both its powers and means will, at the same time, conjunctly, and progressively, fall into decay.

We must, however, remember, on the other hand,

that, if this progressive diminution, of the value of industry, and of the subjects of commerce, be on the whole, gradual, regular, proportionate, and such as noways to impair the powers that have been possessed and exercised by individuals over commodities; if this diminutive appretiation shall take place, simultaneously, so as to affect by far the greatest and most important subjects of commerce, in an easy moderate manner; then no such retrocession need take place; the course of business may go on at a lower degree of appretiation, and society be merely accommodated with a mode of estimating its commodities, that embraces a greater amount of substantive value, within a smaller denominated price, than formerly prevailed. It is by the regular, proportional, steady, application of our active principles to their proper object, that our animal frame and spirits are strengthened and envigorated; and it is by an analogous application of the industrious and enterprising propensities of the body-politic, to their proper functions, and not by their denominative power, that the consistency of general industry, becomes established. Excitation and support are alike necessary in both cases; but when these are properly administered, every subordinate impulse will resolve itself into sound and vigorous principles. That the denomination of the power of producing and increasing articles of desire can have no more tendency to occasion the disproportionment of the rates of labor, or to impair the steady and progressive course of improvement that has been induced, on one side, than any emblem

of the medium of exchange, (as has already been illustrated,) that might be adopted, can have, on the other, will, it is apprehended, appear self-evident, if the consequences, already produced in the course of improvement now in actual progression amongst ourselves, are duly attended to. Not only has no such disproportionment at all taken place, but the principles and operations of improvement, even on its largest possible scale, have advanced uninterruptedly, amidst extreme vacillations of nominal value.

The truth of the foregoing positions, it is apprehended, cannot possibly be questioned; and they lead us to perceive, that whatever the ultimate consequences of a change in the appretiation of wages may be, its immediate effects on the rates of industry are not necessarily injurious or oppressive. When we attend, farther, to the character and circumstances of the system now held to be instituted, we perceive, most distinctly, that not only its immediate, but its ultimate effects, must, to an indefinite extent, be subjected to the harmonizing influence of the whole process of industry. The immensity, the multitude, and the variety of objects, that are placed under the operation of the industrious processes, must conduce alike to steadiness in the rates of industry, and to power in the course of improvement. The exterior momentum, by which these are to be affected, it must be recollected, is, on all hands, vast, powerful, and even unbounded. Besides this, let it be noticed, that it seems to be established in the nature of things, that when a defi-

nite course of improvement has been instituted, and a consequent demand for labor and enterprize, to carry forward this course, has been established, a necessity to take up all the hands that may, in the progress of improvement, be disengaged from their wonted employments, sufficient to prevent any general downfal in the rates of wages, or embarrassment in the distribution of the capabilities of the community, never fails to take place. Experience shews, that when habits of regular industry have been formed in any society, new wants arise successively out of new supplies, and new supplies most effectually beget new wants. A determinate propensity to substantiate its great and leading attainments in general institutions and establishments, thereupon ensues; and these establishments and institutions, serving as a new basis to farther improvement, individuals in all stations are accommodated with a multitude of facilities and advantages, that are to them, respectively, of a primary and most important description. Within these, the fertilizing influence of the ameliorating principles, again and again, regerminate; from them, they draw forth fresh accessions of strength and of vigor, which they never fail to circulate, throughout every animated and connected part of the general system. In this way, society unfolds its powers and resources, in the most luxuriant and attractive manner. Its developements become the sources and the conduits of genial nutriment, at the very time, and by the very means, that they satiate the desires and delight the senses of men. And, while our ordinary

and natural cravings draw into full exercise, means and energies, congenial to our circumstances, our higher and nobler propensities are disclosed, and in the course of things receive and give forth correspondent gratifications. It is thus that the remuneration of industry, and the circulations of its produce, goes on. The relief and surcharge of the industrious processes, mutually stimulating each other, not only bring within the compass of human capabilities, a multitude of invaluable acquirements, severally fixed and rooted in appropriate establishments and institutions, but they in effect model and constitute the temper and character of men, to a correspondence with these circumstances. Mankind instinctively form in themselves habits, that render their most novel acquisitions as essential to their social existence, as those that are of a primary nature; while, at the same time, their consuetudinary habilities accommodate themselves as fully to, and exercise themselves as assiduously in employments of the most complex and diversified nature, as they had formerly done in those that are the most simple. But, while society is thus raised in its general circumstances, those principles, by which these circumstances were constituted, still remain. They unfold themselves indeed upon superior ground. But labor and solicitude are still as necessary as ever for the subsistence of society; and, of course, these must always bear their proportional rates in the general estimation. They never can be dispensed with; society can never be overcharged with them; and consequently their absolute value, must, on the whole, re-

main unaffected by any of those courses of advancement. Nay, as every movement of the social body, in such circumstances, is more and more intricate and involved, and induces exercitations of the human powers, that are constantly more subtile and more valuable, stretching their influences frequently over a wide range of most important affairs; so far from fallingoff, or becoming lax, the course of industry must, most assuredly, become constantly more vigorous and more direct; while the rates of its appretiation, in place of being vacillatory, may also be expected to maintain themselves on a steady equitable footing; proportionate, indeed, to their relative value and importance, but always coincident with the established circumstances of the industrious individuals, whose interests are implicated in their movements.

But besides these general considerations, arising from the connexion that necessarily subsists between social advancement and improvement, and those principles by which the relative value of industry and enterprise are determined, there are others, proceeding upon the character of our own system, that deserve our notice. As these considerations are, on the whole, very analogous and coincident with those that have been just mentioned, and have in the course of this treatise been sufficiently illustrated, a very few observations, it is apprehended, will at this time be sufficient for our purpose. Unlike the concrete system of the heathen world, which had for its object the glory and advantage of a few leading individuals, the Christian

system, developing itself on beneficent and independent principles, has the happiness and the welfare of every individual and class of individuals for its object. To the wants, circumstances, and general interests of individuals, its movements are adapted; and into their service these movements never fail ultimately to resolve themselves. In place of simple coertion, without end, and frequently without object, competition and emulation, tending necessarily and completely to general and particular good, are the impelling principles of our system. The taste and views, not less than the wants and desires, of the poor, as well as of the rich, are thereby directly met and gratified; and these, running in coincidence with their respective characters and circumstances, the multitude of commodities, and of the means of gratification, that are necessarily produced, for the service of individuals, becomes the great stimulant of the common system. Sometimes mere fancy and caprice; sometimes, also, delusion and perversity characterise the results of those indications of personal will, which the independence, secured to the lowest as well as to the highest ranks of the community, enables individuals to give forth. It deserves to be remarked, however, that, under the benign influence of that system of things, which still prevails within our own island, good sense and sound discretion are perpetually breaking the force of the corrupt and perverse propensities that arise out of low and vulgar conceptions of things. Intelligence and beneficence are sometimes studiously introduced by the superior order into the pursuits

of life. Under these influences, the powers of individuals, even in the lowest stations are exercised, purified, and exalted; and their operations, their propensities, and their gratifications, are more or less formed under the benign principles of the general system. All these advantages, let it be recollected, have a constant and most determinate tendency to substantiate themselves in general institutions, and to gather up their powers and resources under concentrating establishments, (whence both the poorest and the richest may draw their most invaluable blessings,) and they thereby perpetuate and substantiate themselves in the social body.

These views might, perhaps, with much propriety, be carried over the whole circumstances of society: it is sufficient, however, to shew, that as all classes of men must be enveloped in one great system of improvement, whereof individual advantage on independent, benign, and equitable principles is the supreme object, so individuals, in every description, must participate fully of these advantages; a proportionment betwixt the value of their respective claims on the common good, and their share of these advantages, being always duly maintained. The capitalist, we perceive, in availing himself of his means, necessarily stimulates and rewards the exercises of the industrious; and these last, in improving and extending their reproductive establishments, send forth a profusion of commodities, sufficient to secure to themselves an adequate portion of the substantive fruits of their own labors. In endeavour-

ing to provide themselves with equivalents, for the purpose of enabling them to purchase their own supplies, however, the industrious not only send forth abundance of their respective productions; but they obtain that correspondent command over the universal medium of intercourse, of which they are in quest, and, amidst these exercises, they effectually advance the whole circumstances of society. Moreover, displays of magnificence, of refinement, of elegance, and of superlative attainment are thereby procured, and placed in the sight of all classes, and a train of corresponding feelings and perceptions excited and kept alive in the minds even of the meanest of the people. Provisions and establishments, of the noblest and most interesting nature, arise out of the same plenitude of means and power; for it is a curious fact, that the more our energies are exercised on sound and ameliorating principles, and the more comprehensive their range is, the more their results substantiate themselves in appropriate provisions and establishments; which respectively reinforce, and give efficacy to all the general results of that system of things, which they comprehend. Of this we have abundant evidence, under our eye. Institutions, for diffusing elementary instruction, for maturating the attainments therein procured, and for making the erudite genius and talent thereby prepared, bear with full effect on the circumstances of the community, are not only set down in every appropriate situation, but they are so endowed and constituted, that no individual whatever can be excluded from their influence.

These things, however, are not only provided and established on a liberal and public footing, but they are borne home on the condition of individuals, in such a way, as to make it, in some measure, necessary for every one to avail himself of their existence. All classes, in consequence of the profusion that every where abounds, are not only fed, clothed, and accommodated in a way far superior to their predecessors in the same station; but, from the established power of habit and custom, and from the current circumstances of society, they are necessitated to exercise their taste and judgment in the enjoyment of these advantages. As no one can disparage religion, or sound morality, or virtuous propriety, or social or civil attainments, with impunity; so every one is anxious to place himself and his concerns, as fully under the influence of the institutions, by which the principles of these are unfolded and enforced, as his circumstances will permit. These things are stated, more as appropriate instances of general acquisitions, than as any actual enumeration of the advantages that have already been secured, under the influence of systematic improvement; it being evident, that these are but a few of the most prominent, and that there are many much more important, that have become so familiar to our apprehensions, as scarcely to leave us any adequate conception of our situation before their attainment. How multifarious, and how vast are the personal enjoyments, that arise out of our foreign intercourse —out of our spacious avenues, roads, and other methods of communication—out of rural and agricultu-

ral improvements—which all may contemplate, and all may virtually enjoy! Do not equitable laws, municipal and juridical establishments, stretch their protecting arm over us all? Do we not all feel and enjoy the fervor of a public spirit; the zeal of contributing to our country's welfare; and the delight of joining in one concordant spirit in its general interests, and of upholding the substantial strength and excellence of our general constitution? Let us not forget that the divine instruction, that the moral and intellectual illumination, which constantly sound in our ears, and beam before our eyes, are as unlike the malign and debasing influence of ancient mythology, as the comfort, which is infused by it into the hearts of the distressed, are more congenial to the character of our great common parent, than the dark forebodings of mystic ignorance; and that far from impelling our active powers to the discharge of duty, by wild, desperate, coercive influences, we are urged on, in our proper courses, by the most heavenly, and by the most powerful personal persuasion; the most glorious and delightful views of this whole mundane system, and of our own special destiny, as connected with it, being made real and efficient principles of action, and rendered familiar to the apprehension of the most obscure human being. And let it be noticed, that this system does not develope itself merely in the way of suasion; happily, resplendent instances of christian liberality and munificence, are not awanting to give force and efficacy to these influences. Christian benignity embraces the highest concernments

of our race, it is extended to their whole circumstances, and it comprehends in its object, the inhabitants of every clime, and of every country, whether friendly or hostile. In these grand displays, all may participate; to their grandeur all may contribute; and in their resplendent effects, every Christian must be satisfied, that his own private participation and contribution can be discriminated by that supreme Being, into whose hand, he and they have been committed.

From the preceding statements and illustrations, we are led to the following important conclusions.

First, we must infer, that, in the course of the progression of improvement above mentioned, supplies of the necessaries of life, as well as of every marketable commodity, will be so abundant and so low-rated, that the medium of exchange, so far from sinking in power or in value, will effectually advance in both. It will not only command, directly, a greater proportion of such things, but these will be intrinsically more excellent and more valuable. Particularly, it will command a greater degree, and a more valuable impetus of human industry; and this industry will be every way more efficient in regard to its proper object. Nor is this all; this industry and these commodities, will be placed in circumstances, that will render them every way more estimable to the person who can command them, and more appropriate to their particular end.

The nature and importance of the acquisition here referred to, will appear, if we fix our regard upon the real circumstances, in which the money-holder must stand, if his situation were directly reverse of that which has been stated. Such a personage might be able to obtain possession of a vast expanse of unproductive soil, of a multitude of rude commodities, and even of some new and valuable substances. He may have the industry of thousands at his command, and he may thus produce many articles of various degrees of utility; so that, on the whole, his situation may be every way most respectable. Still, however, it must be recollected, that his circumstances are isolated, and rest solely on his own substantive power. He must himself procure every object, and he must bring together labor, skill and talent, to carry them into action. In the meantime, he must remain destitute of many public and private, general, social and civil advantages and accommodations. In order to obtain any thing like these, much labor and assiduity, and great expence are unavoidable. He is on the whole imperfectly served; and he must expend the medium of exchange most profusely, in order to obtain even this imperfect service.

On the other hand, the money-holder who is implicated in our course of improvement, though destitute of the rude possessions above referred to, has a multitude of appropriate provisions laid to his hand. He has, as it were, not only the command of every thing on which he can legitimately fix

his mind, but direct access to the possession of it, with all its fascinating concomitants. Human industry in its most improved state is, in a manner, obedient to his impulse. Institutions and establishments, of every description, emit for his service their recondite acquirements, and shed forth around him, blessings of the most estimable description. Nor is this all; as if a direct premium were annexed to the proper use of all these advantages; his husbanding his power, his turning it to useful and incrementive purposes, not only extends its substantive amount, but annexes to him, personally, a peculiar species of power, that is known by the name of personal influence.

It is no doubt true, that when men are surrounded with so many stimulants to expenditure, they are too apt to divest themselves, inconsiderately, of their personal means, in the way of indulging this propensity; but it must, at the same time, be recollected, that the abuse of a blessing derogates not from its character. The system held to be instituted, however, meets the whole objection directly in front; it makes this propensity to undue expenditure, the repairer of its own injuries, both public and private. The industrious are stimulated and remunerated in the circulation of the medium that is thus brought about; and the folly of the expender, by goading him to personal exertions, in the way of which alone, his own breach can be fairly repaired, frequently becomes such a stimulant to his powers, that he is rendered instrumental, not only in

augmenting the public means, but in advancing his own condition. Here, however, it deserves to be remarked, that as abundance of wealth in individuals is seldom the concomitant of unwarranted expenditure, (it being most generally persons in desperate circumstances that fall into this vice,) so, in a flourishing community, where so many valuable and profitable investments present themselves to the capitalist, the propensity to accumulate will be more likely to be on the increase, than that to expend.

Secondly. Since the rates of wages, and the remuneration of the industrious, will, in the progression of improvement now held to be set forward, be noways impaired, and since the prices of commodities and productions of every kind, (articles of the first necessity not excepted,) must, from their superabundance, decline in their appretiated value, it may be inferred, that the command obtained by the industrious over subjects of desire, will be constantly upon the increase; individuals, who depend on their personal industry for the means of their support, will, in this progression, be regularly acquiring more and more power over the blessings with which they are surrounded, and a securer possession of these blessings. The advantage, here referred to, may be more distinctly apprehended, if we examine the advancement that has already been obtained by this class. The time was, when the whole of a man's labor went to procure a scanty uncertain supply of the necessaries of life. Though climate, soil, and unbounded scope, all concurred in reinforc-

ing his exertions, these could seldom protect him from the most ordinary contingencies, and myriads were desolated, by accidents which are now-a-days so fully met in the way of improvement, as scarcely ever to be thought of. Perhaps, the time may be said to be still within our recollection, when the genius of improvement had not enabled and disposed men to ameliorate their circumstances, on a general scale. The momentum, by which industry was propelled, could not send forth its force to some of the most essential wants of the poor and dependent, who were thus, in many important respects, placed beyond the range of systematic amelioration. Now, however, the ameliorating principle has penetrated into all their concerns, and diffused its renovating influences throughout their whole circumstances. Fashion, custom and habit, have rendered these familiar to them, and they enjoy the blessings of a beneficent system of industry, almost as inconsciously as they do that of the elements in which they move. In these respects, the meanest of us partakes as fully of the benefits of social existence, as the heads of the state did in former ages; climate and soil, alike give way to the influence of superinduced improvement; and a portion of industry, which, at one time, would scarce have procured for them a bare subsistence, now puts them in possession of advantages, of which their predecessors had not got even the most distant conception.

It must be recollected, however, that the poor still hold many of these blessings, by the most un-

certain tenure. Their industry which depends chiefly on our foreign trade for its support, is sometimes overdone by the excessive briskness of that trade; and when the population of whole districts have been ranged under the banners of the establishments, reared for the express purpose of meeting the demands of this trade, this briskness has evanished; the population concatenated has been thrown hopelessly loose, and these districts have been in a manner desolated by the stagnation of their productive powers. This is a most tremendous evil, and it is one under which we must always labor, while commercial credit, supported merely by a commercial medium, constitutes the main instrument of exchange; and, while our foreign intercourse is neither balanced, nor combined with political transactions. The system now laid down, it will be noticed, goes to fill up these deficiences, to institute appropriate provisions, and to give to the provisions instituted, an operation correspondent to these induced advantages. That industry of every kind, more particularly that of a local and territorial nature, must, under these advantages, have its requisite support, seems to be self-evident. If it contains a root, or any staminal force whatever, its results will appear in substantiated forms, and therefrom financial developements will arise. Let it now be supposed, that our country has fully secured to it these advantages. Will not its results again and again substantiate themselves, and as often send forth corresponding developements? And will not these, according to the principles and in the very spirit

of our independent beneficent system, be constantly accessible to every individual member of the community, on terms correspondent to existing circumstances. A country, possessed of such advantages, can never be deficient in the means for supporting industry. Public institutions must also arise, accommodated to the poorest as well as to the richest. According as general wealth and industry shall become diffused, attainments will branch themselves out into substantiated forms; and in these forms, they will constantly approach nearer and nearer to acquisitions that are public and purely gratuitous; and, like as the meanest may perambulate the finest street or highway, and enjoy the luxury of beholding surrounding improvement, with as much composure as the rich, so, for a trifling consideration, and in some instances for none, they will receive erudite and appropriate instruction and information, and be put in possession of advantages, that the most splendid characters, amidst the most favored circumstances, at one time could not have procured; all which advantages, let it be recollected, must be stable, fixed, unalienable; and, if they can be connected, in the manner proposed, with a suitable permanent system of industry, they must be ever on the increase.

Let it now be recollected, that along with this noble propensity to invest means and capital in ameliorating institutions, there prevails very generally amongst the lower orders of society, a correspondent disposition to avail themselves fully of this

advantage. May we not therefore hope, that in the course of improving our industrious faculties, we may succeed also in improving the moral and intellectual powers of our species? We all know, that industry is much more favorable to improvement of every kind, than idleness; and that improved industry never fails to carry up along with it, the attainments of the individuals who are exercised thereon. How often do we see workmen, in tattered clothing, surpassing their employers in every kind of moral and intellectual acquisition. Some people imagine that this tendency is unfavourable to industry, and to civil order. These should know, that it is the paucity and slenderness of such attainments, and the rudeness and barbarity of those, amongst whom such personages can figure away, and not that universality, which is here contended for, that gives rise to this propensity. A highly civilized society is not prone to irruption; if individuals of a boisterous cast make their appearance there, they are either beat down by competitors, or left to to expend their turbulence, in airy vaporations. Knowledge implies the capacity of judging aright, and where the advantages of regular incessant industry, to the individual, as well as to society, are so fully exhibited, a superiority of knowledge can scarcely have any other effect, but that of stimulating industry, and rendering society so much the more ardent and sucessful in its pursuits. Labor is obviously necessary and salutary; and as experience has shewn us, that a certain modicum may be occasionally substracted from its amount, without injuri-

ously diminishing its results, why should not some portion of this modicum be expended in superior exercises; especially, when we consider, that depravity and corruption, the greatest enemies to social and national prosperity, must thereby be counteracted, and the powers and faculties of man be impressed by motives that coincide so fully with the general system.*

* I AM aware that the severe exertions, and long hours, held to be necessary in certain employments, may form a powerful exception to the universal application of the foregoing views. As the legislature, however, seems heartily disposed to lend a favourable ear to the claims of the industrious, and as courts of judicature, and all the independent classes of the community, universally bestow the most accommodating construction upon these claims, I have ventured to suppose, that the spirit of improvement will diffuse itself into every part of the workman's condition. The great difficulty seems to consist in accomplishing this object without traversing the general interests of commerce, and the received principles of our civil constitution. There is, I think, one regulation, of a very simple kind, that has already been adopted in this country, which, if carried forward to its necessary extent, would not only go far in preventing any thing like abuse, but place this part of the civil rights of man upon an equitable footing. It has been found that Justices of the Peace have a right to regulate the current rates of wages. Let it be held as an appendage to this power, that this court shall also be authorized to fix the ordinary hours of attendance at each employment, discriminating, with minuteness and precision, the various allowances that are to be made to apprentices and for contingences: and let it also, on proper application being made to it, judge concerning undue exactions of service. It will be recollected, that this does not take it out of the power of these parties to enter into separate and very particular agreements. The use of the regulation is to fix the received understanding,

If the industrious should progressively advance in such a course, we might look forward to a high and exalted state of social and civil existence. Mankind would find labor and solicitude clothed with numerous facilities and advantages that are not at present thought of; and these facilities and advantages would stimulate and advance their respective powers. Their character and condition would mutually harmonize with each other; their attainments and their services would be alike valuable to the community and to themselves; constantly resolving themselves into each other, and, at each turn, constantly carrying forward, the great line of improvement.

Thirdly. The foregoing expositions lead us to take a more comprehensive view of our subject, than any that could heretofore have been attempted. It has been shewn, that we are not warranted to infer, that money has been depretiated, merely, because certain commodities require a larger sum to measure their market value, than formerly. This

where no special agreement has been entered into; and it is left entirely to the feelings of the parties, to accommodate themselves to their own circumstances; the state of improvement subsisting within each particular county, no doubt, entering fully into the case. Thereby, it is evident, that no violence will be done the rights and feelings of any one—and commerce, which depends on the equable industry of all, will merely be fixed down, where its movements are unequable. Great care must in such a case be taken, to provide that this regulation remain not a dead letter on the statute book, least the attempt to remedy the evil, make its operation only the more malignant.

increased estimation of commodities, it was seen, arose chiefly from certain burdens and imposts, introduced into their appretiated value, which did not formerly exist, and which accordingly raised their aggregated price in the current standard. It was thereafter shown, that we are as little warranted to infer, that our general circumstances have been anywise depressed, in consequence of these superinduced burdens on the expence of living; or since the price of commodities has been thus raised in the current medium, to conclude that our power of commanding them, must have been in consequence diminished; for we know that the reverse of this is in reality the case, and that society at large possesses all the advantages that ever it did. In the course of the disquisitions to which these expositions have given rise, it was demonstrated, that certain advantages arose out of our general circumstances. That a progression of improvement in the arts had taken place, whence such abundant supplies could be procured, that the value of commodities, fitted for immediate consumption, notwithstanding their incumbered condition, had sunk in the standard medium; at the same time, that the importance and the power to which the industrious processes were advanced, in consequence of the superior impetus and value, that was annexed to industry, to rude materials, and to landed property, gave to individuals in general, an augmented power over the instrument which commanded these commodities. In consequence of these, and other concurrent advantages, the quantity of medium necessary

for procuring their wonted supplies, was placed as fully within the reach of individuals as ever it had been; and the standard of value, which measured the claims of individuals and the prices of these supplies, was maintained at its pristine power and estimation.

It is very evident, that although no other advantage than that of thus preserving the means and energies of society unimpaired, amidst their superinduced pressure, had been procured by the developement of the system in which we are implicated, yet its inherent excellence would thereby have been sufficiently established. Cumbersome and multiplied public burdens and exactions have invariably, in all countries, and in all ages, proved ultimately ruinous; and this ruin has affected not only the physical, but the moral powers of nations. With us, however, the reverse has been the case; the burdens laid on commodities have not, in effect, increased their price, nor militated against our interests; they have been met by appropriate improvements in the arts of life, and have accordingly become the harbingers of an universal amelioration in human affairs, both physical and moral. The social body, so far from having been depressed, has been advanced; and, amidst a progression of improvements in the arts of life, its general powers and faculties have been extended and improved. A greater proportion of the current medium has become necessary for measuring the value of our greater attainments; but it is our personal acquisitions that pro-

cure for us this proportionate increase. Our propensities to luxury and refinement must be gratified; but it is our powers and faculties, that bring to these propensities their proper objects. Towards these our energies are directed; and from the resources before them, they extract the superabundance that surrounds us. That these are absolute advantages is a position which no one can dispute, who places the condition of civilization above that of barbarity; and that all who are implicated in this system, must partake of its benefits in proportion to their personal claims, on principles universally recognized and established, is a position equally evident and equally indisputable. The following illustrations will serve to elucidate the general subject still farther.

The simple fact—that it is the circumstances of society, and not any depression in the value, or in the power of money, or of the means under the influence of individuals for procuring money, that have made it requisite for us to expend more money in our living now than formerly—may be rendered familiar to our apprehensions by direct reference to a very common case. Every one knows that it costs more money to live in London, than it does to live in the country. How does this happen? Articles of desire, (some few mere necessaries that enter but little into the general account only excepted,) are universally cheaper there, than in the country; so that it is evident, that money wants none of its power in London. Every thing useful and desirable finds its best and readiest market in

London; whereby, it appears also that the power of means over money is as little impaired. What therefore is the exposition of this enigma? It is prepared to our hand. The state of society in London is raised to higher ground. There is there a wider range of enjoyment, and more abundant means within this range; whence it is, that the denomination as well as the power of these means is proportionally augmented. A general expansion of the powers and faculties of enjoyment of those, who are immersed in this state of things, has thereupon taken place. Such is the multitude of desireable objects; such the attractions and allurements with which these objects are respectively endowed; such the force of that torrent, whereof fashion, example, and consuetudinary indulgence, are the spring; that individuals are thereby almost unconsciously swept off their feet, enveloped in the train of expence that has been superinduced, and imbued with desires and capacities, that lay beyond their accustomed sphere. She, who could contentedly trudge on foot in the country, must in London have a coach and livery; he, who dined comfortably at home on a joint of meat, has turtle or venison in town. Thousands of such incitements and indulgences beset individuals in every rank, station, and condition of society, and beget appetites and faculties, which are progressively stimulated, gratified, and extended, to the standard pitch. It is not at all meant to say, that these modes of living, or these aggregate circumstances of the social body, are just so many indications of an a-

meliorated state of human affairs. On the contrary, let it here be fully understood, that the manners of such a society, being very generally debased and corrupted, its peculiar attainments must be held to be more exotic than appropriate, and its general character and circumstances, to be, in every leading particular, widely different from that universally progressive amelioration of the whole concernments of man, which it is the object of this system to establish. The amelioration that has been unfolded must, from its very nature, completely pervade the whole affairs of our whole community; and while it stimulates the energies and resources of man individually considered, in the most powerful manner, it must draw up the results of these, under influences of most beneficent and harmonizing tendency; which will diffuse throughout the whole circle of human affairs, their ameliorating and ennobling principles. The sole object therefore of the illustration above given, is to convey a precise idea of the effect, which an advanced state of society, one wherein superior means and faculties introduce superior attainments and enjoyments, has on the movements of the principle of valuation, and on its power in human affairs; and we perceive, most distinctly, that the standard of value, and its power, may both in principle and in operation, remain unaltered, yet, from the conduct of men, and from the condition of society, these may not reach their ultimate object. A greater range is provided, and a greater impetus is necessary to circumscribe this range; more ca-

pacious objects must be comprehended, to which greater faculties alone are commensurate.

It is necessary, however, if we would introduce the comparison above instituted, into the progressive circumstances of society at present going on, to take this fact fully along with us, that it is not merely to the expences of their subsistence and enjoyment, that the means of individuals must now be commensurate. In the disbursements of individuals, now-a-days, the concerns of that peculiar establishment, from whence their means are drawn, are in general by far the most prominent part of their expenditure. There are few individuals who have not some reproductive process, wherein they are constantly making investments; which investments, taken in the aggregate, for the most part far exceed the aggregate amount of every other current expence. It is no doubt thereby proposed, that the returns that are to proceed from these investments, shall amply remunerate the invester; but how seldom, in a long stretch of enterprise, have these purposes been accomplished? How often does the subject of their solicitude, in the end, swallow up their whole means, and then leave them desolated and forlorn. This painful consideration must affect all of us, for it is a fact, that admits of no controvention, that more real detrimental loss is incurred in the way of business, than in that of direct expenditure. Yet how inconsiderately do individuals commit their all in such courses; which, decorated by all the fascinating charms of proudful

ambition, serve merely to conduct them to their ruin? Under such influences, men are thus gradually stript of their own means, and then tempted to involve their friends in the same destructive fate. This math has already been sufficiently illustrated; and it is one great object and design of the proposed system of improvement, to place the interests of all, more particularly those of the substantial capitalist, upon the most stable footing; to give him a more secure basis of intercourse, more stable provisions for investment, and a more appropriate range for enterprise. The above observation, introduced solely for the purpose of bringing directly under our eye the whole circumstances to which the medium now in circulation must be commensurate, serves also to evince that something altogether different from a falling off in the value of money, and from a diminution in the power which individuals may possess for the attainment of money, has taken place; and that, while we are well warranted to infer, that the standard value and relative power both of money and of means still remain unimpaired, we are equally well warranted to assume, that it is from the advanced circumstances of society, and from the extended faculties of individuals, that the inadequacy of our general system to its object has been disclosed; which inadequacy points directly to some high public provisions for relief, and indicates that these provisions must be of a character coincident with the ameliorating system with which they are to be connected. Since, however, the evils that affect our system are radical, and such as can only

be remedied by measures that can reach its whole extent, and influence all its parts and all its movements, and accomplish its object in the most irresistible manner; it becomes us to be fully certiorated respecting the leading character of these measures, before we give them our unqualified approbation, and to have in our eye, not only their ultimate efficacy, but their progressive operations and consequences.

That there is in the progressive advancement of human affairs, a real accession of improvement in the arts of life, correspondent to the increase of value that is attached to this progression, as denoted by the augmented expence of living, may be illustrated by drawing a parallel betwixt the attainments of society at a former period, when the medium of exchange is considered to have been powerful, and the present attainments of society, when its influence is said to have fallen. Let us, for this purpose, go back to the times of King Henry the Eighth; when the principle of improvement had scarcely disclosed itself, when its power was altogether unknown, and when social and civil intercourse and enjoyment labored under such restraints, that a sum of money which could have commanded rude productions to an hundred times their present extent, would scarcely have procured, of commodities prepared for the refined uses of life, a supply equal to that which the meanest of us daily consumes. In the view of illustrating our subject, let us next suppose that this powerful monarch had been made so sensible of the blessings and advantages atten-

dant on general improvement, as to have bent the whole force of his arbitrary power and propensities towards this object; and that in this view he had proceeded to lay out in the most judicious and systematic manner, the whole funds that had descended to him from his father, and the whole means of which he himself had dispoiled the church. Let it also be subsumed, that he had not only availed himself of all these advantages to the utmost, but had been able so to regulate his operations, as to preclude, as far as possible, any thing like depretiation in the value of his vast acquisitions.

In such circumstances, what might naturally be expected to follow? It is evident that, in the first instance, a value would be attached to labor, and to all the means and instruments of improvement that was formerly unknown. In the next place, these immense attainments, being all brought fully into exercise on the principles and in the service of improved industry, would give rise to a multitude of acquisitions, both fixed and moveable, for the use of the community at large. In the third place, as the circulation of the medium of exchange would diffuse throughout every rank and class of the industrious and enterprising, means sufficient to procure for every individual, not only a very ample command over the general fruits of industry, but a decisive influence over the whole course of improvement, it could not but follow, that, in a very short time, the general interests of man, individually and independently considered, would thenceforward be-

come the great object, towards which the operations of industry, thus stimulated and improved, would be directed. Society at large would receive provisions into every ramification of its general interests, whereby the comfort and influence of all its members, would be simultaneously advanced. Although, therefore, money, in the first instance, might seem to lose somewhat of its power, this power, enriched with diffusive influences, would soon be effectually replenished. It is not here meant to say, that money would then command the same numerical quantity of objects that it formerly did; but it is distinctly asserted, that those objects which it did command would, taking into account the advantages concatenated in their acquisition, be intrinsically as well worth that price, at which their attainment was fixed down, as ever they had been.

This matter may be properly illustrated by a reference to particulars. The labor of a peasant may now be much higher rated; the same sum, that was wages for an hundred men at the outset, might scarce suffice for a dozen, when improvement had advanced. Let it be recollected, however, that the whole strength put forth by these hundred men, first in felling down trees, next in grubbing these up by the root, and then in turning over and cultivating the ground, might produce less fruit than that of the dozen, who, coming after them on the same ground, had merely to carry on an improved process of agriculture, upon a soil already prepared to their hand. Let it however be admitted, that in

this, and in every other analogous case, the difference of result is not exactly proportionate to the difference of expenditure; still it remains to take along with us this fact, that greater care and comfort in carrying on operations, more facility and accommodation in realizing and economizing the results of these operations and turning them to account, more extensive and more valuable social and personal advantages, in the possessing and enjoyment of these results, more appropriate civil and municipal establishments, better roads, and higher public and private provisions of every kind, have been at the same time procured; so that, on the whole, it must be granted, that the numerical amount of the medium of exchange, is, properly speaking, no more than additional dimensions for new subjects of value, which every one must, some way or other, pay for and enjoy; but which, in truth, are necessary, in order to include the variety of valuable acquisitions, that are appended to our particular enjoyments.

I APPREHEND, that on closer examination, it will appear, that there is a natural or consequential, as well as a real and accessory connexion betwixt this increased appretiation, and increased circumstantial improvement. For the purpose of illustrating this, let us take another instance from the same state of things. Let it be supposed, that the real value of the whole property, thus subjected to improvement, was at first twenty million pounds sterling, and that King Henry laid out four millions in improv-

ing it. Let it then be recollected, that the money and means, invested in improvement, have passed under the influence of a beneficent equallizing system, which stimulates the powers and exercises the faculties of our whole race, in coincidence with its object; and that the support given to industry, and the excitation given to exertion, would be transmitted directly from man to man, and from society to society; so as, in a very short time, not only to have impelled the whole community into action, but to have branched their exercises out, according to their various powers and capacities, and set these respectively forward, in the way of improvement. While value is rapidly annexed to possession in the way of improvement, and to industry, and its fruits increased—rude and radical commodities would constitute always a smaller proportion of the general wealth that was created; the price of mere necessaries in their first state of preparation, which, at one time absorbed the whole, now seldom absorbing above one fifth part of this aggregate wealth. Taking all these considerations along with us, I would propose it as a case—that a sheep, which could at first have been procured for a shilling, could not now be procured for less than a pound; but that dinner, served in a style to which the revenue of few noblemen in these days was adequate, could, at the same time, be procured by any individual for half a guinea—and then state it as a question—Is there not a necessary connexion, betwixt a rise in value, and a progression in improvement? No one can deny it. The circumstances of society

have changed, but the objects, towards which both wealth and power are universally directed, as their ultimate end, have not been raised above, they have been sunk beneath, and harmonized with, the condition of that vast multitude, who, from existing circumstances, have now been enabled to procure them.

Let us take another instance from the same circumstances, for the purpose of exhibiting the real state of this question in its full light. In the age above referred to, perhaps one thousand pounds would have purchased a thousand acres of good arable ground, from which an hundred of men might have extracted as much wealth as would have maintained themselves, their families, and their landlord, respectably, in that rude way of life, which was then prevalent. At a subsequent period, however, a hundred thousand pounds might scarcely suffice to purchase this same property. But let it be noticed, that this land, when raised to this advanced price, might be cultivated by a dozen of men; through whose labors, it might send forth fruits sufficient, not only to maintain their landlord and the families of all concerned, in circumstances every way most comfortable and respectable; but to stimulate the industry, and to supply the wants of a civilized community, by means of whose well directed and highly improved labors, many thousand highly useful individuals, might be most worthily sustained. In order to evince this fact, let us take under our eye, some specific article of improvement. Before the art of printing was invented, a good copy of

the Bible could scarcely have been procured for one half of the value of the whole land here referred to; yet in the subsequent period, by dint of the wealth created out of the rude property, establishments might be maintained, whereby not only myriads of such bibles might be manufactured, but thousands of individuals, capacitated to receive and communicate the instructions which these contain, might be reared up, and endowed with all the instruction and education that was needful for this purpose, such as not one in many thousands could formerly have obtained. The statement, here given, cannot appear in the smallest degree overstretched, when we consider that besides the value of means produced, which was the sole object on which the acquisitions of our forefathers turned, we have the advantage of those funds, of that circulable capital, which emanates from well directed, fully organized industry; the results of which emanations, anticipated and circulated, serve all the purposes of absolute wealth, and constitute the basis of our accredited circulable medium*.

* If the above representations are just, and I do not see how they can be fairly disputed, they hold up the pertinacious cavillings of the money holder and the annuitant, in a very unfavourable point of view. It is indisputable, that the enterprising capitalist, in consequence of the facilities afforded to him by our paper currency, has been able, not only to procure for these and for all parties, abundant supplies of invaluable commodities that must otherwise have ever been beyond their reach; but has also, in effect, met, and even anticipated the unprecedented demands of the state and of the public, by means of resources which he has prepared for their service, and has done this in such a way, as not

Taking these illustrations fully along with us, I would propose it as a question; what is the real and proper source of all this superinduced improvement—of this approximation of real wealth to the

at all to lower the principle of valuation, but rather to advance its first imported value. In place, therefore, of subtracting from, it now appears, that the enterprising have all along been adding insensibly to, the means of the money holder, and have uniformly ameliorated his condition, almost in despite of himself.

When this fact is duly attended to, it brings before us a view of the claims of the commercialist that is truly affecting. This class, composed of men of good education and respectable talents and property, embark their time, their talents, their means, their family, and their connexions, in the front of that progression of improvement, out of which all our wealth is extracted. They are gradually drawn deeper and deeper in the way of adventure; they are, as it were, (to use a homely proverb,) led on the ice, till it is impossible for them to measure back their footsteps. In the evil day, when help is necessary, that fragile support on which they rested, fails them. In this state of things, after their means and their hopes have been forever sunk in the dark abyss, and the community have entered into possession of all the advantages prepared for them, neither the fruits nor the thanks nor even the commiseration, that they deserve, is bestowed. Society enters upon their depretiated attainments in some instances, (as in the case of the Sugar and Coffee Planters,) nearly as so much public stock. When the most absolute depression has overwhelmed their fortunes, these invaluable public servants are nevertheless doomed to hear the croakings of money holders, about the depression of that commodity, in which their peculium is invested—about the depretiation of that capital, which is constantly augmenting, while they enjoy it!

Perhaps, it is necesary for us, to bear with such assumptions, because it is a fact which cannot be concealed, that our national

circumstances of individuals? Is it not the superior powers and capacities of the social body, and of that system, which apportions to all its members,

fabric rests more on the financial class, than on any other class of the community. But why must the misfortunes to which the enterprising are exposed, be aggravated, merely in order to satiate the avidity of these gentry. It is a fact of the most unquestionable nature, that not one in ten of our adventurers can weather the point, on which their fortune turns: and yet the success of this tithe of commercial prowess, arouses the indignation of the money holder and annuitant; they feel themselves, as it were, sunk under the rivalry that has overshot them; and like the enemy of the Jews, they would destroy the whole class of men that have become obnoxious to their self-complacency, in order to preserve, undepretiated, their own standard excellence.

It is impossible to dismiss this subject without noticing the ill-favoured remonstrances, so injuriously set up by public functionaries, in aid of these cavillings. So far from wishing to disparage the fair claims of such personages, I would strenuously contend, that their condition, and their respectability, should be fully maintained, and constantly advanced with the state of society. But why rest their claims on the depretiation of the medium, a thing which has never yet taken place! Must we assume the interests and advantage of these, or of any annuitants, as the pole star for financial calculations, and lower the spirit and the hopes of the nation, by appeals to disproportionate privations, and to superinduced inconveniences, when, in truth, it is merely the natural, perhaps justifiable avidity of the parties themselves, partially checked and partially gratified that calls for a regular, and on the whole highly proper, accession of means? The direct, the true, the consistent way of instituting such claims, is to set forth the flourishing circumstances of the country, the rapid progress of improvement, the propriety and the necessity of preserving entire the dignity, the splendor, the independence of that station, in favor of which indemnities

their respective allotments of industry and of property, and which renders their operations constantly more and more estimable? If the estimation and results are augmented, must not an augmentation in the capacities of the instrument which admeasures the claims that are hence induced, be also, in like manner, augmented? Although the relative claims of individuals be not generally proportioned, according to the antiquated usage—is not the rule for measuring these claims, their power and value when fully borne on the circumstances of society, itself, irrefragable? On the whole, therefore, we have the most abundant testimony of this fact, that whatever the rates of valuation may be, the standard of value, strictly considered, amidst the extreme fluctuation in every thing else, has not itself been impaired by systematic improvement.

or advantages are required. In this way the claims of these parties would be no less cogent, and they would be in all respects more respectable, both for the applicant and for the community.

It will be noticed, that these animadversions are not directed to the principle, but to the *spirit and character*, of the assumptions of money-holders. It is the interest and duty of every one, who has obligations of any kind running in his favor, as much as it is of the money-holder, to maintain irrefragably the stability of the standard of valuation. That the number, as well as the character, of those, who are thus indirectly interested in this point, must necessarily be great and respectable, is evident, for it includes almost the whole independent part of the community. But it is not less their duty and their interest to repress improper assumptions and pretensions on such a point, because if thoroughly acted upon, and pertinaciously peristed in, these would lead into measures that are highly injurious to the community.

Though rude commodities, the substance and the root of improvement, have generally had their estimation increased; that of every thing useful, and befitting the circumstances of man, considered as a civilized and intelligent being, has gone on, in the opposite ratio; insomuch that the most important articles have generally sunk irrecoverably in their marketable value, so as to be placed completely under his influence as such, and so as universally to raise his condition. Must we not therefore conclude, that the medium of exchange, used by us, has discharged its most necessary offices? The progression of improvement itself, may be altogether hypothetical, an empty problem, which the cruel ambition and tortuous policy of states and potentates will constantly counteract; but does it not serve to illustrate subjects, that are not at all suppositious, that are of the utmost importance to all of us, and that cannot be too fully unfolded and elucidated?

Fourthly. While these expositions and illustrations disclose to us the operation and general consequences of systematic improvement, proceeding upon independent and beneficent principles, they direct our attention to the deep foundation, which the proposed system has already obtained in our social constitution, and they evince the propriety and the necessity of resorting immediately to these decisive measures, that have been so fully illustrated. It is out of improvement in the arts, abstractly considered, that general wealth, conjoined with social advancement, arises. This wealth col-

lected and consolidated, in the hands of individuals, and constituting what may be called stock or fixed capital, is the source whence territorial improvement draws its earliest support, and the impetus whereby its tardy movements are first impelled. In this way, private property was not only created, but increased and extended, so as at length to diffuse its influence throughout society at large. But though improvement thus drawn out, might exhibit what may be called a coercive influence, and produce a multitude of splendid and magnificent displays, it reached not to the whole circumstances of man, in his personal capacity. Certain gratifications and enjoyments, more or less refined, and more or less exalted, might indeed be generally obtained and secured; but it was the appropriate concernments of but a small number, proportionally considered, that was provided for; so that the instituted progression of human affairs may be held to have been on the whole, more deteriorated than ameliorated, by the superinduced improvement.

Thus it was, that real property was first drawn out in a representative form, and society accommodated with an appropriate emblem, whereby its general wealth could be parcelled out into parts, and transmitted and circulated without inconveniency. It was not, however, until a system of things was instituted, whereby the circulation of property could reach to the whole concernments of civil life, that society at large partook fully of the advantages of improvement. Property, substantially considered, might be

circulated, and apportioned to individuals according to their respective claims; and thus it might be rendered instrumental in arousing the latent energies of our race, and in exercising these appropriately in the service of society; but the course of improvement, that was induced, had but little influence on the most interesting concernments of mankind, taken individually. When diffusive beneficence, and personal independence, however, had become the animating principles of the social system; property, both in its substantial, and in its representative capacity, was not only circulated and diffused universally, and impressed by a correspondent impulse, which conducted its influence directly in the way of individual and social improvement; but, in this way, and under these impressions, it was again aggregated in the hands of the industrious and enterprising, and resolved anew into stock or capital, the spring of renovated industry.

Representative property possesses various qualities that lead most directly to these resolutions. Personal obligations may arise out of every transaction, and these cannot pass from hand to hand, without calling into existence substantive property. Such representations of wealth have a regard to the powers, as well as to the value, of established industry; and in anticipating their results, the industrious, in effect, bring them forward. Substantiated wealth, to the requisite extent, is formed under their influence, and the wealth, thus substantiated, becomes the germ of a new financial progression. At the outset,

personal obligations may be scarcely at all transmissable at their imported value. By and by, however, their bearings on general industry are ascertained, and their efficacy, in resolving themselves into absolute wealth, felt and acknowledged. In such circumstances, no individual, whose avocation and resources are respectable, need be at any loss, to pass creditable obligations; for these will regularly run themselves off into others of a more current description. The stock of society will, as it were, balance itself in the hands of the money holder; whose coffers, successively relieved and replenished, will preserve in the channels of industry and enterprise, a free and salutary motion.

Funded property, accordingly, in our circumstances, cannot be called the representative of substantiated wealth. It may at first arise out of such wealth, and it may tend constantly to resolve itself into it; but as these representations, when drawn up in the form of funds, and circulated, may be again drawn up, and again circulated under similar representations, real funds are more properly emanations from, than documents of, substantiated wealth. Individuals, possessed of funded property, may transmit and circulate its value, and upon the strength of these transmissions and circulations emit fresh funds, and from these again educe other financial resources successively; and go on, in this way, without bestowing the smallest attention to their connexion with, or disjunction from, tangible, visible, subjects; for the new financial instruments, thus protruded into exis-

tence, may pass into the mass of circulable capital, like the first emissions obtained from substantive wealth. It is necessary that such financial emissions run in the course of productive industry, and that they regularly resolve themselves into some subject of correspondent value. But, with this advantage, financial operations may be increased almost indefinitely. These rest not so much on real acquirements, as on the instrument for commanding such acquirements. They comprise in their object, not only such instruments, but every anticipation of them, that may coincide with current circumstances. In doing this, any validated financial obligation may be made to discharge all the duties and offices of the common medium of exchange.

This matter may be illustrated by a familiar example. A hogshead of sugar may be sold to a person, in creditable circumstances, for fifty pounds; whose obligation, importing its value, may enable the vender to obtain the proceeds of that obligation, from his banker. The same purchaser may dispose of the same hogshead, in a similar way, and receive and send forth its value, in like manner. The second purchaser may do the same, in regard to a third; and this third the same in regard to a fourth purchaser. All this time, there is of substantial property but one hogshead of sugar, the value of which is drawn up, represented, and circulated, no less than four times. But this is not all; for these bills, these obligations in the hands of the holder, may be again represented, and circulated; and

in new financial forms, they may again and again pass through the bankers hands; so as, in effect, to send forth into circulation, ten times the value of their substantive origin. It is necessary, in the end, that each individual discharge his own obligation; and that each respectively be fully remunerated for all his charges and trouble; but if the hogshead of sugar is lost, and if the credibility of the persons entrusted, is not sufficient to bear them above the superinduced calamity; the bankers, and all who were dependent on these transactions, must sustain a loss correspondent to their interests therein. In the meantime, however, the industry and enterprise, stimulated and supported by the circulation of funded property, it may be expected, will amply compensate to the community at large, for all losses and calamities that may have been induced. Its substantive property must also have been proportionally increased, and out of that substantive property, emanations of financial wealth may have proceeded, sufficient to replace all that was lost. So long as the resources and energies, the capabilities and resources of society, bear upon each other, under the influence of a free and beneficent system, so long will the circulation of property, and that of its emanations, resolve themselves into fresh accessions of means, and so long will the incumbent system unfold its powers, and extend its capacities. Private losses and public calamities may, no doubt, occasionally, traverse particular courses of this instituted progression; they may overwhelm the fortunes of individuals, and even of whole classes of

individuals; and for the time leave a sensible void in the circumstances of the industrious and enterprising part of the community. Still, however, the root and spring of improvement will remain unimpaired, and the channel of commercial and financial resources again be replenished. The very destruction induced, may add to the force of the impetus. How often does the loss of an expected supply, which involves individuals in ruin, by annexing a higher price to stock on hand, augment, in place of diminishing, the wealth of a community*; and by giving an additional stimulus to the spirit of adventure, redouble the supply of the commodities that had been destroyed?

It will be recollected, however, that the grand peculiarity of funded property is, its being transmissable and circulable, in the most simple and abstract manner. To regions the most remote and detached from the property whence they originated, funds may be transferred, and there they may be circulated, on the most free and independent principles. It is necessary, that some person, sufficiently ostensible in the public eye, should in these regions validate the tokens of value, by which this transmission of funds is effected; and it is evident, that no one can do this, except on the faith or in the

* Of this a memorable example is obtained in the history of the city of Glasgow. The American revolution deprived that city of two millions of property in debts due to it by that country; but the consequent rise of Tobacco from 2d. to 2s. per lib. gave such a stimulus to its manufactures, as soon to add a similar sum to its capital.

view of fair retribution; which retribution can only take place, in consequence of some real and complete connexion subsisting betwixt this individual himself, and some substantive property, held to be withdrawn, in his favor, from under the influence of the person on whose account he becomes thus obligated. But these transferences may be made in the most indirect and circuitous manner; they may have taken place long before, or they may take place long after the moment of time, when the remittance of funds is effected. Portugal may have received a supply of flour from America, and America may be indebted to Britain for manufactured goods. In the meantime, Britain may have occasion for naval stores, and Petersburgh stand in need of Madeira wine. The transmission of the wine, from Portugal to Petersburgh, will, in this instance, place all parties in circumstances, wherein they may counterbalance each other's claims. The remittance of funds may be direct and momentaneous; the American, by taking up the sum owing him in Lisbon, in the wine merchant's draft on Peterburgh, and transmitting it to his debtor in Britain, may put Britain in circumstances to close her transaction with Russia. But the transmission of the substantive property, out of which these obligations arise, is most complex. British commodities had been transferred to America; American commodities to Lisbon; Portuguese productions were to be sent to Russia; and Russian commodities to Britain, before the funds of each party could rest solidly upon its own

basis; which basis, if any one of these transferences had been awanting, could not have been procured; nor could the transaction itself, without such intervention, have been brought fully to a close.

We are hence led to extend our views of financial operations a little farther; and at the first glance we perceive, that although transferences on the above principles may, and no doubt, are, both numerous and extensive; yet, in nine cases out of ten, circumstances will intervene to prevent the exigencies of the exporter from bearing on those of the importer, in such a way, as to produce a correspondence betwixt their respective operations. In some instances, the sums will not be commensurate; in others, the parties themselves may not be acquainted with each others circumstances; in others, differences as to dates, and other incidental matters will intervene. It is evident, therefore, that it would be both dangerous and prejudicial to calculate upon the contingent exchange of commodities, for the direct resolution of financial operations. These things, we all know, have given rise to the business of the banker, by whom, validated obligations, payable in foreign countries, are bought up, and their value made use of, as the basis of his transactions; and by whom, counter-obligations, payable in foreign countries, framed for the service of the community, are drawn out, in the most articulate and in the most precise manner, to meet every particular object. There results from the respectability of such financial transferences, a variety of advan-

tages of high moment to the commercial world. Individuals, possessed of foreign funds, can get them instantly resolved, at their full value, and may thus immediately convert this value into so much circulable wealth. As a direct consequence of this advantage, a transference, completed or anticipated, or even meditated, may become the instrument of creating funds for circulation, both in the importing and in the exporting country. It is necessary, that the bankers, uttering the articulated impledgements, be sufficiently respectable in name and in circumstances; and that both countries and their governments be prepared to give due enforcement to the penalty, universally annexed to the forfeiture of impledgements in such circumstances; under these favoring circumstances, the excitation and support, obtained for the ordinary processes of reproduction, from the funds thus uttered, will, for the time, be every way as great, as that which the introduction of a similar quantity of the most standard metallic medium could possibly produce.

This matter, which has already been sufficiently illustrated, is again introduced, for the purpose of bringing fully into view, certain characteristic excellencies of the system, which it has been the object of this treatise to unfold. Funds, we perceive, can be created and circulated, on the faith of absolute wealth, that exists only in contemplation; they may rest for their efficiency, merely on personal obligations, the importive value of which consists in the capabilities of the parties ob-

ligated to resolve these at maturity into the current medium; and yet, in this form, they may carry on the process of reproduction, until commodities, sufficient to command the quota of the medium necessary for their resolution, shall have been procured from their operations. It is no doubt subsumed, that the circumstances of society shall continue to coincide with, and bear forward, a regular succession of such operations; that a steady market for receiving commodities, and for resolving them into transmissable personal obligations, be obtained; and that capitalists, fit to resolve these obligations into the circulable currency of the day, be at hand. It must also be admitted, that if, in the meantime, this market should fail, the personal obligations then in the way of currency, would also tend to pass off from the public service, that value or amount of the medium which they commanded; they would, at maturity, neutralize, in the money-holder's hands, the validated currency, which the spirit of enterprise, under better auspices, had impelled and circulated amongst the industrious, and made instrumental in bringing forward masses of substantive wealth; and when thus drawn out of the course of circulation, this wealth might retire into the strong box of the capitalist; whose wealth would thereupon be resolved into the mere balances of value, that rested with him after running off the personal obligations, in which his property had been circulated, or into substantive acquisitions which had become fixed in his possession. These circumstances point out very nearly our present condition. Happily no

such absolute decay and falling off of circulable wealth, as that here referred to, has as yet taken place; there are still wants to supply, and redundancies to pass off, sufficient so to stimulate and remunerate industry, as to induce a general circulation of property, both in its substantive and in its representative capacities; and we may still hope to be able to preclude from the social frame, every thing like absolute absorption of financial prowess.

Our attention is accordingly called away to an evil much more tremendous than the above, and of a very opposite character, which has grown up under our eyes. Our powerful reproductive processes had obtained the absolute command of the market of the world; in spite of the prohibitions and imposts of open and concealed enemies, they could maintain the ground that they had gained; and nothing, but what completely struck at the root of social existence was sufficient to counteract them. It was necessary to destroy the returns that we wanted, in order to prevent their reaching our hands; it was needful to make not only privation of substance, but death itself the penalty, in order to deter the obligated from fulfilling their engagements to us. This dreadful alternative has at length been resorted to; and although our enemy inflicts tenfold misery on himself, he is so satisfied with the mischief that he can do to us; that he, most determinately and systematically, follows out his destructive courses, and this he now does, by means the most audacious, and amidst consequences the most deplorable that can be

imagined. Our industry and enterprise, which had formerly commanded the wealth of the greatest nations, having been sedulously and systematically adapted to the circumstances of these nations, had, in consequence thereof, become absolutely dependent upon the intercourse which such advantages alone could uphold. This intercourse has been cut off; the identity of our system with other systems has given our enemy access to our vital strength; other nations must prosper that we may prosper; by striking at the prosperity of other nations, our enemy perceives that he strikes at ours; he now, therefore, most determinately adapts his destructive operations to these views. Against every thing that has originated in Britain, or is in the way of resolving itself into British property, he directs his infuriate enmity. Our transmissible property, accordingly, and the funds that emanate from it, are directly struck at. Part of these perish, in consequence of the subjects on which they rested for resolution at maturity, being withdrawn from under the influence of the parties obligated; and part also from the capital of the country itself having perished, fallen, or become really inefficient. Amidst these calamities, can we be surprized, that the substantial capitalist should withdraw himself from under the sphere of such disasters, and instead of vesting his means in funds, that are represented by personal obligations, that become so frequently illusory in the end, should place them under the safeguard of the nation, and thus leave the public hopelessly to meet the full weight of the superinduced calamity? It is thus,

that the regular course of industry has been so effectually blocked up, and that validated impledgements pass off in services very different from those in which they originated.

Whither do the enterprising and industrious in such circumstances resort for relief? The only public support yet thought of, is the exchequer bills, and this support certainly enables those parties to hold out a little longer against the tide that is set in against them; though it noway ameliorates their situation. If we could calculate on a speedy change in foreign markets, no support could be more judicious and appropriate, than that which is thus procured; for, while individuals are thereby enabled to retain their property for a definite period, and to make preparations for future demands, a circulation of money amongst those whose circumstances most require it, is also thereby produced. It is the first object of this accommodation, to dispose and enable parties obligated, fairly and regularly to meet their engagements; and it is only its second, to prepare these for future enterprizes. These advantages, exchequer bills bestow upon those who have a fair claim on the public for such support, and upon no other; and they bestow these no longer than the exigencies of the case require it. Exchequer bills, accordingly, are a real and efficient remedy, in those cases, where the disorder of the system is only partial, and where the results of industry and enterprize can be looked to with confidence; but it is evident, from their very nature, that they can afford no relief that is at

all commensurate with our present emergencies. When the course of reproduction is so generally subverted, its movements so pertinaciously traversed, every such temporary expedient must only aggravate the evil which it postpones.

The force of the above objection to exchequer bills in our present system, will appear more strikingly, if we examine the tract, in which the financial relief, thus obtained, is necessarily impelled. Those, who are thus accommodated, it is evident, will, as a matter of course, discharge their current obligations, and replenish their exhausted establishments; and in so doing, they will remove a variety of embarassments that at present block up the reproductive system; whereby, in the meantime, energies and resources will be brought into exercise, which will give forth valuable means, whence, in due time, will emanate circulable funds. Let it be remarked, however, that all this time, the market, for which our great leading reproductive establishments are calculated, remains as it was; and, that all we are doing will neither enlarge its dimensions, nor carry us over the obstructions that are thrown in our way. Our general industry is so commanded by these leading establishments, and these again by the market for which they are calculated, that the very relief and improvement hereby procured, without new facilities for realizing their results, in place of removing, must aggravate the incumbent surcharge. Dependent and connected industry and enterprise may, in such circumstances, be extended and ad-

vanced in value and in importance ; and the general circumstances of the country may be borne up, in a correspondent manner ; but the great interests of the commercial world will remain as insecure, and as involved, as ever. Does it not thence appear manifest that something, much more efficient, than any relief of this sort, still remains to be provided ?

On looking a little closser into the subject, we perceive, that even under the most favourable auspices, the advantages of accommodation, strictly so called, must necessarily, and at all times, prove temporary and illusive. The financial wealth, that is realized, will still continue to be run out in a concurrence of personal obligations, resting entirely on the capabilities of parties, who are completely dependent on the circumstances of the times. It may be possible to resolve one set of obligations into another, and those again into a third, always increasing the apparent validity and respectability of the paper that is held ; but until the imported value be realized in specie, or in some commodity, the intrinsic validity of which is equally indisputable, while we imagine, that we hold in our hands, a fair representation of absolute wealth, a real balance of concurrent obligations, we may only hold a counterpoise to some obligation that is unliquidated, which, at maturity, is destined to neutralize the validity of that very instrument which we regard as substantiated capital. It is impossible to guard against this contingency by the utmost care and circumspection. Establishments, reputed to be of stability equal to

that of the national banks, are daily tumbling about our ears, and involving others, whose circumstances and advantages seemed to have secured them against every such calamity.

The truth is, our financial system rests on the circumstances of the country, and these circumstances rest again on those of individuals; all which circumstances, let it be noticed, are dependent on an intercourse against which, incessant warfare, either in a direct or indirect manner, is waged by both friend and foe; in which intercourse all the various losses and calamities of individuals are drawn up as general obstacles and disparagements in the way of financial operations. The distress, that is thus induced, is of a very deep and lamentable kind; for while it mars the progress of financial operations, it renders the individuals who are more immediately affected by it, the sport of every wayward accident. The unfortunate man, like the stricken deer, is he, whom every financier carefully avoids. Fresh financial aid is then most requisite; but it is then also most difficult of attainment. The calamity, when general, is redoubled by the apathy of the money-holder, who, deaf to the voice of distress, anxiously draws from it, that support on which it had been accustomed to depend; concurrent obligations, in balancing each other in his hands, leave individuals implicated in them, helplessly to their own resources. In the meantime, the validated currency, into which these obligations were to have been ultimately resolved, is gradually drawn off the

circle. The embarassment, thereby produced, cannot but be dreadful, although our feelings have at length become hardened under them; and we view them as the natural results of our situation. We recollect, that when commercial credit was high, our advantages were powerful; and we regard these evils, merely, as contingencies arising out of these advantages. But is this the only cause, why we are so little appalled, when we find, in the very acme of our distress, when the commercial world is most absolutely and most universally depressed, every thing like factitious support denuded of its influence?

When we come to examine the cause and origin of this personal apathy to the distresses of others, we perceive, that at the very foundation of our system, there lies, as its cause and origin, a misapplication of the general principles of our system, that inevitably inverts its most concordant operations. The importance of upholding the validity of personal obligations, as things now stand, is sufficiently obvious; and in the view of upholding this validity, it is received as a rule, that all the property of each individual, who passes such obligations through his hands, or has had his fate, by a deed of copartnery, linked to the act of those who may have passed them, shall be liable for the ultimate resolution of every such obligation. I call this a misapplication of the principles of the system, because it is none of its natural or necessary consequences, for in every other ordinary case, individuals may contemplate all the effects of every positive obliga-

tion, under which they bring themselves, before they can be held to have become bound by these obligations; and because the understanding, here implied, can serve no good purpose whatever. The guarantee, here held to be given, might be of some importance, when individuals could deliberately weigh its nature and extent, and could give or refuse their guarantee, according as their capabilities plainly indicated. But, with us, the case is altogether different, no man can or does refuse his guarantee to the obligations which he necessarily passes. Nay, the circumstances of all are such, that few can, even for a moment, pause, before they thus augment the obligations that are current against them. What are the consequences of this? These are most deplorable. The evil incurred is great as well as universal. The fate of individuals, of all ranks and classes, is so entwined and so incorporated; and the contingencies, by which this fate may be affected, are so multiplied and so powerful; that there are few, who, in ordinary cases, could tell precisely how he would stand, if certain great calamities should happen to take place. He might expect to derive support from one quarter, and to rest his burdens upon another, but the whole funds of the commercial world, being bound up under recondite influence, and encircled by the spells of this influence, the whole means even of the most powerful, may evanish in the midst of their security. Amidst the many causes of trepidation in the financial world, this cause, the uncertainty arising from this implication of personal obligations may, perhaps,

be stated to be the greatest. Our circumstances are generally bent down under misfortune, and it seems as if it were for the express purpose of rendering these misfortunes as universal, and as complete as possible, that not one of us can know with precision, how far we or our friends are secure from the greatest misfortunes. Our advantages, in consequence become paralyzed, in our hands, and, without at all intending it, the best of us, in case of need, while grasping for his own relief and deliverance, may not only occasion, but seal down the greatest misfortunes upon our neighbours.

It is the object of the proposed scheme to strike at the root of all these evils. It developes the same beneficent and independent order of things; it points to similar social and individual advancement; and it proceeds over the same ground, according to the same principles. In diffusing these influences, however, and in prosecuting these ends, it counteracts the inherent vitiosity of the present course of things, and it meets the great sources of evil at their fountain head. This is done in a way that is perfectly simple and obvious, but this way is indisputably appropriate.—Our measures are adapted to our circumstances, and these measures are followed out with boldness and pertinacity in their appropriate course, always, however, in coincidence with, and in comformity to, the general rules and principles of the system.

The first great evil, the dependence of our indus-

try on foreigners, whose enmity and rivalry are insuperable, the scheme, under review, counteracts, by withdrawing our industry, from under their influence, and leaguing it with a system, wherein, the great reproductive powers of the nation may develope themselves, without absolute dependence on any power whatever. It proceeds, however, to raise up new orders of industry, established on political connexions, and on combinations of national interest, that are obviously most natural and most irrefragable; and it goes on to form a plan for instituting certain civil and commercial alliances, on principles, that must lead to an identification of every other great general interest with our own, and a neutralization of every propensity, that is either discordant with, or repulsive to, our system. Thus, these great leading principles, by which the fate of nations is bound up together; and that concurrence of mutual advantage, which is universally held to be paramount to every other consideration, are set forth as the basis of a vast scheme of improvement; every accordance of feeling and of interest being, at the same time, regularly drawn up under its influence. This, at first view, appears an arduous and a difficult undertaking. On betaking ourselves, however, seriously to the business, we perceive, that it is one, that is neither impracticable nor unpleasant. The opposite wants of nations prepare them for meeting each other on this very ground. Russia, America, Spain, and every country that is surcharged with rude and bulky commodities, have an evident interest in maintain-

ing such a connexion, as that which is proposed with Britain, and with every country, that can take these off their hand, and supply them with commodities in a higher state of preparation, and better adapted to their modes of consumption than their own commodities are. The same remark may be extended to Portugal, Turkey, the East and West Indies, and indeed to every country, wherein nature is more powerful in the process of reproduction than art; and, wherein nevertheless, art to prepare the subjects intended for their use, is requisite to a greater extent, than it is usual or convenient for them to bestow.

To institute reproductive processes in the view of supporting an intercourse with Spain, America, and our colonies, is accordingly subsumed in the preceding treatise, as the leading part of our scheme. This particular line of connexion is propounded, chiefly, because, while its natural and necesssary advantages are obvious and indisputable, the accessary advantages, connected therewith, afford a specimen of the most complete and harmonious identification of political interests, that can be imagined. It is evident, however, that the views and principles, that are thus elucidated, are very generally applicable, and in the course of the illustration given, it is seen, that by prosecuting this, as our primary object, we, at the same time, put ourselves in circumstances, to carry on an equitable and advantageous intercourse with France, Germany, Holland, and other countries, whose circumstances

seem to lead them into rivalry, or rather into enmity, towards our national commerce. This vast and invaluable advantage will arise out of the circumstances that must thereupon be induced; we will have become independent of them, while they will remain dependent on us. We will be in circumstances, to obtain every extrinsic supply, that our wants require, without any assistance from nations situated as France and Germany necessarily are; we will be able to convert our commodities into absolute wealth, without having recourse to their market, for that purpose; while these nations will find it needful for them to look toward us for those very advantages, that had formerly rendered us so dependent upon them. In place of our being obliged to sacrifice our own interests, in order to suit their views and plans; they will be under the necessity of conforming themselves to our measures, and holding themselves in a state of subserviency to that new progression of improvement, in which they, as well as we, have become implicated.

In following out this order of things, it was seen as a necessary consequence of the progression of improvement, thus instituted, that an effectual counterpoise, to the undue pretensions of all our other associates, would be obtained. In the view of accomplishing those liberal and extensive arrangements, that would become necessary in these circumstances, the whole parties interested would come to discern, not only the necessity, but the advantage, of acting upon liberal and confidential prin-

ciples towards Britain. The maintenance of our exalted station, in the general system, would appear every way, not only unavoidable, but desirable; for all parties would perceive, that without this, neither their safety nor our own could be secured, neither the developement of their peculiar system of advantages, nor ours, could proceed with harmony and advantage. In consequence of these sentiments, the naval, commercial, colonial and financial influence of the British nation, would not only be regarded without jealousy, but would be cherished with the most concordant complacency.

In prosecuting this end, it would be necessary at the outset for us, to adopt every general measure, that prudence and experience warranted, in the view of preventing our industry from becoming absolutely dependent on any one market whatever. The necessity of this will appear, when we consider, that as things are now constituted, nations as well as states, frequently regard less their own interest than the destruction of their rivals. This may seem strange, but both justice and truth require us to receive it; for if the case were otherwise, there is no country in the world that would not cultivate a close connexion with the British nation, the fountain-head of civilization and improvement, and with the British Government, the bulwark of social and individual independence. In prosecuting this leading object, it would be desireable to institute certain political connexions into which our great reproductive establishments would naturally conduct us;

and it would become necessary for us to prosecute this object in subservience to the interests of our reproductive establishments, which, for the most part, are massy, expansive, fitted for a vast field of intercourse, and capable of long duration, having under them a multitude of connected and dependent establishments, to all of which, a mass of population, with habits and conditions conformed to, and concatenated with, their respective employments, are necessarily appended. The whole characters and circumstances of our population, being formed under the influence of their respective employments, and powerfully affected by every thing that traverses the leading establishment, under which these employments are classed, a due regard to these particulars is indispensibly necessary. These views plainly point out the danger of fugitive and transitory, commercial and political connexions, and the vast advantages that are attendant on those connexions, that arise out of fundamental bonds of union; as such they must have their full weight in every great political arrangement.

The leading interests of the country, and those of the agricultural and colonial establishments must, as matters of course, form leading points, whence these connexions must be drawn, and as such they will be held steadily in view. As it would be not only unfair but unwise, to traverse the alimentary canal of our best friends, it would occasionally be proper to drop into their hands, various contingent advantages, and to content ourselves with those

classes of advantages, that are peculiarly our own; and that harmonize most naturally with our own system. These reflections, though evidently important, might perhaps be spared, because the subject of this comes most immediately under the direction of the governing power, which seldom fails in its respectful regards to its friends and allies. A wise and upright government, in making great national arrangements, and in forming great political connexions, will, nevertheless, constantly keep certain ultimate objects of its own, completely in view. These ultimate objects are, no doubt, frequently remote and obscure, and commonly most difficult of attainment, when most distinctly discerned. Attempts to act closely upon them, are apt to create perplexity, and to produce suspicion and distrust. In such circumstances, discretional powers are necessary, but these again are too apt to prove illusive, from the proneness of the parties entrusted to give way to personal propensities. For this, and for other reasons, I would assume it as a maxim that ought seldom to be violated, that in all great political arrangements, whatever the views of goverment may be, nothing should be drawn up under the head of a general arrangement, that cannot be discussed in principle, as well as received and recognized, in practice. Defects in articles of arrangement will, no doubt, occasionally, take place; but it becomes us to recollect, that the very excellencies and advantages of our system are apt to bring it into its greatest dangers; and that of all dangers, that of protruding our powers and faculties into

doubtful ground, is amongst the greatest. Besides this, we know, that there is a plasticity and potency in the resolutions of our system, that, in general, give it a commanding influence, wherever its operations are not expressly excluded, or completely fixed down by express regulations. It is not meant to say, that it is either a difficult or a dangerous thing for us, to consent to definite regulations, even in the most minute points; nor, that we ought to be deficient, either in boldness or dexterity, when objects sufficient to call these forth, require their assistance. On the contrary, I hold it as one of our greatest misfortunes, that our statesmen have heretofore been so remiss in these points, and as a duty of the most indispensible kind, for them to avow, not only the nature, but the extent of our claims. Let it, however, be remembered, that peace, security, and concord, even within a narrow range, are to us invaluable. These are powerful agents in the way of reproduction, and as such they are our best allies. Wherever industrious processes can be set in motion under their influence, there, results for our service will soon appear and find their way into our system. Severe, and arduous, and incessant struggles must be made in important points, for to give way in these, would argue not only a littleness of mind, but a deficiency of power and of discernment. In all lesser matters, however, it may in general be left to our own system, in the course of its ordinary operations, to assimulate every thing with which it comes in contact, to its own character and circumstances, thereby, its innate power will be

unfolded; difficulties and obstructions, in place of retarding, will accelerate its progress, and prepare it for coalescing the most discordant relations, for assimulating the most jarring elements, and for binding up into one, subjects the most incongruous and repugnant to each other. To make unnecessary provisions, to draw unnecessary limits around its movements can, therefore, serve no other end, but to fetter down its powers, and to entangle its progress.

It must remembered, however, that without the financial provisions that have been annexed to our great scheme of improvement, the grand object for which that scheme is constituted, the promotion of social and independent improvement, would be but imperfectly attained. A market, sufficiently capacious, and every way adapted for the resolution of our commodities into absolute value, might be secured by political and national arrangements of the most judicious kind; a multitude of valuable provisions and facilities, both pertinent and extensive, might be superadded to these acquisitions; it must have become evident, however, from the statements already given, that without a special and peculiar basis of finance—the general order of our affairs—that very system in which all our personal advantages are comprised, might verge into a concrete form. If the sole object were to procure abundance of means, there could be little ground of complaint; for in virtue of our powerful reproducing influences, equal abundance might be procured under a coercive, as under an emulative im-

pulse. But under such impulse, these means could not be as effectually diffused, and their value as effectually drawn up in the hands of the proprietors of our establishments as under that of independent industry. It must be noticed, moreover, that an object, in all respects, more important and more extensive lies in view. It belongs to our great reproductive processes not only to provide means, but to create in the hands of individuals, a valid title to their appropriate share of these means, such a title as will enable them, in an independent capacity, to maintain their own condition, and their own character, in correspondence with the advancement of the general system; and to do this, in such a way, as to draw forth the highest exertions of individual talent, in the public service; which exertions, being made in the view of that fair compensation which awaits the deserving, must, not only invest individuals with a substantive right to these means, but enable and dispose them to pass their value into general circulation; and thus to transfer again into the hands of the industrious and enterprising capitalists, from whom had first originated the value thus drawn up and circulated.

The importance of the advantage, here referred to, will appear from an examination of its general operations. Whatever profusion of means the exertions of any society may have secured for the use of its members, however valuable and extensive its public and general acquisitions may be, no one can duly avail himself of these attainments until he

can produce, in his own right, equivalents, that will enable him to make good his claim to a share in these attainments. In our circumstances, few can be said to have a claim to that proportion of means, which it is necessary or customary for them to appropriate for their own use, prepared to their hands, otherwise, than through the intervention of their own labor or solicitude; and none can be held to be without a direct interest in the maintenance and security of that order of things, whereby industry is stimulated and means distributed, in subserviency to the established system. It is only by distributing means upon mercantile principles, and drawing up their value in an absolute shape, that the wealth, represented by these means, is realized in the hands of their owners; and it is only by circulating this wealth again amongst the industrious and enterprising, that established processes of reproduction can be stimulated and upheld, and the exertions of the great body of the people, rendered effectual in producing that wealth, whereto these exertions are destinated. This is the law of our nature, and this law is impressed so powerfully upon our system, that thousands may perish from absolute want; while every where around them, objects, sufficient to supply these wants, are perishing uselessly from the want of consumers, and while the proprietor of these objects himself, from the pressure of his own engagements upon the value that is attached to these objects, dare not put forth his hand to accord the necessary relief. This law no one ventures to complain of, or violate; for its general rejection,

though but for a moment, would, like an electric shock, convert the animated entity of our system into a morbid mass; it would shut up that vivid circulation of wealth, whereby the salubrity of every part of our system is maintained; and it would render that placid and sublimated organization whereby such virtues and charities, such valuable qualities and advantages are produced and exercised, the merest chaos of degeneracy and corruption, an effervescence of all that is vile in human nature. The example of revolutionists in all ages had elucidated more or less the truth of this position; it was reserved, however, to the late convulsion of France, to establish its awful certainty, beyond controvention.

The importance of preserving in circulation an adequate proportion of absolute wealth is accordingly obvious. It is, I apprehend, no less obvious, that this proportion cannot be procured, from the precious metals or from any circulable object, that is intrinsically worth the value that it may import, and that there is, in consequence, a real necessity for having recourse to wealth in a representative form. It is necessary that the circumstances of society, and the authority of the state, give due efficacy to the representations of wealth thus drawn up, and that these representations bear upon subjects, that are equal to the value that is thus set forth; but having secured to them these advantages, we can find as little difficulty in supporting useful industry by the emblem circulated, in its representative, as in its

real capacity. It is under these auspices, that our national industry has become so powerful; and it is upon the principle, that is thus unfolded, that the system proposed is to proceed. In the present circumstances of society, perhaps it is not possible, to devise any method for producing and circulating wealth, more appropriate and eligible, than that of thus drawing up its representations, in a recognized and validated form.

The disorders to which our financial system are exposed, arise, more from the vapid and unstable character of the subjects that are drawn up and circulated, than from any imperfection in the representative form that is adopted. These subjects are strictly speaking, *the fruits and results of social exertion, that are on the way to, or in the passage through, the market.* As such, they are destinated to run off, either in the way of consumption, or in the way of absorption. Their representations, accordingly, must partake of the same unsubstantial character; their course in the way of circulation is circumscribed to a definite period; and if the circumstances of society do not send forth countervailing instruments, to meet the value thus pending, before the termination of this period, there must be a sensible void in the circulatory process. It is obvious, therefore, that if the process of improvement, out of which these representations of value originally sprung, become retrograde, the instruments necessary for the support of this process will tend constantly to run themselves off the course of circulation.

This will appear very plain, if we attend to the process by which these representations of wealth are drawn up. These accredited circulatory impledgements, that constitute our paper currency, are emitted by money-holders in the way of negotiating personal obligations verging to maturity, on which they can demand and obtain a legal premium. These personal obligations, however, arise out of commercial transactions, which can only take place, when the progression of improvement, and the circulation of effects, can keep pace together. The obligations themselves tend constantly to pass away; they necessarily converge in the hand of money-holders; and in running themselves off, they bring back, to the coffers of these money-holders, the circulatory impledgements, of which our financial process is constituted. Similar obligations, therefore, arising out of similar transactions, must draw out similar impledgements, for the service of circulation, otherwise, the circulatory process must unavoidably run itself off in a continued train. These transactions, let it however, be noticed, tend likewise to run in a train: the same reproductive processess are stimulated and supported, and the same fruits brought to maturity; because the limited, unsubstantial nature of the accommodation that is accorded to the proprietors of establishments, admits not of the institution of new processes, nor even of their resorting to very extended operations upon old ones. If, therefore, as in the case with us at present, our great leading processes of industry send forth fruits that, from their nature,

are destinated to an unprofitable, perhaps to a ruinous market, is it not evident, that for the purpose of maintaining in circulation, a due proportion of validated impledgements, we must, in a manner, chain ourselves down to this market? We are as it were, necessitated to keep up a course of destructive industry, which desolates society in all its branches, in order to draw out of it the necessary supply of the medium. Without this industry, without submission to established modes of intercourse, we could not have the adequate proportion of commercial transferences and of transmissable obligations; and without this proportionate supply of obligations, we could not have in circulation amongst us, a competent amount of validated impledgements. Our financial system arises out of our mercantile circumstances, it partakes of its character, and, in its present circumstances, it generally resolves itself into a perpetuation of this character and of these circumstances, however objectionable these may be.

It must be noticed farther, that as our whole process of financial intercourse turns upon personal obligations that arise out of mercantile operations, so it is powerfully affected by all the contingencies by which these operations are affected. Commercial confidence is the principle by which all these operations are conducted. Transmissable obligations have no power or efficacy, but as they are supported by commercial confidence; yet commercial confidence is itself the creature of accident, and, every way, its existence is fugitive and precarious.

The smallest confusion in public affairs affects it; and on the approach of misfortune to any individual, it most preremptorily refuses him its aid. Whence it happens that this principle is never affected, without endangering every thing that comes in contact with it. It does this, chiefly, because when in its full strength, it combines efficacy and vigor in financial operations, it gives value and power to all the circulations which it supports, and it animates every social exertion with tenfold alacrity. Let it be noticed, farther, that commercial confidence can only exist, where commercial prosperity and security exists; it pre-supposes the existence of the attainments that are necessary for discharging necessary functions, and a decided bent of the socialbody, to useful and profitable employments. But before any advantage can result from these attainments, (which in our circumstances have never been awanting,) and in order to give to these their full weight, a concurrence of excitations, coincident with the interests of industry, is indispensibly necessary. Wherever this concurrence is awanting, we perceive, (as at present,) that commercial confidence, cannot exist. Sensibly alive to the abatement of this concurrence, it not only indicates an abatement of its power, but it daily extends its tremulating influence through every connected branch of industry. It is in these circumstances, that the money-holder and the capitalist avoid the approaching danger, by drawing in, as far as circumstances will admit of it, his personal obligations. In doing this, he cannot be blamed, for however desirous he may be, to con-

tribute his means to the service of industry, he must fail in his object; he has not only to encounter risks, to cover which his profits are not equal; but he thereby, in a manner, impledges himself to support and carry forward an order of things, by which neither public nor private good can be ultimately subserved, and which tend to desolation and disorder.

That these difficulties and imperfections are inherent in the present financial system, and that they are fully met and obviated under that which is proposed, may be inferred from the preceding expositions. Their contrariety and repugnance to the general circumstances of a society, advancing steadily in the paths of social and individual improvement, may be also inferred from these expositions.

Let us again take a survey of the system proposed, as comprizing the remedy to these disorders. Under it no resolution of the medium can be held to be ultimate, until its value has been rested directly upon substantive property, not only competent thereto, but comprizing every advantage that can be connected with the same amount of absolute wealth. The plenitude of the medium, thus drawn up, must remove every difficulty out of the way of effecting such resolutions, at the same time, that the irrefragability of the instrument that represents these, must insure the stability of the value thus resolved. In the next place, under this system, emanations of wealth are circulated, in the direct view of public, as well as of private advantage; and they are placed under the guardian-

ship of those, whose interest coincides with these circumstances. Having no necessary connexion with factitious or extrinsic transferences of value, circulable emblems may spring forth and diffuse themselves from native resources; and having no necessary dependence on particular productions of industry, or perishable objects, or transmissable obligations, they may be circulated and kept in motion, in perfect security, under every change of circumstances. Lastly, the operations of industry and the movements of wealth, being thus made to proceed alongst a secure and ample basis, to converge constantly upon real consolidated property, and to bear up along with them the best and most essential interests of this property,—the state, the nation at large, and every particular community, must retain an influence over industry and wealth, and over all the property created under their power, that cannot but add regularity and stability to financial operations. At present, circulable wealth, at the maturity of these cumulations of transmissable obligations on which it rests, may not only disappear, but in disappearing, it may carry along with it that substantive property, whence these transmissable obligations arose, whereby the fountain of absolute wealth may be nearly dried up. Under the system proposed, however, no such emergency can take place. In whichever way current obligations may be resolved, or to whatever quarter the wealth that constitutes these may pass, the roots, or springs of such wealth being native, and fixed in the soil, and sending forth their resources constantly to the ser-

vice of its appropriate district, circulating these on the spot, and forming equivalents under their influence,—every thing that is consumed, or passed off, or destroyed, must be speedily replaced; its value will be again brought into circulation, and again diffused, and substantiated *.

* In the exposition of this financial system, given in the 566 and following pages, the general principles and leading operations alone are traced out; it is left to the discretion and experience of the instituted board, to proportion and fill up the plan proposed, according to the real state of things. It will be proper, however, in this place, to give some detailed expositions of this procedure, that may be held to be consequent to the provisions then adhibited.

It will be recollected, that two sets of property, both valuable and marketable, and in themselves reproductive, and so constituted, that in the ordinary course of things, they must send forth objects of desire and utility, sufficient to implement the value which they represented, are held to be provided: which properties were also held to have been received at prices, and placed in circumstances, that rendered them at all times competent to the purposes for which they were thus set aside. The first of these properties was to be conveyed to the instituted board, in such a way, that this board might, without any process of law whatever, in every case of defalcation, draw therefrom the requisite relief, and accord complete indemnification to the party injured, at the expence of the party in default. The other property was held to remain in reserve for another purpose. It being incumbent on these financial establishments to relieve the public of their circulatory impledgements, by giving, at the requirement of the holder, in lieu of these, certified obligations bearing interest; this property was set aside in relief of that object, and was amenable in all cases of need to the board, for making good these obligations.

An emergency, however, presents itself for notice, that it is

It must at the same time be recollected, that these inherent qualities of the instituted system do not necessarily supercede or invalidate the circu-

necessary to provide for. In the course of their transactions, it is evident, that these banks, or financial institutions, might gradually draw under their influence ten times the wealth that these properties comprised. It was held to be competent to them, at all times, to give forth their impledgements, and it was held to be incompetent to any one, to relieve himself from a pressure of these impledgements beyond his own exigencies, otherwise, than by returning them to the bank, and demanding, in lieu of them, a certified obligation, bearing interest; which certified obligation he could not otherwise get quit of, but by re-demanding its value in similar impledgements, with the statutory interest. These simple provisions might be sufficient, if it never could happen to be the interest of banks to hold a greater quantity of the current property of the community in their power, than was sufficiently covered; but as this contingency might take place, it seems to be proper to guard against it.

This I would propose to do, by rendering it necessary for every bank to cover all these certified obligations with ascertained property, and to give that full satisfaction to the public, which such a provision and understanding necessarily implies. This addition to the former plan requires some explanation.

In the first place, let a book be kept for this express purpose, by each bank, open to the inspection and examination of commissioners, thereto appointed, and cognizable by every individual who has any interest in the subject of it. Let the first entry in this book certify the sum that is impledged, in security of these obligations, and let every subsequent transaction be entered in its order under it. When the property mortgaged is to be burdened, a deduction will be made from the sum notifying the value that has been impledged; when it is to be relieved, the relief thus given will be added to the value under impledgement. By this means, it would be seen at all times what the real value

lating funds at present in use. On the contrary, in so far as these circulations are really secure and irrefragable, the whole provisions now proposed

of the subject, on which banks may operate, really is, and bankers themselves would thereby also discern to what extent they might make their circulations. But in order that banks might not be unnecessarily straitened, it would be proper to have it received as a rule, that they might, at their pleasure, either annex to, or subtract from, the property laid under impledgement, according as it suited their own financial purposes.

It is evident, however, that in spite of every precaution, difficulties might occur in following out the above rule. As a corrolary or succedaneum, therefore, to that rule, let it be understood, that it would at all times be competent to banks, on notes being presented to them for deposition or resolution, to set these notes themselves aside. This might be done, by bundling them up at the sight of the depositor, under a proper inclosure, and docqueted label, setting forth the sum inclosed, the date of its delivery, and the period within which it must be brought back, in order to its being either retired, or placed regularly at the deposit account. As these bundles behoved to remain in the depositor's hands, some sign or seal, both on the inside of the inclosure and on the out, might be affixed, so as to render it impossible for any one to make use of its contents, without detection. These different provisions would meet every exigency, even the most extreme, to which the banker could be exposed. No one could take him so much at unawares as to make him forfeit his pledge, for he had only to take up the impledgements presented to him, and bundling these up under an inclosure, the bundle would represent their amount, effectually resolved into certified obligations, bearing interest, and resting upon the property which the impledgements themselves, when in a circulatory state, had commanded for their security. His own means would not thereby be diminished, for he would still enjoy the use of all that capital that was mortgaged to the public as so much deposited capital. The impledgements themselves,

are, in effect, real supporters to these circulations. Certain necessary and salutary regulations are, no doubt, introduced into the received practice, and

like gold in a strong box, would be circulable property in reserve; these would appear the instant they were wanted, along with that interest which, while under certification, they had produced. These different operations would no doubt occasion some trouble and expence to the banker, for which it is but fair that he should be indemnified. Perhaps, however, one quarter per cent. the premium at present exacted by bankers on their disbursements, would be fully sufficient for this purpose. As it would preclude vexatious harrassment, it might also be proper to relieve bankers from the necessity of adhibiting their certifications for despositions below twenty pounds.

It is evident, that a great many regulations, in the same spirit and import with the foregoing, might be specified and set down as necessary and proper rules, in following out the proposed plan. As this, however, would lead into detailed views of financial operations, with which it would now be inconvenient to burden ourselves, these must be held to be implicitly left to the discretion and experience of the instituted board. The foregoing provisions, however, are manifestly by far too important to be passed over in this general way; for it is only by following them out, that the whole financial system can unfold itself on sound principles. By this means, circulable and transmissable impledgements, while possessed of all the advantages peculiar to personal and absolute property, might, without prejudice, run over and command our whole substantial wealth; for property would be alike valuable in its circulatory and in its resolved capacity. In these capacities, it would exercise and remunerate general industry and enterprize, at the very time that it emanated circulatory funds; and means would be constantly formed under the influence of these funds, sufficient to substantiate and realize the results of their emanations. Fixed reproductive property, in these circumstances, could never be held

these regulations have it for their object, to draw out of the course of circulation, every representation of wealth that cannot fairly support itself. In consequence of the abundance of the validated currency, it is probable, also, that much fewer transmissable obligations would be passed in circulation than formerly. This, however, it is evident, could noways disparage the interest of society. Individuals would continue to draw their support in the direct way of trade; in the common market, they would obtain not merely a resolution of their commodities into absolute wealth, but for the most part, along with this, they would obtain real possession of this wealth, drawn up, in some circulable representation of its value. Thereby, the realized sum would be placed beyond the range of contingency; thereby, also, the business of society would go on as formerly, but it would go on in a safer course. The interests of this business, thus supported, however, would only be prosecuted the more securely, and on principles more coincident with its general object; and this object would, when accomplished, be only the more conducive to the interests of the business that was thus transacted.

This leads us to a more interesting view of our project. What is it that renders so much of our

to be set aside from public use; according as it increased, its emanations of circulating wealth could be increased; and these emanations, in exercising their influence over internal and external resources, would, in like manner, constantly increase the aggregate amount of wealth realized and substantiated.

labour and solicitude abortive? What is it that protrudes the courses of our trade and industry, so fatally to destruction? What is it that absorbs and swallows up the valuable results of our energies and resources? Is it not the insuperable evils under which we are brought by the existing financial system? Capitalists are set down amidst a multitude of reproductive establishments, regularly organized, and furnished with a complement of men and means for their service. In order to enable capitalists, however, to avail themselves fully of these advantages, they cannot but involve themselves in a mass of personal transmissable obligations, depending for their ultimate resolution on the merest contingencies. These obligations, in the course of things, in place of being subservient to, become directors of, subsequent movements. Every contingency confirms things more and more in this inverted order; and the greatest of all contingencies, universal embarrassment and general bankruptcy, but seals them up the more completely. No financial aid can be obtained until transmissable obligations can be produced; and these obligations cannot be obtained otherwise, than in the ordinary course of trade, although the circumstances of all parties forbid them from anywise interfering with the course already instituted. The means, and powers, and faculties of the greatest capitalists are, in this way, in the end worn out; they are unavoidably and hopelessly exhausted in a course of reproduction, that is in fact a public calamity, from which they can by no means obtain any discharge,

so long as our illusory and concretive form of finance remains as it is. Mankind in general, must be dependent on industry, not only for means but for money; the instrument, by which their respective proportions of these means is to be obtained, being attainable by few in any other way. When, therefore, men's habits and circumstances, necessarily more or less concatenated with their employments, are fixed down by a system of finance, which thus hopelessly exhausts their vital strength, does not the necessity of according some radical relief to those, who are at the head of such an order of things, manifestly appear? and ought not this relief to be such, as will enable these to extricate the general powers of society from a concretive prostration to such pernicious influence?

It is unnecessary for me to go over the various grounds, on which the proposed system meets and obviates all these embarrassing circumstances. It is sufficient, after the expositions already given, to advert to the protracted period, and independent circumstances, in which the circulating medium necessarily moves. This medium, having for its basis, solid irrefragable property, is not, as at present, to be kept in a state of dependence upon the general fate of enterprize. Bankers need not place their funds in the hands of London agents, by whom they will, in the course of trade, be diffused amidst the most forlorn and desperate adventurers, friends and dependents, it may be, of these bankers, who, buoyed up by some respectable names and

characters, that have been allured into such destructive courses, carry these, and all that these carry along with them, into the most forlorn enterprizes; all which support, drawn though it be from the vitals of the nation, serves only to aggravate the destruction that is inevitable, and to involve whole districts of country in their desolating train. The financial operations of the new system, emanate from property that is absolutely secure, and set aside for this express purpose, and that is drawn up in that precise shape, and under those very circumstances, that are most proper for securing to it its imported value. In other words, the property thus drawn up and represented, is not only realized and substantiated in the bankers' own hands, and universally recognized and accepted at its appropriate estimation, but is placed under the direct influence of the parties most deeply interested in maintaining this estimation, and as such, it cannot but be powerfully protected by the highest provisions in the system. The advantage, here referred to, is increased by the coincidence of the circumstances of the property itself, with those of the system in which it is implicated; by the importance attached to its results in their fullest developement, as leading branches of the general system; and by the consequent paramount influence, which the interests of this property must maintain over those of every other property in the community.

It will be recollected, that a long run of years is to be secured to the currency of these impledge-

ments. The value and importance of this advantage, when taken in connexion with the independent and respectable footing on which bankers may conduct their business, are too obvious to require any illustration. This provision is necessary on many accounts, but more particularly so in consequence of the extensive range of improvement, that is to be laid open under the proposed system. It is necessary for those who embark in undertakings, arising out of a vast progression of things, to have a lengthened period of accommodation in respect to their financial transactions; and this can only be obtained for them by putting it in the power of bankers, to give this accommodation, without subjecting themselves to unnecessary danger and trouble. In the way of bestowing this accommodation, much solemnity and deliberation may frequently be necessary. It may be the interest of bankers to pass off their impledgements into the hands of individuals, who can make the most liberal use of them; but it may, at the same time, be indispensibly necessary to take real as well as personal security for the accommodation that is thereby given; a contingency, that presupposes much caution, as well as deliberation on all hands. When such facilities, in advancing projects, have been generally provided, enterprises and reproductive processes may be set agoing under the most favorable circumstances. Not only may every improvement, provision, and advantage be secured to these, but the conductors of them may be enabled to give to their merchants a lengthened credit, as often as their

circumstances may require it. Here, too, much deliberation may be necessary: arrangements of this kind must be concluded under a contemplation of all their consequences; but experience and observation will soon make these preliminary steps easy and familiar, and render the most complicated operations noways problematic. In this way, although the market of the whole world, and a range of enterprize proportionate to that market, be thrown open to the adventurer, means and funds, equal to its whole extent, will be at hand, which may be introduced into it, not in the way of desperate enterprize, but in that of deliberate contrivance, and under the direction and control of men of capital and good sense. Although, therefore, the risks inseparable from such an extension of enterprize may not be entirely obviated, they will certainly be greatly diminished. These risks, and the uncertainties connected with them, will be drawn up under a variety of heads, over each of which, public and general institutions of assurance may be established; which risks, when thus secured and provided for, may, by a variety of methods, correspondent to the nature of each particular case, to be divised and resorted to as occasion requires, be so divided and frittered away, as to become subjects of easy comprehension. Of these advantages we may obtain some idea, by adverting to similar establishments that at present exist, and that are so useful, and so efficient, to this very object in our present system.

It must be noticed, that the accommodation thus

given is altogether of a different kind, from any that borrowers upon mortgage can at present obtain. On all such occasions, the person borrowing must resort to the money market, and draw away his own set of funds from its former offices, where perhaps its services are equally important, and equally indispensible, although, from the humor of the lender, this may not be regarded. In the way proposed, however, the funds requisite are created for the purpose; and as they dilapidate no process of reproduction in their creation; so, as any exuberance, that may ensue, will immediately revert into the establishment whence it arose, the funds thus created can produce no general incumberance. In the mean time, the funds thereby procured will not only resolve themselves directly under the influence of capitalists, but they will also create, in favour of these, occasions and opportunities for turning their wealth and influence to the best account. Occupations, wherein, without much trouble, they may avail themselves of their floating property, in a way congenial to their circumstances, opportunities, and advantages, will necessarily arise out of these circulations. Besides the variety of matters for assurance already noticed, competent only to capitalists, various contingencies must occur, amidst the extended line of transactions, resulting from the vast progression of improvement held to be instituted, which may lead into affairs fit for their interposition. The circulable medium can never be long out of sight, when real and substantial wealth can so read-

ily command it. These, like a corps-de-reserve, would be at hand for the support of the unfortunate. This employment they could exercise with peculiar advantage, for the whole system laid down, starts up in relief of all those whose affairs may, for the moment, be thus bound up, when these obligations, are but the announciations of the value of property, drawn up under them. While this provision strikes at the root of a concretion of transmissable obligations, it gives to obligations of every kind redoubled efficacy in their direct course. It strikes at the root of our present evils, and the very instrument, that cuts short their malign influences, makes full way for the peculiar conveniencies that are to follow. Personal obligations, that are now so frequently overwhelming to all who are implicated in them, must, in these circumstances, become the vehicles of seasonable refreshment: they will give salutary relief to the person obligated, when this relief is requisite, and they will do this without burdening the general system. When circulable obligations are of sufficient validity to maintain their own ground, they may afterwards be passed into the hands of the money-holder; when they do not possess this validity, they will remain in reserve in the hands of their owners; and either way, if they do not replenish, they will not bind up the general energies of society.

These considerations are, of themselves, a sufficient proof of the propriety of resorting to radical provisions for remedying the general evils of our

financial system, both in a political and in a commercial point of view. When taken in connexion however, with the various other considerations that have been previously set forth and illustrated, they evince the propriety, as well as the necessity, not only of a complete, but of an immediate recourse to such provisions, and they leave us no ground whatever to doubt of their salutary and beneficent operation.

Besides the foregoing, there are other inferences from the same premises, that are of a much higher and far more comprehensive nature. To make the preceding illustrations bear on these with their proper weight, would require a volume, by itself, of no ordinary dimensions. There are two general views, however, under which the most important of these conclusions may be classed, which, I apprehend, may comprize all the remarks that, in the present restricted state of our subject, it is competent for us to make. The first of these classes comprises the effects of the foregoing system on the circumstances of nations; the other, its effects on the characters of individuals.

First, The above financial scheme, though primarily adapted to the circumstances of the British nation, may be accommodated to those of any other great civilized nation in Christendom, and more particularly to those nations, that it is meant to implicate in the proposed system of improvement. Wherever the powers of reproduction have

been improved and concentrated, the fruits of these, prepared and distributed upon equitable and mercantile principles, their value drawn up and represented, and in that, as well as in their substantial form, recognized, circulated, and resolved into accredited wealth, there funds may be drawn forth out of the roots of these establishments. It is requisite, that property, in all its ramifications, be duly protected by the dominant power, and that its resolutions accord with the general principles of prudence and good government, in order that the value of the reproductive establishments, set apart as the basis of financial operations, may be seen to be in itself altogether irrefragable, and in order that the circulation of the fruits of these establishments may regularly resolve themselves into the service of the instituted system of improvement. But under these advantages, as industry may develope its powers without restraint, and as emulation amongst individuals will constantly lead on to higher developements of these powers, so, amidst the progressive improvement, that must thus be maintained, marketable property, the result of these excercitations, will constantly be produced in such proportions, as to meet, and even to anticipate, every want that may be induced by consumption or decay; and it will thereby not only maintain, in full force, the strength and vigor of the circulatory processes, but add considerably to their power and capacity.

The truth and importance of this position can-

not now be a matter of disputation. When property, of a fixed and consolidated, as well as of a circulable and perishing nature, is thus brought forward into the service of finance, that beneficent, self-devolving system, whereof individual and independent advancement is the object, will unfold its powers. Mankind, in their personal capacity, will increase in wealth, and in individual influence and importance; and in thus advancing, they will come to respect and confide in one another, and to act towards each other in conformity to these honourable sentiments. Personable obligations, in an accredited state, will bear their proper weight in the circulatory processes; and in circulating, they will stimulate and advance national industry. Whatever becomes established in such circumstances, will bear its accepted character; and as the results of industry and enterprize will be calculated on with more certainty, they will be prosecuted with becoming eagerness. In the mean time, let it be noticed, that the state and the government will not only rest on, but become implicated in, this course of improvement, and that these, accordingly, may be held to be impledged for the safety and maintenance of all the provisions, whereby these advantages are upheld. Every difficulty or embarrassment to which these provisions may be incident, it must also be noticed, will at the same time, be fully met and obviated, by the antecedent order of things. This system, it is evident, can only be introduced into a society, wherein beneficent and independent industry is duly established and protected; but

when therein introduced, it must, in virtue of these provisions, as a mere matter of course, be kept constantly ageing under every advantage.

These are most important considerations, for if every great nation and kingdom may thus advance in power, in splendor, and in the strength of its own energies; and if these may severally develope wealth and power out of their own peculiar resources, in the simple way of circulating the value of their own established consolidated wealth, it must follow as a necessary conclusion, that nations are not under the absolute necessity of looking beyond their own frontiers for *financial* relief. In case of a deficiency of *means*, importations of *means* from abroad may be needful; and as this deficiency may take place suddenly and to a vast extent in the articles most essential to human existence, it seems to have become incumbent on states and nations, to have an extra supply of these in readiness to meet the emergency. Moreover, when *foreign subsidies and foreign supplies* have become a necessary part of our system, a similar preparation for *their* service may be no less proper. In both these, therefore, and in similar cases, where funds or means calculated for foreign services are needful, as the business of providing for them, if left to the spur of the moment, might prove a most arduous task, it is wise and proper for every state to connect its system of reproduction, more or less with that of other nations; for thereby only, balances of wealth, to be operated upon at pleasure, can be procured. But this is quite a different matter

from resting on exterior intercourse, for *pecuniary and financial* ~~intercourse~~. This last is a dependence which must always occasion turmoil, difficulty and calamity. By the proposed scheme, nations may be relieved from this dependence; and perhaps it is by means of some such financial scheme alone, that effectual relief of this kind, can be obtained.

Although, however, the proposed system of finance professes neither to meet nor to dispense with foreign supplies, to surmount nor to obviate them; it serves to place the circulatory processes, necessary for these, and for every other purpose, upon an equal and solid basis; and by so doing, it renders this process independent of foreign aid. For the relief of the immense reproductive processes that may thereupon be instituted, importation and exportation may be alike necessary; and in all great nations, the interest of these vast processes will prevail over those of an inferior description. Still, however, it must be recollected, that it is by means of an independent and secure general system of finance, that these, and every other reproductive establishment performs its operations with due effect, and that, with this advantage, amidst distress and embarrassment in every form, national improvement cannot be deprived of its necessary supplies, it will again regerminate, even after the whole means and finances, formerly collected for this purpose, have disappeared; and so long as the roots of increase remain, so long will the powers of increase again unfold themselves. As

this high object may be obtained, merely by drawing up the current value of these powers, in a concentrated and improved state, condensing these under appropriate establishments, and, placing this value, in a transmissable form, under the safe guard of the nation; so, every nation may avail itself, of the various advantages and facilities for creating and circulating representations and emblems of value, that its general system affords. There is no great civilized nation, therefore, which has felt the influence of the christian system, that may not become possessed of a system of finance, constituted on the principles that have been unfolded.

It is not at all necessary to follow out the various classes of advantages, thus laid open for the nations, in a regular order. This has already been done in regard to Britain, and with little alteration, the views, then taken, may be applied to every great nation in Christendom. It cannot, however, be improper to make a few observations on the advantages, that these provisions will infer to the landed interest, and to the state, in every great independent community.

The advantages, which the landed interest of the kingdoms of Europe, behoved, necessarily, to derive from the institution of such a vast, stable, and appropriate system of finance as that which has been proposed, are of the most important kind. It must be remarked, that it is applicable to the circumstances of civilized society in every stage of im-

provement; it rests on real property, it requires only the protection of an equitable system of laws, and the patronage of those who are most directly interested on its results; and under these auspices, it will emanate all the funds that are necessary for meeting the whole financial wants of any community. In a low state of the arts, agriculture, the first art, and at all times, the most important, will afford the requisite basis for such a system of finance in its most perfect state. Then, the means, necessary for its advancement, are the most plentiful; land, labor, and every rude material being superabundant; spirit and energy, to take full advantage of these provisions, being alone deficient. In virtue, however, of the facilities held to have been provided for drawing up the value of land in a representative form, landed property, would not only stimulate and support, but animate and invigorate the agricultural processes, and make them extract from these rude objects, the whole means necessary for their improvement. They would give a value and an importance to these superabundant means formerly unthought of; and they would make this value and this importance, bear with full force on agricultural improvement. The range of industry would, in this way, be extended, and in extending itself, it would bring into the service of agriculture, all those facilities and advantages, that are necessary for its regular progression in this high course. Commercial intercourse, supported by such a financial basis, would thereupon introduce its stimulative aid. Wealth would be realized, accumulated, and

resolved into territorial improvement. Industry, of that kind, which coincides most directly with the character and circumstances of each nation, would be improved, concentrated, organized and advanced, in conformity to the progression of the existing system; into the advancement of which, its fruits would be resolved, and its results transfused and circulated. While in this way, the power of the agricultural processes would be advanced, the influence of the landed interest, who preside over these, would be confirmed and extended; and this power, and this influence, would be rendered alike instrumental in advancing and in extending general improvement.

It has already been shewn, that the landed interest is the strongest rampart of the laws, the true barrier betwixt the governing and the governed; and that all that is dignified, respectable, and valuable, necessarily finds in this class a receptacle and a safeguard; it is evident, therefore, that according as this class advances, the safety of the social body, and the security of all that has been attained for it, will necessarily increase. It was also shewn, however, that the landed interest was peculiarly prone to usurp unauthorized privileges, and to monopolize general advantages; and that the introduction of a financial system, whereby the independence of individuals of every class, both in the exercise of their personal rights, and in the improvement of their respective characters and conditions could be maintained, would serve to check this tendency to usurpation. As the advance-

ment of the landed interest, and the restraint above referred to, arise alike out of the ordinary and necessary developements of the proposed system, and as it is competent to every great nation to resort to this system, and to accommodate the ameliorating influence of this system to its own circumstances; so, it is evident, that society in every great nation may be ameliorated by it, and that the developement of these advantages will add constantly to the strength and stability of each national system; industry will have its widest range, as well as its firmest support; and the fruits and results of each system will attain to their full value and effect. In the hands of the proprietor of the soil, the influences of such attainments will be necessarily drawn up, and resolved into higher objects, and thus exercised in the way of exalting the character of the general system of each particular nation. Over the whole, the power and influence of a vast and comprehensive, benificent and powerful system will be spread; which, impressing regularly and simultaneously the movements of these inferior cantonments of the social power, would conform them to its leading character, and implicate them in its leading advantages. As each nation, in virtue of the general arrangement of social improvement laid down, must participate in this benign adumbration, in proportion to the conformity of its character to these influences, so each nation would, in like manner, transfuse these attainments throughout its whole peculiar affairs, by means of its own finan-

cial provisions, according as these affairs could receive these advantages.

In such circumstances, and indeed in every stage of the progression of such circumstances, as the funds, necessary for giving an impetus to the process of reproduction, would arise, of their own accord, out of the means that may have been previously provided and substantiated, it would not be necessary, as at present, to subtract these from one reproductive subject, in order to procure them for the service of another; these funds would at all times be at hand; but they would be only at hand, when they are wanted, when their use is obvious, and their destination necessary. Society will not be starved out of one course of reproduction, in the way of making provision for another; it may may be drawn from a course that is carried on in subserviency to a mere financial project, and it may be conducted to another course that is equally subservient to another financial project. But in all these deviations, a regard to ulterior consequences, not a general deficiency of funds, nor any coercive influence, will be the procuring cause. The path of advantage will be fully exposed, the means for pursuing it with ardor will be prepared, the spell of fatality will be broken, and confidence, founded on experience, and on well-founded assurance, will be established, and take the lead both in processes of industry, and in commercial undertakings.

The state, in such circumstances, can never be

at a loss for funds, for means, nor for resources. In order to provide funds, it is only needful to consolidate some of that funded capital which rests upon itself; and having procured funds, neither means nor resources can be long awanting. If, for instance, Great Britain had occasion for a loan of four million pounds sterling, and it was seen to be injurious to her commercial and manufacturing interests, to withdraw so much funds out of the money market, it would be enough for her, to find means to induce holders of her own funds, to the extent of ten or twelve millions, to condense their capital in a financial establishment; for by so doing, this establishment could emit the sum required, in validated impledgements, without draining funds from more necessary, though perhaps less profitable investments. The impledgements thus emitted, let it be noticed, could not burden the course of financial operations, for they could be drawn out of circulation, and appropriated to deposition, whenever their use as circulatory funds was superceded. As for impledgements already in circulation, that might in consequence of these contingent supplies be displaced, and driven back into the establishment from whence they arose, it is evident, that this retrocession would be exactly proportionate to the aptitude of each establishment, and of its system of management, to the objects for which it was destinated. If these objects, be they commercial or agricultural, could maintain such emissions in the circle, their appropriate impledgements could not be effectually displaced, in consequence of the contin-

gent addition referred to; for although bankers, like every one else, be obliged to take in every validated impledgement that comes into their hands, in the way of discharging obligations current in their favor, they are under no necessity of burdening their own deposit account, with any impledgements but their own. Every other they may forthwith transfer to the establishment that emitted it, and in this way obtain a relief to their own deposit account; on the strength of which relief, they may again venture to increase their own emissions; and, if the objects, for which their establishments are destinated, can authorize them to create new circulable impledgements, they may increase these in proportion to the relief that has thus arisen into their hands, so as, in the end, to convert all the property, set apart for security of deposition at the commencement of their business, into circulable property; the security of their own deposition account, being rested on the basis, that is thus provided for them by establishments less happy in the objects to which their circulations are destinated. As these considerations press close upon the characteristic value of financial establishments, they would no doubt enter into the views of government, and of all concerned, before any new financial institution was erected; for they are obvious and most important, they are founded on the nature of the case. They lay a natural restraint on the creation of establishments; but it is no other, than that which is necessary for the security of the public and all concerned. This

restraint, however, cannot injuriously tie up the hands of the state; for the state may, in the face of all its consequences, institute such establishments, when the circumstances of its own situation render it necessary. The extremity of the evil is, that the impledgements, that may in consequence be emitted, will find their way into the hands of other bankers; but in so doing, they will not burden the resources of these bankers, they will reinforce their deposit account, and thereby increase their own financial resources. In the meantime, the course of other institutions will have run themselves out; and in the way of their re-establishment, and in the erection of new establishments, government will, in all ordinary cases, find a direct relief for new repledgement and resolution, without injuring the interests of individuals, or burdening the process of financial intercourse.

These are most important considerations, and they serve to bring fully under our view, the glorious results of systematic improvement, when this improvement comprises all the concerns of mankind, both in their individual, and in their collective capacity; and when it unfolds itself under sound and beneficent principles, and transfuses the influence of these, with force and freedom, amongst the nations at large. In such circumstances, each nation being provided, not only with resources and energies peculiar to itself, but with funds and incitements, and facilities, every way correspondent to these, would develope its own particular system,

under the most favorable auspices. Its reproductive establishments would branch themselves out, in their several classes. But these establishments, powerfully impressed by the hand of nature, or of some uncontrollable course of things, would be generally of one particular cast and character. The productions and the results of the particular establishments of each nation, might be each excellent and important of their kind; but they would, severally, run out in a particular order, coincident to their respective circumstances and character. In this way, national commerce would never want objects, and national intercourse would be constantly carried along higher and higher ground, according as the developements of industry advanced in value and in importance. There could be little difficulty in realizing wealth in its absolute shape, and still less, in resolving it from that absolute state into some commodious object of exchange. As each nation would advance in its power of making returns, and in its appetency to consume these, so general wealth would not only be increased, but diffused; and not only diffused, but aggregated in every useful and desireable shape and situation. The different nations and societies of the world, having each their own special advantages and provisions and facilities, would give, not only to their productions and commodities, but to their more permanent establishments and fixed institutions, a determinate character and destination. Thereby, while each nation would stimulate the other, towards all that is great, good, and praise-worthy, and occa-

sionally assist each other in this course, each nation would also expose each other's perversities and corruptions; and by appeals to the common feelings and perceptions of our nature, check the deviations, and repress the malversations, to which each community would perceive itself to be propense.

The present distressed condition of the great nations of Europe, call loudly for some such effectual relief, as that which has been set forth. These nations have been deplorably corrupted, and they are undergoing that revolutionary effervescence, which is the necessary consequence of such corruption, when a thorough contamination of high attainments, has been conjoined with a complete perversion of vast energies. The most dreadful desolation of all that is excellent has taken place amongst them; the strongest liguments of social improvement have been torn asunder; and its purest elements, in a manner, sublimated. It is most lamentable to perceive, that amidst all these convulsions, the most morbid perversity still maintains its ascendancy. Whatever feelings these considerations may excite, we must nevertheless remember, that beneficent independence, the first principle of the European system, cannot be absolutely destroyed. To this principle, the dominant power still affects to pay homage; in spite of all his innate malignity and deceit, to it, also, he is occasionally obliged to give way; and, though he systematically repels its influence, he is obliged, at least, in his garb and aspect, to assume the appearance of complacency in

its exaltation. Europe, therefore, cannot be held to be irrecoverably lost; she may still be reclaimed by our persevering good offices. It is of the nature of diffusive benignity, to conform to its character those, who recognize its worth, and receive its influences. Christian and feudal attainments still remain; and from these, under better auspices, we may still look forward to a renovation of the European system. If it has been our privilege to maintain in security, for the service of Christendom, the inherent advantages of the general system, to unfold their character, and display their superior power and dignity. It still remains for us to exercise these advantages upon much higher ground in the same service. In allaying the revolutionary effervescence, our intrepidity and good conduct have been illustrated; but we have to avail ourselves of opportunities for extricating the nations, under its influence, from the fatal effects that have ensued from unprecedented commotion.

Russia, Spain, and Portugal, have already been in some measure reclaimed. These powers now acknowledge the heavenly origin of our magnanimous policy, and the intrinsic superiority of our national character; and on these they have accordingly placed that confidence, which indicates mutual complacency, and good faith. Certain prejudices still remain; which prejudices greatly mar the way of that improvement, which it is the interest of all parties to advance. These injurious prejudices can be overcome one way, and I apprehend they can

be overcome no other; we must display the power and lustre of systematic improvement, emanating from beneficent and exalted principles, on a scale that surmounts them, and all their concernments. From this scale, the nations under the influence of France seem to be excluded. And how can it be otherwise, it may be said, when the gloomy dynasty of France overshadows them! But must we, on that account, regard their abasement, as essential to our own prosperity and security? Such conduct, would be indicating the perversity of our own dispositions, and the imbecillity of our own intellectual prowess; for we thereby would only the more confirm things in their inverted order, and make these unhappy sufferers fitter instruments, for carrying forward the desolating projects of their infuriate oppressor; and we would effectually cut off from them all hopes of relief, except those that lie though victory and triumph. We would thereby exasperate that hostility which it ought to be our business to allay, and steel their hearts against the horrors of war and desolation.

In carrying on this lofty design, our motives may be misapprehended. In order to avoid this as far as possible, we must, in the first place, demean ourselves in the most conciliating and affectionate manner, and we must give them the most convincing proofs, that we regard every leading interest as our own, and every advance towards renovation of character as a subject in which we delightfully exercise our paternal tenderness and solicitude.

But besides this, while we thus respect the feelings of others, we must maintain a determined and commanding deportment. We must neither be disgusted, nor alarmed at their squeamish fears and jealousies. Their misapprehensions must not deter us from doing our best offices to them, nor induce us to give way to their pride or pretensions. We must not be prevented from prosecuting our own object, although this object should be perpetually assuming the most opposite aspects; we must never change our character, although every thing around us, change its bearing upon it. It is neither by intrigue nor circumvention, nor by any direlection of principle, that we are ultimately to prevail—it is only by a steady perseverance in the course of our duty. In doing this, our principles will certainly in the end prevail; they will develope their influence, and draw the nations under this influence. These will give way to its power, and exercise themselves more and more, in the service of that system, which comprises all their, and our leading interests.

But will we not thus consolidate the nations under the power of France, and create means and powers for the service of their haughty ruler? Far from it. This plan presupposes a bold and decisive, as well as a mild and conciliating course of conduct. It presupposes a due respect for the rights of every nation; but it presupposes also a vigorous prosecution of that warfare which is to establish and confirm these rights; it implies a vast comprehensive scheme of policy, as well as a com-

plete deference to every civil and national advantage. In order to make the French yoke appear in all its natural odiousness, it must be made obvious, that under its pressure, no peace nor advantage, though obtained, can be enjoyed. It is doubtless necessary to prevent our good offices from being misapprehended; but this can only be done by exhibiting their tendency; by shewing that it belongs to our system, and that it is a first principle with us in all our transactions with other nations, to advance and extend all that is excellent and valuable in their national system, and in every national system; and that we seek not to interfere with their concerns, nor with the concerns of any nation, otherwise than for the attainment of objects intrinsically great, good, and excellent—such as cannot but be ultimately prized by all whom they may affect. To these views, we must not only bend ourselves, but we must convince our friends, that they can and must bend in like manner. It is not by accommodating our views to narrow prejudices, nor by becoming mere instruments in forwarding the niggardly designs of others, that the world is to be rescued from slavery. It is by following out the maxims of a liberal policy, and by regulating our procedure upon fair and consistent plans, that this arduous enterprise can be atchieved. It is now obvious that it is only because the nations are impressed with the idea, that our arm is never to be stretched out effectually for their relief, but always for some little object of our own, that we are alternately the object of their fear and of their re-

venge; it is therefore only by adopting bold and decisive measures, that we can root out these distrustful sentiments.

I am induced to express my sentiments, thus freely, because it appears to me, that our great difficulty in dealing with the European nations consists in their misapprehensions respecting our ultimate objects. They consider themselves as hopelessly sold and bound up under the influence of France. They suppose, that we have neither the ability, nor the inclination, to operate their complete deliverance; and that in spite of all our fine professions, we would, if they should put themselves into our power, abandon them to their exasperated tyrant; provided that we could thereby obtain some national advantage to ourselves. There can be no doubt whatever, but that it was these suspicions, and perhaps these alone, that shut us so effectually out of South America: perhaps the same truth would be unfolded, if the loss of Holland and Prussia to the general cause were accurately examined. It is, therefore, on every account, fair and proper, that we should avow our principles, and the extent of our plans. Not, that we should venture to pledge ourselves for any specific object, or any very determinate course of conduct. We must never pretend to restore those barriers of states, that now lie so prostrate; nor make the vain attempt to hide the face of Europe, again, under those dark coverings that prejudice and corruption had spread over it; which have at length been so completely swept away.

We must confine ourselves to obvious, to indispensible, to honorable duties,—to fixed but to general plans that we can fairly execute. As no state can be safe and prosperous, that necessarily requires the interference of a neighbour, either for the preservation of its independence, or for the support of its civil constitution; and as this object is paramount to all others, the maxims that it implies must be both avowed and prosecuted. But this object is unattainable, unless a proper extent of territory, under certain advantages, coincident with its peculiar character and circumstances, and subservient to the regular developement of these, be secured to each nation. This therefore, as a subsidiary object, we ought likewise to avow, under all the sentiments of deference, to every thing that is established and confirmed, and coincident with dutiful and friendly regards, that it is possible to express. We ought neither to assume the office of umpires, nor pretend to act as dictators, but we ought, in the way of attempting to uphold every valuable acquisition and establishment, follow out the cue which a wise and magnanimous policy may provide for this purpose. Nations and kings would thus form themselves upon their own basis, under our protecting arm. These nations, in withdrawing themselves from under the influence of France, would strengthen the banners of improvement, at the same time, that they attenuated the arm of the destroyer; for the strength of France would fall to nothing, without those immense standing armies, that are chiefly drawn from its subsidiary nations. But, by with-

drawing these nations from under her influence, we not only dilapidate her power, and recruit the legions of independent national improvement, but we deprive her desolating system of its proper support; we maim her predatory provisions, and we raise a rampart around all that is peaceful, even within her own territory. Conscription and devastation can never appear in all their native horrible deformity, until predatory warfare become more intolerable, than even civil destruction.

This is a subject to which it is impossible to do justice in this place; it is only necessary to notice. that our great scheme of improvement, necessarily resolves itself into some such developement of our national resources, as that which is here referred to. Europe will become deficient in the fruits of regular systematic industry, while we will superabound with these. Europe will be dependent on the excitation, that we can give to her industry; and Europe will be disposed to replace to us the value of that excitation which is requisite; because unless she does this, the excitation wanted will not be accorded. But it may be said, that Europe is replete with roots of improvement, the value of which roots she may, under theinfluence ofinternal excitation draw up and circulate, and thus dispense with our excitation. May not similar excitations and resolutions take effect under the the influence of France? May not the European system, thereupon, become only the more consolidated under her power, and conformed to her designs? But let it be noticed,

that a military empire and a corrupted government, increase in tyranny and in oppression, with every increase of their territory, and resources. This must take place, unavoidably, where great nations otherwise hostile to each other, are compressed under one desolating influence. In such a case, revulsion, great and national, will take place; these revulsions will breed coertion, and coertion cannot but goad on the subjugated to desperation. This state of things is as opposite to that which is necessary, for the secure representation and circulation of property, as can be imagined. But will not France by wise and dexterous management, by a mild and conciliating demeanour, accustom the nations to her yoke? It was not thus that France obtained her power, nor is it thus that she can keep it. Nations, like individuals thirst after independence; they abhor a foreign yoke, and they will never think their possessions valuable or secure, while it continues. Nor can they be either valuable or secure. Conquest and degradation may civilize a barbarous nation, but they always corrupt one that is advanced in civil attainments. Every indication of a pure national spirit in the leading classes will, by the dominant power be repressed, and every such repression must irritate, perhaps infuriate, the whole mass of the people. The developement of every system will go either in the way of improvement or corruption of exaltation or degradation; and what but degradation or corruption can take place under such coercive influences? It is in vain to talk of Europe as one nation; the spirit & influences

Europe has been formed by the most diversified operations. When the national system has been thus matured under high and resplendent auspices, it cannot be repressed with impunity, nor circumvented without being exasperated. Yet the coertion, necessary to maintain a dependent nation in its place, must make way for both these consequences, and these cannot but again lead on to farther coertion. The oppression and revulsion inseparable from an extensive military sway, are, therefore, adverse alike to improvement and security. Amidst the civil broils that must ensue, and that must gradually implicate all that is interesting or important in the circumstances of each individual, how can property or enjoyment of any kind be respected or induce high exertions for its attainment!

Nations, like individuals, when merged in a vast system of improvement, require a multitude of provisions and attainments for their accommodation. They need space for the expansion of their energies, means for their excitation and support, and that facility of intercourse with the world at large, that accords with their respective faculties and endowments. Under such a progression of things, mankind gradually seek that higher and wider range of developement, which coincides with their advancing circumstances, and they are led to array themselves under banners, that will maintain their rights and protect their interests within this range. Perhaps, the greatest advantages, possessed by independent nations, are their capabilities for developing

themselves thus without restraint under such influences. Contingencies, that would in other circumstances, repress or traverse their progress, only accelerate their movements and force forward greater and higher resources. But whether this be the great leading advantage of national independence or not, it is one that is inseparable from it, and it reaches, not only to the affairs of the state, but to those of every individual member of the community; and as it produces a consciousness of personal worth, that fits for the noblest exercises, it is an advantage that can scarcely be too much prized. Nations, however, like individuals, are apt to be buoyed out of their proper sphere, and in the way of prosecuting their own particular object, to lose sight of those rights and claims of others, that lie in their way. In civil society, this propensity on the part of individuals may be repressed, without exciting either resentment or distrust, by making direct appeals to the common standard of right, and the common protecting arm. It is otherwise in regard to nations; there is no standard of right so universally recognized, as to comprehend all the circumstances that must be judged of, and there is no arm competent to the enforcement of any such standard. In these circumstances, the basest, and the most malevolent principles are apt to obtain the ascendancy. If a nation succeeds in ameliorating its general condition, jealousy, on the part of all around them, is forthwith excited; and if a kingdom has but changed its general aspect, in regard to another, symptoms of fear and alarm never

fail to ensue. This state of things was originally produced by the intricate, yet tortuous line of policy, into which the leading powers of Europe were led, in the view of securing the integrity and independence of certain respectable, yet feeble states, to whose interests it had become customary to pay a deference, to which these states of themselves could not have laid claim. Their feeble and exposed situation would have rendered them an easy prey to their neighbours; while the wealth and advantages that remained under their influence, would have proved a temptation too strong to be very steadily resisted, without a very vigilant and active interference in their behoof on the part of other nations. Such friendly interpositions, however, did not arise from any superior regard to what was most befitting, but from a jealous and hostile disposition towards those, against whose interests this interposition was made; whose power and influence, it was therefore held to be necessary to paralyze, and restrain, whenever a plausible pretext for circumscribing their operations occurred. It must accordingly be confessed, that the moral perceptions of nations, and their propensities to what become them as Christian and civilized communities, are, on the whole, extremely obtuse; and that expediency, not justice, is generally the main rule of their procedure in regard to each other.

But, although the leading object of the policy of cabinets be thus vague, it is certain that the European commonwealth has always possessed within it-

self, a check upon the conduct of its princes, that has been of the highest importance and avail. The check, here referred to, is public opinion, and it is this opinion, formed and matured under Christian institutions, that has made this check so powerful and productive of such happy effects. The authority of public opinion may be said to be indefinite, but in most cases it comprises all that is important to civilized society. It arises out of the magnitude and comparative independence of the great establishments, with which Christendom is replete, and from the necessity to which princes have been subjected to pay deference to the interests of these establishments. The operation of this check upon usurpation and intrigue is by no means steady or consistent; it is sometimes regulated by the feelings and sentiments that are predominant among the people, but more frequently by the character of those who preside over political affairs. When the European system was in a rude state, it frequently directed the force of national strength against the overt enemies of the system, and supported and gave a lustre to all that was liberal and magnanimous in the deportment of princes. When society became more refined and more corrupted, the torrent of licentiousness was generally assuaged by the influence of public opinion, and the displays of magnificence and taste that arose out of its developements, were accommodated to the general system. For, it must be noticed, that it is peculiar to Christendom, to have the purest and most sublime dictates of heavenly truth

and wisdom, forever resounded in the ears of its nations, and to have those beneficent and exalted sentiments, that raise humanity to the highest pitch of character, forever inculcated upon their minds. Public opinion, advanced in power and in character, could not but be impressed with corresponding influences; and these influences, thus raised in authority, could not but have corresponding effects upon the policy of princes. Still, however, it must be noticed, that popular prejudices and propensities, in general, had the ascendancy; and that the operation of public opinion was neither so congenial to virtue, nor so forcible in its operations, as such advantages seem to imply. Public opinion was at times a pompous exhibition of vulgar conceits; it coincided with the public feelings of the people, for when it violated these, its power was imperfect and produced no decided character on political transactions.

The stupendous political occurrences, that have taken place in our day, have struck this powerful principle of action to the centre. Formerly, the great objects of public attention, were the leading affairs of states, considered as independent powers, and the principal object of solicitude, the maintaining a kind of balance of power amongst them. In such things as these, it seemed to be necessary for each individual to make himself versant; and it became a great part of each man's business, to exercise his patriotic feelings, on the matters to which they gave rise. That chaos of abominable

intrigues and contrivances, from which common sense and common honesty were alike excluded, thus became the theme of public discussion; that continual hunting after means and devices for maintaining the separate existence of states, which had neither territory nor resources nor energies to avail themselves of this advantage, and seldom had any thing either in their functions, or in their civil constitution, that was really estimable; and that mass of marriages, and counter-marriages, of transactions, and even of infuriate and protracted hostilities that were kept on foot for such purposes, all of which were deemed mighty objects by the sage politicians of the day, were but too frequently the subject on which the public fervor was exhausted. Such things will perhaps scarcely be believed by posterity, or if they are, they will be set forward as indications of the crudeness of our political apprehensions, as certain, and as incontrovertible, as the mummeries and dispensations given out under papal influences, are now accounted of by ourselves.

At length, however, we perceive the nature and the extent of political duty; we see that it embraces objects, in which all of us are deeply and personally concerned. We see that it takes a wide range of human affairs, and we see also, that it comprises in its circle all that is dear and interesting to man, in his individual, as well as in his social capacity; and that duties, as clearly obligant, and as firmly established on moral and religious principles, are as

fairly deducible from a contemplation of the views thus developed, as from those that appertain to any class of social relations whatever. The connexion betwixt political rectitude and political prosperity, betwixt political delinquency and political calamity, has been illustrated amidst a multitude of displays of the most awful and impressive nature. Discretion and liberality, forbearance and resolution, though great, are perceived to be not the only characteristics of political excellence; integrity, and a determined devotedness to duty, even of the most arduous and severe description, are seen to be not less requisite. In the hand of the great Ruler of the universe is beheld the only sure balance of the nations; the means that have been made effectual in maintaining it, illustrating at once the immensity of his power, and the utter incapacity of the highest human sagacity to circumvent his destinations. The events, by which such views have been laid open before us, can scarcely be obliterated from the mind of man. May we not therefore cherish the hope, that nations will at length adopt sentiments and manifest a deportment correspondent to the high importance of such duties, and form their political opinion accordingly? In such a case, public opinion can never be too powerful, nor the deference paid to it by any government too great. It will lead through simple, but through certain avenues to the noblest political results.

Amidst the convulsions that have taken place, certain leading principles may be held to have be-

come established, which, as the subject of them has already been in some measure unfolded, it is only necessary briefly to advert to in this place. First, it is now evident, that nations have less to dread from the increased power, than from the increased corruption of their neighbours, of their rulers, or of their rivals. Russia and Britain are notable instances of the truth of this position, in their circumstances, and in the relative bearing of these, on their own, and on their neighbours' interests. France, Holland and Austria, in their fate and character, illustrate the counterpart of this proposition, and the dire effects of pride, jealousy and corruption. Secondly, it has appeared under the same powerful indications, that the grandeur and prosperity, as well as the safety of princes consists less in the extent of their authority, than in the character of the principles by which this authority is supported. Princes who seek the prosperity of their subjects, and who wish to promote their best interests, must therefore necessarily desire to repress corruption in their court, mal-administration in their government, and general depravity in their subjects. It is not by pampering a people amidst ignorance, sloth, and proudful propensities, as was done by the old government of France and Spain, and is now done by the governments of America and Turkey; it is by exercising them vigorously and incessantly under good principles, in the way of unfolding systematic improvement, patriotic ardor and loyalty, and mutual harmony and good will, as has been done more

or less all along in Britain, and has recently been practised in Russia, and in the Spanish peninsula, that the stability of their throne is to be maintained. Thirdly, it is now completely obvious, that it is from liberal and extended views of national advantage, and from bold and resolute conduct in discharging the duties that arise out of such views, and not from the crooked and contracted line of policy that results from inert artificial bonds of connexion, and from intricate mazes of personal intrigue, that the great objects, on which the security and prosperity of states depend, are to be derived. It is not by shutting our eyes on the distresses of rivals, as was done by Prussia, when these rivals were bleeding in her own cause; it is not by pursuing a narrow yet plastic line of conduct, as was done by America, for the sake of preserving a nominal neutrality; it is not by rushing improvidently into the most desperate conflicts, and then retiring as precipitately from their consequences, as was done again and again by Austria; far less is it by relying on the feeble bonds of political or natural affinity, as has been done so inconsiderately by all the lesser powers. It is by standing firmly in the front of danger, with all our powers and means collected; it is by supporting in the most generous and cordial manner, all that is connected with us and implicated in that danger; it is by maturing and digesting appropriate measures, by preparing and bringing forward strength and resources, commensurate with the occasion, and by bearing up most pertinaciously the whole offices that are connected

with every emergency, and by following out with spirit and intrepidity, every advantage that occurs, that the great end of inter-national arrangements, comprising mutual security and general prosperity, are to be obtained and provided for. Such in general has been the conduct of Britain, throughout this most arduous and long protracted contest; and such seems now to be the temper and spirit of our allies. Fourthly and lastly, we now perceive that the leading classes of society are possessed of means, for securing and extending all their peculiar advantages, that are every way congenial to their circumstances. By combining and concatenating the interests and the feelings of the lower orders of society with their own, the superior ranks in a manner enlist the faculties of these in their own service. Simple coertion may, in the moment of action, make the merest slave put forth his highest powers; but it is only when bonds of attachment and co-operation, bland yet forcible, have been provided, that mankind can be prepared for this action, and endowed with the faculties that are necessary in those high services whereon the fate of all depends. Every civilized community may institute such liguments; for by nurturing systematic industry in the way of general improvement, we bind up into one the interests of all parties; and by making room for its genial operations, we in effect entwine the highest powers of the social body. When the faculties of individuals, in the various classes of society, are exercised harmoniously together, although the great objects in pursuit may appertain to but a few, it will encircle the concerns

of many myriads that may be busied about its attainment. It has been the high privilege of Britain to be long under a system of this kind. Our allies now bask under its influence, may we not hope that they also will soon be embued with a similar spirit, exercise themselves in a similar capacity, and thus ameliorate by means peculiarly their own, the whole circumstances of their own condition?

The indications above noticed, and others of a like kind might, with much advantage, be illustrated by direct reference to a multitude of particulars. A few remarks, however, will serve to shew the general value and import of these indications. In the first place, when we see those petty concerns about which princes and states contended so long and so vehemently, all in a manner sunk in their grave, and the substantial objects wherein general good consists, alone competent to attract our regard, we must subscribe our attestation to their insignificance. Since this fact is undeniable—how mean do these two sets of cavillers appear,—those who advanced the mere matter of claims arising from parentage and priority of rank, to the foreground of every dispute—and those who regarded all these high advantages as objects of scorn! Individuals, possessed of these advantages, are now seen to be as dependent as the meanest;—yet society at large, when bereft of these ornaments, is seen to be endangered in all its attainments. Where must these shrewd politicians now shroud their insanity, who could see nothing in the maritime predominancy of Britain, and in

the extended power and population of Russia, but subjects of alarm and deep dismay! Without the first, China, Persia, Hindostan, Japan, and all the Asiatic islands, might have been enveloped in the mazes of French intrigue; and but for the other, the European commonwealth itself, the source and the spring of civilization and improvement, might have been forever lost. We must all see and acknowledge, that taking their own ground for deciding the matter, if this national predominancy, this physical strength, had been controlled and neutralized according to the splenetic conceptions of sages of the day, the whole order of civilized society might have been inverted, and its multiplied attainments placed at the disposal of their destroyer.

Let us in the next place cast our attention on the misconceptions of the friends of social order. A fatuous dread of the calamities to which France was impelled by demagogic fury has, to a certain extent, arrested the progress of civil improvement. We now see, however, the necessity of drawing the line of distinction betwixt amendation and revolution. We propose to Spain, what we never dreamed of conceding to France; and before Europe can be settled, we must not only propose, but exercise our authority to procure, similar advantages, for every state and nation on the continent. It was by giving way to fallacious appearances, and not in providing for general good, that the French dynasty was overwhelmed; it was by a conception not less fatal, that the Spanish throne

was vacated; it is only by penetrating such guises, and conforming themselves to the real circumstances of their own case, that sovereigns can be safe and prosperous. Subjects know and feel when they are well, and when they are ill governed. In the one case, the good, in the other, the evil disposed gain head; for men naturally cling to their rulers, and to that cause which these rulers patronize. Princes may therefore amuse themselves with tricks of state, with displaying their peculiar talents and address; let them rejoice however, that such things pass off with the using; henceforward let them not attempt by such means to establish any system of coercion and oppression, and to rely on these arts, or on the strength that may be drawn from allies by consanguinity or affinity of interests, for their support, in prosecuting such an end. The maze of such labyrinths has been thrown open, and if their own destruction should not follow apace, success in their design itself would operate their overthrow. It is by bringing forward all that is respectable, by nurturing all that is good, and by bearing down every thing that is of an opposite character, that the strength of princes is augmented; and it is in the power and reputation thus acquired, that the stability of every attainment of this kind is manifested.

It may be remarked in the third place, that nations cannot advance solitarily in the way of improvement, although they may do so in the way of aggrandizement. In the one case their concerns

entwine with each other, they all send forth trunks and shoots that serve as props and liguments to their several attainments. On the other hand, it is of the nature of aggrandizement, to absorb all, to usurp all, and to destroy whatever cannot be thus absorbed or usurped. Nations, like individuals, become friendly or hostile to each other, according as their conduct is governed by fair and equitable principles, or by those of an opposite character. Nations, like individuals, have severally powers and faculties to develope and exercise, and have certain leading objects in view, for the attainment of which they are ready to sacrifice every other that is of a subordinate kind. If a nation, in following out its proper object, should pursue it without regard to the circumstances of other nations, in its own peculiar manner, we need not therefore be surprized, although it should fail in the end. In appropriating to its own use, whatever comes in its way, and in prosecuting its end at the expence of its neighbours, it may make some progress in aggrandizing itself, but it never can become improved. Improvement implies general advancement; the concerns of all become concatenated under it; these, improvement would carry along with it, and in so doing it would implicate the whole system of which these concerns are a part. Nations, amidst such a course of things, cannot permit their systems to be thus traversed, and they will take measures to secure themselves against depredation. But aggrandizement subsumes depredation real or implied, it subsumes an irruption of one's

own concerns, from those of every other interest; but before the offending nation has time or opportunity to correct its error, its best concerns, its highest attainments may be destroyed, and its solitary strength completely dilapidated. Every age has attested the truth of this position. States may become great, but nations cannot prosper long, and greatly, otherwise than in concert with each other. If they begin to usurp, declination will follow; it may begin in a remote quarter, but it will quickly reach the centre whence it proceeded. Wealth, security and peace arise out of a well concerted, thoroughly digested, and duly organized system of inter-national policy. National prosperity as well as national happiness are most unallayed, when they envelope most completely, the whole concerns of all around them. On the other hand, national calamity, and national degradation result from narrow oppressive plans of policy. What is it that makes Britain so secure and so great? is it not the diffusive genius of her system, whereby she contributes profusely to the welfare of other nations, which in due time return to her that harvest of blessings which her own magnanimity had sown? What is it that makes France so wretched and so degraded, but the converse of this character? Her object is aggrandizement, her means for prosecuting this object are usurpation and intrigue, and her end the debasement of all that are thus brought under her power. She produces misery and destruction, but the evil pro-

duced reverts upon her own head with redoubled force.

We are hence led to remark, in the fourth and last place, that there are are certain leading points, which it is for the advantage of all nations to have most completely adjusted, and set at rest. Of these perhaps the most important regards the extension and condensation of the general interests of nations, and their resolutions into great, and thoroughly organized national systems; for it is in this way alone, that we can preclude these ruinous struggles, that terminate in aggrandizement and depression. For this end, various plans present themselves, but all these concur in illustrating the importance and necessity of holding the leading points, as absolutely fixed and determined beyond the possibility of contestation. Every one perceives that it is but fair and reasonable, that each state should possess an expanse of territory, sufficient to admit of the free developement of its whole system. Perhaps the seclusion from agricultural and territorial improvement, into which the want of the expanse necessary for this purpose led Holland, Genoa, Venice, and the Hanse towns had rendered these states a nuisance and pest to society at large, long before their downfal had discovered the absolute fallacy of all their assumed appearances of independence. If wealth is brought into a territory, it must substantiate itself either in fruits, or in subjects that will yield fruits; it must be expended either in the way of luxury, or in that of improvement; it must be re-

presented and circulated, either in matters prepared for use, or in processes that carry on a course of reproduction. Now, let it be noticed, that of all subjects wherein wealth can be invested, those of a reproductive nature are the most valuable, and that of all reproductive processes, those of the agricultural class are most favorable to virtue and to national improvement. In these last, it is evident, that states of small extent must be deficient. In fruits, such states may superabound; in reproductive processes, wherein genius and capital concentrated bear up the value of their subjects, they may not be deficient; but such like acquisitions serve only to pamper luxury, and to increase coercive influences in every part of the system. Besides this, as the circumstances of small states lay them open to the artifices of intriguers and of factious demagogues, and as the separate existence of such states must, in such circumstances, gradually become more and more dependent on exterior support, so the power of these intestine enemies will generally rise more and more above the control of constituted authority. A system of management whereof foreign support will be the main spring, will thereupon ensue; corruption will spread itself like leaven, and in its progress contaminate other states, that might otherwise have escaped this fatal contagion.

As the various misfortunes and calamities, into which these circumstances necessarily lead, are now but too obvious, and as the evil here referred to, as well as the remedy to which it points, have al-

ready been sufficiently illustrated, it is only necessary here to notice, that the course of events, which has taken place under our eyes, seems to have prepared Europe for the adoption of this remedy. It would be presumptuous in any mere human being, to pretend to scan the design or the object of Providence, in this great course of events; but as we see that the disease has in some measure spent itself, and that the appropriate remedy is prepared to our hand, we cannot but earnestly desire the relief that is so apposite. In a former part of this treatise, the developement of the feudal system, in the different nations of Europe, has to a certain extent been stretched out; the subject now before us takes up all these developements, at the limits of that sketch; although, therefore, it can serve no other purpose, but to point out the operation and tendency of the preceding scheme of improvement, on the course of developement, that has already been set forth as illustrative of the general subject, it seems to be highly proper in this place, to draw out the subject to its natural close. Indeed, the general subject requires a direct exposition in this very way, for these illustrations might be held to be incomplete, if they were not extended over the remaining part of this developement. To these prospective illustrations we accordingly proceed.

It will be remembered, that the systems peculiar to Poland, to Germany, and to Italy, have in fact been beat down under the influences that overshadowed them, and have passed through a process of

military and political discipline, that has in a manner melted them all into one incongruous mass, which seems to solicit the hand of some beneficent genius to restore it to its proper affinities. Britain holds secure in her grasp the trident of the ocean, but she is encumbered with burdens and duties, that render these honors more distressful than profitable. To her, any arrangement of the affairs of the continent, that would relieve her from the necessity of incessant interference in composing its system, could not but be desireable. Her colonial possessions are immense, and invaluable, and to her they are indispensibly necessary; for without them her maritime power would dwindle into a mere title of respect, and her sea-girt frontiers form the most hurtful inlet to her foes that could be imagined. It is accordingly the interest of Britain to coincide in any scheme that will place the continental nations on a secure footing; provided only, that the arrangements entered into leave her in possession of her maritime and colonial advantages; nay, it is her interest even to burden these advantages in a manner that will meet the fair views of every other nation, and to accord to the inhabitants of every country that may chuse to trade with her, every assistance and facility that does not entrench upon her own safety. Free access into all her colonial possessions is implied in this maritime protection, and friendly co-operation in every sea, and on every shore, to which her power can be extended, is equally implied. With these advantages, and others that may arise out of the circumstances of

the case, can it be supposed that any of the great nations of Europe will be long deficient either in ships or colonies of their own? It is the business and it is the duty of nations to extend their civilizing influences over the whole globe, and it is an injustice not only to them, but to other nations, for us to restrain them in the discharge of this office.

The vast empire of Russia, now forcing itself so prominently on our notice, challenges our confidential regards, at the same time that its power fills the world with terror. To increase the extent or to augment the resources of this empire, would only be to enfeeble her system, and to endanger her existence. Already she has access to every channel of intercourse, and what is more to the purpose, it is already sufficiently the interest of every other nation to seek intercourse with her through all these channels. Placed above the control, and beyond the power of every other state, it is the office of the Russian government to make itself revered, not feared, confided in, not obeyed. It has already raised for itself a monument of heroism, which it would be wicked to dishonor with the trophies of ambition. Europe, however, may, and does require her assistance and her support; and in according this, she may, and she will find a subject of remuneration, much more becoming her high character than an extension of territory. By enlisting herself faithfully in the service of the general system, this remuneration will be found forc-

ing itself into her hands, in a way that can in noways affect the purity here referred to.

The situation of Spain and Portugal in the great system has been already sufficiently unfolded. Each is possessed of immense and invaluable colonial possessions; each has a system that runs parallel to, and coincident with, the other; but as these systems noways interfere with, or traverse, but on the contrary coalesce with, and support each other, and indeed the whole parts of the general system, each is held to maintain in security its splendid possessions as guaranteed to them, not less with the good will, than for the general advantage of all parties. The American commonwealth has changed her position in regard to us, and she can never form a sound branch of the general system, until she be stripped of her fastidious pride, and self-sufficiency. The territory of the United States ought to be rounded of, and their general rights as an independent nation, immured and respected; but before they can have the smallest claim to either deference or regard, these States must show themselves worthy of constituting a part of the system of Christendom; they must shake themselves loose from an alliance with the common enemy of our race, and combine their fate with those of other independent nations. In this case, the rights and territories of the United States, will not only be secure, but they will be borne on, by influences of the most beneficent kind, their powers and resources

will not only be respected according to their value, but be developed under the most favorable auspices.

When we turn our attention to France, the terror of the nations, and the avenger of her own crimes upon herself, we perceive a nation and a country every way formed to command respect. The people are brave, numerous, united, thoroughly disciplined to war and to industry, and endowed with a high national spirit; at the same time, their manners are highly cultivated, and their attainments correspondent to their advanced progression in the arts of life. Commanding a vast stretch of the Northern, Western, and Mediterranean seas, and a territory rich in invaluable resources, France can want neither excitation nor support, although she were brought down to her own proper place in the proposed system. Though stript of all her great colonies, she will still have the means of access into the colonies of the other powers secured to her; and either in a direct way, or through the medium of such of her old settlements, as it might be prudent to concede to her, she may also have all that foreign commerce which her circumstances require. In my opinion, it is not hazarding much to state, that it will be impossible to institute any system, wherein peace or security could be obtained, unless she were stripped of those gorgeous usurpations, that have administered so plentifully to her ambition, and that France will never be at rest, until all that she has wrested from Europe, in the course of the two last centuries, be severed from

her. Age after age has witnessed her propensity to aggrandizement. At times she held up some pretext of self-defence: this, however, latterly, is not so much as thought of; or if mentioned, it is only to add insult to injury. France may still be most powerful, and most respectable. This, however, must result from the improvement of the nation, not from the aggrandizement of the state. Her population may be still puissant and magnanimous, but this must proceed from the growth of their attainments, not from the developement of their martial pride.

As a secure barrier to France, and as a general rampart to Christendom, I would invest Holland, not only with the territory of which France would be thus denuded, the whole Netherlands, Belgic, as well as Batavian, and the States on both sides the Rhine, but with a great part of Germany, viz. Westphalia, Franconia, Swabia, and Bavaria. By this means, the great commercial depots on the Rhine and the Weser, would be all comprised under one domination, and those vast inland States, which had been in a manner defrauded of their natural connexion with the ocean, would be thrown open to improvement. By their connexion with the arena of commerce, their resources would be stimulated, and their territory crowned with plenty, while the commodities for intercourse produced by them, would not only be augmented, but advanced in value and in importance. The commercial depots would thus receive back in full tale, all that ex-

citation which they had lent out to the inland territory: they would farther obtain those advantages and that security, which are inseparable from their immersion into a vast powerful empire. This empire their investitures would enrich; these investitures, the general virtue and industry of an agricultural community, replete with the most invaluable processes of reproduction, and the high immunities of a state really great and independent, would crown with insignia, both of dignity and of power. The commixture of nations, languages, religions, and habitudes, balanced by their very diversity, yet concatenated by their whole circumstances, could not mar the prosperity of the community, considered as one people; each would receive its share of respect and range of developement, but the powers of the whole, drawn up under one sovereign, and on one centre, exercised under a common influence, and towards a common object, would render these very diversities real subjects of gratulation, and noways detrimental. Their discordances, like those that take place in the British isles, would, in so far as they were rude and imperfect, give way to superior influence, and in so far as they were conducive to general improvement, prove direct yet peaceful stimulants in the way of national improvement. The multitude and variety of the occupations, into which the vast extended concerns of a state so large, would lead all parties, would raise them above all local prejudices; the importance inseparable from such great objects, both in a civil and political point of view, would bury all

subordinate considerations in the dust; while misfortunes and calamities, when felt as the immediate result of partial or unwarranted predilection, would impress every individual with a due sense of the necessity that he was under, to give way to the paramount duties that he owed to the whole.

Alongst the Southern confines of this vast empire, I would draw the line of demarkation for Italy; the crown of which could not be better disposed of, than on the head of a scion of the family of Russia. Under this protection I would place Switzerland, and all that at any time belonged to Savoy and the Italian states, including not only Piedment, Genoa, Venice, Milan, and the whole territory circumscribed by the Alps, but Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica; the central city being somewhere in the North. By this arrangement, I would provide not only an effectual curb on France in this quarter, which, as one compact thoroughly organized state and nation, would still be an object of dread, but a remedy for that profligacy and general lassitude of character which have so long and so fatally prevailed in the southern departments of Italy. Out of the mountains of the North, not only moral energy, but physical strength would proceed, and diffuse itself over the whole territory. The variety of national talent to be found in the Swiss, Genoese, Tuscans, and Savoyards, would develope itself under one general head, over every district. Abundance of scope for the exercise of every faculty, and subjects innumerable for their

occupation, would in such circumstances be obtained. While vast political objects, sufficient to animate the sublimest fervor of the most genuine Italian patriot, would appear in abundance in every department of civil affairs. From the various powers and interests thus coalesced, and wrought into one, a multitude of improvements in the arts, and attainments in the line of general policy would arise. A course of reproduction, suited to the circumstances, and favorable to the genius of this fine territory, would soon follow. To the fine polish and gusto of Italian ingenuity, a tone of sublimity and nervousness would be superadded; with subtlety and refinement, fire and genius would be combined; and the results of the whole, on national industry and enterprize, would find for the Italians, full space in the commercial, as well as in the political world. This can scarcely appear to be a problematic resolution of the Italian system, when we recollect that the Hierarchy, and the high dominant aristocracy of the ancient republics, have been alike superceded, and that the genius of freedom, though uninformed as to its object, at present prevails all over this beautiful territory.

Austria would this way be the barrier interjected betwixt the double sway of Russia. For this reason, Austria ought to be extended to the shores of the Black sea, as well as to those of the Adriatic, and to have an ample secure territory towards both these outlets. Besides the eastern provinces of Venice and its islands, Austria, to answer its desti-

nation, ought to comprize Wallachia, Bessarabia, Moldavia, and (following the line of demarcation drawn by the Danube,) the whole territory at its debouchment. In the east, and in the north too, her territory might require some small accessions of strength. Austria is like a demure dame of quality, shut out, by her circumstances, from the way of friendly equal intercourse. She is defective neither in means nor in resources; but her burdens of state and of provision have rendered these generally unavailing. Introduce Austria, however, fully into the fields of peaceful enterprise; let her advantages bear fully on the world in the way of universal intercourse, and she will develope a new character. Her propensity to usurpation and intrigue, will give place to feelings more genial to human happiness and improvement. She is able to bestow, and she will bestow, as well as attract ameliorating influences, whenever a free and full avenue to these is laid open, and the sources, whence animosity and disgust, have for ages been admitted into her territory, are shut up and secluded. By the foregoing arrangement this is effectually accomplished. France is cut off from her, not by a few petty states, that were at all times permeable by force and intrigue; but by two great empires that could coalesce their strength, and dissever from its trunk the limb that would dare to traverse either of their territories. Turkey cannot regard the sacrifices proposed as of much importance, when such security, as that now in contemplation, could be obtained. The whole strength of her immense empire is at pre-

sent drained to support her contest on this very barrier with Russia*. But that barrier, it is evident, would this way be effectually secured, for Austria has too many points of importance to protect, to dream of creating new ones on this feeble, yet extended confine of her domains. Russia herself requires no accession of territory in these regions; her possessions there are already but too much extended. Russia requires the excitations of peaceful intercourse with tranquillized civilized nations; such intercourse through Austrian influence she might obtain not only for the Ukraine and Polish Tartary, but for her Asiatic provinces on the eastern bank of the Black Sea. Here, Austria as a neighbour never could be formidable. As an ally and abettor in such a course, Austrian assistance, more than could be procured from the most complete subjugation of that power, would be obtained. Austria, however, though tame amidst external intercourse, would when thus reinforced, like a lion that is aroused, repel the invader, that dared to insult her urbanity. Austria is like the back-bone of the European body-politic; she is naturally and necessarily strong and powerful; and she must be so, otherwise the general constitution will fall off. She is beset on all sides by immense empires, and if her vertibral sinews should happen to give way, the system itself, considered as a whole, would in like manner infallibly give way.

Perhaps it would be impossible to preserve any thing like independence in the north of Europe, un-

* See Note at the end.

less Denmark, the remains of Sweden, and Norway, together with the territory on the east of the Elbe, and on the south of the Baltic, (districts that have always been more or less connected with the Danish and Swedish monarchies) be formed into one consolidated kingdom. Its rugged soil would form a rampart to this kingdom on one side; and its brave inhabitants coalesced under one powerful influence, would prove its bulwark on every other. Respectable by sea as well as by land, it might extend its power into distant regions. Into the ports of every nation its inhabitants would be welcome; for their reputation for moderation, probity, and honorable deportment, nobly and resolutely maintained, has always made their intercourse acceptable. Ambition with them is the desire of what is respectable, and its pursuits the amelioration of all whom their conduct may affect. A monarchy, in such circumstances, thus provided and thus secured, no friend could abandon, and no enemy could overthrow. What is added to its extent therefore may be held to be rather bestowed on its fidelity, than annexed to its domains; as set apart under its influence, rather than absorbed within its sway.

In Prussia I would include all that was necessary to give it the full command of the whole course of the Neimen, the Vistula and the Oder, and all their tributary streams, and stretch its territory southwards to the Austrian frontiers, and westwards to the eastern banks of the Elbe. In this way, the shores of the Baltic, and the whole navigable course of these vast rivers, would lay open that fine rich

country, which has for ages been the residence of the most valorous race of men in Europe. These, by being comprised under one monarchy, would be condensed under one general system, and be exercised by the most free and direct modes of intercourse. This region, above all others on the globe, demands this advantage, both for the sake of its own, and for that of the neighbouring population. At present, there is little incitation to industry; a most desolating conscription incessantly thins it of inhabitants, and has converted its territory into a mere warren, for breeding bones and sinews to be impressed by any foreign impulse that can attain the ascendancy over them. Give to this country, however, one strong dominant head, one firm bond of connexion, one obvious rule of policy, and you make it at once a united, a redoubted, and an independent nation. There will be no need for vast standing armies to ensure obedience, and still less for severe inflictions to maintain in the national force the necessary discipline. This kingdom will be powerful, because every subject will find himself safe under its authority; and it will be thoroughly organized and disciplined, because under this advantage, the sovereign may expand his powers, and exercise his faculties to the utmost. Prussia will thus sever Russia from the West of Europe. She will have a most powerful influence on the Baltic, and contribute to keep its channel free. But she will never obtain the preponderancy in that important arm of the ocean; nor be able to preclude the Russian and the Scandinavian nations, from availing themselves of all its advantages.

In thus attempting to draw a sketch of the precincts and circumstances of the different states into which the European commonwealth tends so strongly to resolve itself, it is not meant to give any thing like precise ideas, either as to their limits, their extent, or their subsequent procedure. All that is proposed, and all that in our circumstances it is necessary to do, is to point out, in a cursory manner, those general outlines that seem to be already prepared to our hand for this purpose, and to call attention to those marked and prominent features in each system, that serve most readily and most completely to indicate its character and destination. Ample range for the developement of each national system, and abundance of those means that are necessary for its excitation and support, are held to be provided. Due regard is also had to the preservation and attainment of all those peculiar facilities and advantages, that coincide with the regular improvement and advancement of each system; the direct channels of commercial intercourse, and the ordinary courses of reproductive developement are also all duly respected; but as it is neither these, nor any thing contingent to, or connected with them, that will of themselves serve as the rule for constituting or adjusting such high and momentous affairs, it would be altogether presumptuous to regard this sketch as any thing else but a mere illustration of the general subject. Such arrangements belong not to the theorist; they are even beyond the compass of the proudest potentate; but as it sometimes coincides with the Divine procedure, to

give some insight into those mazes, whereby his great designs are accomplished, and as these indications at present lead us into great and extensive conceptions of political duty and moral obligation, it surely cannot be held to be either unbecoming or improper to take up the subject under this, its most perspicuous and impressive aspect.

Although, however, it be not here proposed or attempted, to give definite ideas as to the boundaries and circumstances of each state, it must be remembered, that limits to these, the most precise and definite, must necessarily be drawn, in case any thing like an enlarged and systematic arrangement and adjustment of the European system should be attempted. It is by fixing, in the most exact and determinate manner, the boundaries of each state, and by obtaining the sanction and the guarantee of every other state to these boundaries, that the great object then in view is to be obtained. It is not here meant to say, that until every part that is capable of misapprehension be adjusted and recognized at the sight of every other state, no grand impledgement for the security of the various compartments of the general system shall have been obtained. On the contrary, the great excellency of the proposed arrangement consists in this, that each particular state is supposed to comprise all the force and means that are necessary for attaining, adjusting, and determining all its essential rights. All that is meant therefore, by thus enforcing the necessity of fixing and ascertaining the primary out-

jects above mentioned, is to preclude vexatious, perhaps sanguinary contests on this subject. As the issue of such contests cannot but sometimes be both doubtful and desultory, this measure may also be held to be necessary to ensure the stability, and to maintain the integrity of the whole system.

It will be noticed, that in the great bond of connexion, proposed to be instituted, betwixt the disjointed parts of these proposed states, it is not a peculiar similarity in religious belief, nor any exact concordance in language, or in established laws and customs, a common origin or common principles of action that are sought for, as the ligument of this connexion. In all these respects, it is held that throughout the whole European system, there is sufficient similarity and concordance in the leading principles, to do away with or obtempore minor asperity or incongruity, and that where any thing of a more prominent nature appears, incessant excitation under its influence, such as the nations of Christendom have for ages been accustomed to, would resolve the difficulty into a facility. The principle of union here sought for, is that on which every society most naturally and most completely forms itself. The powers and the resources of the parties aggregated are combined in the most intimate manner. By this means, the wants and the circumstances of men bear most directly on their proper object; and drawing out their social propensities, amidst exercises of the most important nature,—exercises whereby their best and their most common interests

are promoted,—the juxta position of the means to the wants, and of the wants to the means, assimilate these more and more to each other. Provisions and facilities for the service of all, arise out of this advantage. Establishments and institutions, wherein the common powers and the common attainments of society are concentrated, are thereupon formed, extended and improved, and these very asperities and discordancies, which, at first view, seemed so inconsistent with social combination, come at length to be effectual liguments in the general system.

It is all along understood, that improvement in civil and juridical institutions goes on, and is secured to each state in a regular and effectual manner. Without this, no political attainments whatever can be held to be at all valuable. A free and liberal constitution of government, securing at once the liberty of the subject, and the authority of the prince, is a primary step in this progression; but the good of the people, not a timid deference to, or indulgence of their humours, ought to regulate this important subject. With such attainments, every state might not only institute, but follow out, its own peculiar interests under every advantage. Industry could never want regular excitation and support, when commercial intercourse betwixt the nations was established on the most liberal and magnanimous footing, and when every local facility and advantage, to give full effect to these was abundantly provided. Financial relief would flow to the ser-

vice of the enterprising from every quarter, when their interests stood on a footing so fair, and when it was so easy to draw up and circulate the substantial roots of reproductive wealth, on a scale so wide, and so thoroughly provisioned. Agriculture could want neither hands nor excitation, when the basis of every national advantage was so strong and so extensive. The different orders of society, from the sovereign to the peasant, would each find proper and becoming supplies to all their wants, and suitable and appropriate exercises for their several faculties. For their common advantage, not only the means of an improved and enlarged territory, but the excitation of the whole world, borne on all the resources and energies of their territory, would be fully at command, and always at hand. Britain, Russia and Spain, might be powerful above the rest, might be pre-eminent in many valuable and important points. But this power and this pre-eminence, they would be seen to hold for the behoof and for the advantage of the whole system to which they belonged, and in which they were implicated; and, in the exercise and enjoyment of all these advantages, to be laid under burdens and obligations correspondent to the responsible station, that they thus necessarily and unavoidably occupied.

That such would be the operation and tendency of these arrangements, in such circumstances, we cannot possibly be doubtful of, if we attend to the natural and necessary progress of incipient improvement under such an impulse, and amidst ad-

vantages for its developement so great and so powerful. The great importance of agriculture and territorial improvement has been already illustrated; it not only ensures to us the most valuable supplies, replenishes the face of nature, and bears every advantage home to our circumstances, but it increases, invigorates and ameliorates our population and physical strength, and gives to the advantages thus procured, stability and efficacy. For the attainment of this object, internal security, equitable laws, and a due external excitation and support are needful; and these, let it be noticed, are of little avail without political security and independence. All these advantages however, are to be procured under the proposed system. As every state holds in guarantee the impledgement of every other state for all its possessions, for its independence, and for its political rights and immunities, may we not infer, that the progress of each national system in its own course, will be as unremitted, as if the whole continent of Europe were bound up under one? But every community has not only this advantage, but it enjoys the protecting and nurturing care of a paternal and vigorous government of its own, rendered conformable to its circumstances, stretched over all its concerns, and incessantly exercised in maturing and preserving all that is excellent, and in irradicating and suppressing all that is vitious, that may have found a place under its authority. Under such a system, can we for a moment doubt of the power and efficacy of national advancement, or of its invaluable concomitant and forerunner, agricultural

and territorial improvement? And having thus procured the root and basis of an ameliorated system, can we hesitate regarding its subsequent and ultimate evolutions?

In order to be still farther certiorated on this subject, let us next direct our attention to the process by which the wealth thus substantiated, may in such circumstances, be drawn up and diffused. The first thing to be enquired into is, would there be sufficient inducement for nations and individuals to persevere in useful and productive industry, and to abandon avocations that are worthless and insecure? and could this advantage, in this posture of political affairs be obtained, without disparaging the employments, or traversing the characters and situations of individuals? The answer to this enquiry will present itself to our hands, if we attend to this circumstance, that the range of such employment for each individual is almost boundless, and that the facilities, for drawing up and circulating the fruits of his industry, are equal to this range. It is not meant to say, that careless exercitations in the arts will be protected and rewarded beyond their deservings, all that is meant is, that notwithstanding the freedom and immunities that are secured to general commerce, wherever industry is judiciously and faithfully directed to its proper object, there it will find a due reward, not equal perhaps to the views of those who would sacrifice every thing to one favorite line of industry, but certainly equal to its real importance. The next thing that demands

attention is, will the wealth produced and drawn up maintain its value in all its subsequent evolutions? I answer, that this advantage is the peculiar excellency of our system, and that it must be procured to its utmost extent. General wealth, both in its representative and in its substantial form, must at all times maintain its full value, because it can command the whole range of the whole market of the world; because this market, and all the wealth that it imports must not only be free from spoliation, but be under the safeguard of the whole civilized world, be protected by the arm of constituted authority, and be impledged by the ordinations of the most equitable jurisprudence; and because there can be no inducement either on the part of nations or of princes to deteriorate its influence. Nor is this all, in consequence of the advancement of individual character, and the extension of moral provisions, we may also hold that the propensity to violate public and private possessions will be every way diminished. In process of time the whole system of human affairs, we may hope, will form itself on this basis, and the whole frame of human society become every way established on superior grounds.

In the meantime, it is impossible not to notice, that as complete provision for the safety, improvement and advancement of every state and nation in Christendom, as it is possible to wish for, or conceive, must be held to be secured for each of these nations. It is true, these, in general, must be

held to be destitute of colonial possessions, and to be deficient in naval power; but this it must be noticed, is not a disparagement, it is not a degradation; it arises from accidental circumstances, and it is in the power of each nation to set about remedying the deficiency as soon as it is convenient for itself. In the meantime, however, they will recollect, that they are noways deprived of the advantages which such power implies; they may maintain the most direct intercourse with the colonial possessions of other princes, and derive all that support and instigation to their internal industry, that it is possible for them to obtain from colonial possessions of their own. By this means, their internal improvement can be noways stagnated from the deficiency, nor their political power or influence in the least degree impaired on that account.

As there seems to be some gross misapprehension on this subject, even among the rulers of the nations, it is not improper to advert to it in this place, somewhat more particularly. Naval power and colonial possessions are not to be obtained, without great national sacrifices, such as no nation in a low state of improvement ought unnecessarily to venture upon. The history of Spain and Portugal, and their present low and helpless situation, notwithstanding all their natural advantages, illustrates the truth of this remark, more than volumes can do. Perhaps it is chiefly owing to the superior power obtained from improvement in the arts, that Britain does not present a similar spectacle to the

world. In corroboration of this position, it is only necessary farther to notice, that for one individual who accomplishes the object of his emigration, there are twenty who fail, and that of the few who succeed in obtaining their object, there is but a small number who preserve health and constitutional vigor to enjoy it. What inroads, therefore, does the maintenance of naval and colonial power make in population? What sacrifices of funds and of means are made for the attainment of this power, for preserving it when attained, and for realizing the advantage that its attainment imports? It forms indeed a powerful stimulus to the process of reproduction, when properly applied. Under it the national population does not become stagnant, or become boisterously propense for contestation and turmoil, a contingency that has but too frequently happened with nations not possessed of colonies to take off the surcharge of its attainments and of its inhabitants. It must be remarked, however, that under the proposed system, this surcharge may pass off without producing this disadvantage, and without occasioning any particular difficulty; it will not perhaps pass into colonial possessions appertaining to the surcharged state; but it may readily enough pass into those of the other powers, into territories belonging to colonial states established in independence, or into countries under foreign sway.

As this is the extremity of the hardship to which nations without colonial possessions can be sub-

jected, it is proper to state a countervailing disadvantage inseparable from colonial power, that brings down the predominancy here referred to, to its proper estimation—the scattered, imbecile and fragile condition in which colonial possessions must generally remain, cannot but render such possessions at best but burdensome and uncertain. In times of war, they may easily be destroyed or be taken possession of, by a *coup-de-main*. In time of peace, they form a drawback on territorial improvement, a drain to internal resources, and an absorbent of population, frequently too strong for the process of reproduction. They return indeed the wealth that is invested in them, when this wealth can be maintained at its proportional value in the general market; but in the procurement of this object, a variety of difficulties must be encountered. The processes of reproduction and consumption will, as a matter of course, frequently become disproportionate to each other at home; and, unless the interstices of the body-politic can be filled up advantageously with the wealth that can be procured in return from neighbouring nations, the results of the processes, that is to say, all the national advantages which these comprise, will pass off and be lost. It is only by being in circumstances to divide this value equally with those other powers that are maintained in connexion by it, that any thing like advantage can be procured from this surplus. That this is the true state of the case, that it is the necessary and natural consequence of colonial and maritime prowess in every stage of our affairs, and that

in every condition, into which the developement of these may conduct us, this consequence must attend them, is, I apprehend, a matter that cannot possibly be controverted.

In making these remarks, it is impossible not to notice, that the whole system, as now developed and elucidated, goes to counteract and traverse national warfare, and undue contestation about national objects. Warfare, it will be noticed, is directly struck at by the arrangements and provisions, that are held to be made, and carried into effect, for the purpose of adjusting the territories, and securing the rights of nations. These, and all such objects as are the great ostensible grounds of war, or that are the points towards which its horrible labors are directed, or that are advantages, which, when attained, are held to compensate for all these labors,—all these things are held to be naturalized and absorbed under the general system. But, besides placing things thus favorably for tranquillity, it now appears that an effectual relief is given to the whole system, in that very way, that is necessary to render its movements genial and salutary, and that this relief is obtained from the necessary operations of the system itself. Mankind are naturally fond of enterprise, of change, of hazard, and of deep and earnest competition. When surcharged with abundance, and inflated with pride, these propensities seem sometimes to be irresistible; when these affect men individually, in a civilized state, they may generally be passed off without inducing any unhap-

py consequences; they may even be drawn out in the way of their respective exercises, so as to expedite the advantages to which these exercises are destinated. But when these powerful propensities affect men in the mass, when they are borne out under a regular leader, and appropriate system, and when they tend towards some project of aggrandizement or intrigue that bulks wonderfully in their eye; then warfare and contestation ensue, and nothing but the ensanguined field can terminate the contestation; destruction, deep and deplorable, must be the result, and all that is dear and valuable to man, may be plunged in one great and common chaotic abyss. War, however, let it be remarked, horrible as it is, is not without its advantages. In that state of habitude, into which the plethorism of a body-politic tends naturally to lead corrupted nations, the horrors of assassination, conscription and desolating oppression may take place of it and prevail; these, the resolution of propensities, that are but too frequently beyond the curb of reason, form calamities much more awful and deplorable than any that direct warfare contains; for they are, for the most part, hopeless as well as grievous, and intense as well as severe. Man, in truth, according as he recedes from systematic improvement, retires into that savageness that was the mark of his first step in depravation—into that state of rudeness, where the individual impulse hurries him on to crime, almost without inducing the consciousness of wrong. The expression of wonder, emitted by the Indian warriors at the glory of Henry IV., which was not at its splendor and mag-

nificence, but at the tameness of the athletic centinels, who tended such a puny animal so peaceably, when, by massacring him, the wealth that he possessed might, as they thought, have become their own, may cease to excite surprize.

These great and powerful propensities, it is impossible for us to irradicate or suppress, either in society or in individuals. The utmost that we can attempt to do, is to restrain their force, to subdue their violence, and to conduct their powers towards objects wherein their energy may be spent and absorbed, not only innocuously, but with manifest advantage to society at large. And, let it be noticed, that this attempt we do not presume to make, otherwise, than under the influence and direction of a benign and renovating system, the great object and tendency of which is to purify our nature, and to advance our general character. With the advantage to be derived from the establishment of its authority, the diffusion of its principles, and the developement of its resources, we may, I think, presume to calculate not only on finding the virulence of these propensities of our nature neutralized, but on endowing them with a bland, and dulcifying influence. Repressed by civil and moral ties, the same propensities would disclose themselves, in the service of improvement and on a more extended scale, and in a more systematic way, they would advance the character, and extend the authority of that beneficent order of things, under which their powers had been enlisted.

Although, however, all these great stimulants to warfare and disorder would be absorbed under other influences, we do not conclude, that we have irradicated them from our system, or changed their nature, or their character. It is impossible for us to prevent them from disclosing their influences afresh, and forming themselves under new banners, for the pursuit of their object. This object, however, we have in the proposed scheme, removed to a distance; we place it in foreign regions, and amongst the fields of commercial and political enterprise. There, we may be able to assuage, though not to avert bloody contestation. Wars, in such a situation, in spite of all we can do, may still ensue; these, however, we may hope, will be no more than the contingent and transitory ebulitions of the times; ebulitions over which the influence of a more genial impulse, we may expect, will in the end prevail. In the meantime, if we may hold that Europe is to remain in tranquillity, its fields and its cities will be replete with the best fruits and effects of this tranquillity, the advantages of the whole arrangement as well those as of the general system, will disclose themselves; each system will confirm and consolidate the other, and, amidst social and civil attraction, sufficiently concentrate and envigorate the improvement of the whole. In this way, the whole system will be harmonized and established; and in its operations, political and juridical protection, more and more adapted to the circumstances of the whole nations that have been implicated within their range, will be secured; and the nations, confident in such pro-

tection, will become continually more regular and more consistent, both in their character and in their deportment.

It will be recollected, that all this time, I consider each of the European nations as fully fixed in its own territory, and as holding in security for its possessions, the full guarantee of every other Christian power; and that it is placed in circumstances, wherein a range of commerce and of industry, every way correspondent to its character is maintained. How very important this object is, is sufficiently evident. Each national system will develope itself, and all its concernments in safety, and enjoy the results of these developements under the most resplendent course of things. A benevolent and exalted way of thinking and of judging, respecting political and commercial interests, must prevail; for each will see in the prosperity of its neighbours, blessings, in which it must some way or other partake. As the kingdoms and colonies of the whole world will be open to their intercourse, they will have no inducement to burden themselves with extrinsic possessions of their own, or with any foreign establishment, wherein their resources may be unprofitably thrown away. Every nation, therefore, under the operation of the proposed system, may be held to devote itself most sedulously to the improvement of its own peculiar internal resources, and into the augmentation of these seek the resolution of every commercial and political concern. In doing this, each nation will find the basis of its

security and happiness augmented, and the attainments that are rested on it, every way more sumptuous and profuse.

I am well aware that it may be started as an objection on the part of Britain, that the colonial system, in such circumstances, may become more burdensome than profitable to her; and that by giving free access to her foreign possessions, not only her maritime preponderancy, but the interests of her industry would be endangered. This objection, I must be allowed to answer in a very cursory way—for if Britain, or if any power, from narrow views of its own particular interests, is to be allowed to prevent an equitable arrangement of the affairs of Europe, we must be content to go on in war and in desolation, until the whole shall be absorbed under one monarchy. There is, however, an answer at hand to this objection. Britain is superior in mechanical power and invention to every other nation, and all that is necessary to ensure her ascendancy in any market, is to give her direct access to it. But under this very arrangement, Britain might not only ensure the ascendancy of the leading classes of her industry, but obtain corresponding concessions from the nations thus favored, in other departments of trade. Much of the manufactures, exported by Britain to the continent of Europe, passed, until lately, through Transatlantic bottoms; might not her own colonies, when direct intercourse betwixt these and the ancient states of Europe was provided, serve her interests in a simi-

lar way? It will be recollected, that as these states are held to be solvent in their whole circumstances, the intercourse that must take place betwixt us will proceed on a basis the most secure—that they are all set forward in a progression of advancement, and as such are likely to be better customers than before—that the welfare of the colonies, thus promoted by such intercourse, must be held to be the same with that of the dominant country—and, that our citizens abroad for the most part remit their wealth to their parent shores.

But all these considerations, are of a very subordinate kind, when compared with the great leading object of procuring tranquillity and independence to the nations of Europe, and placing them in circumstances to maintain their own ground, in the common system, without our interference. What misery and bloodshed would by this means be prevented? What security and improvement and happiness would be procured? These are blessings for which no sacrifice is too great; and these blessings, let it be noticed, would all revert to our system, and bring along with them, in a tenfold ratio, all the advantages, that in their attainment, had been sacrificed. When freed from the burdens of incessant warfare and foreign subsidy, how rapidly would all our national burdens and taxes disappear. In this way, our commodities would be lowered in price, and our ability for competing with our rivals abroad be increased to our hands. Our intercourse would not be the result

of circumvention and dissimulation; it would be free, and be supported on grounds indisputably our own. We would enjoy, with all our attainments, the happiness of contributing to the wealth and advancement of all with whom we transacted, and in thus contributing, perceive that the gain that ultimately devolved on us, was not thereby either diminished or destroyed. Nor is this all; as each nation has its own peculiar system, and an ultimate resolution of its powers, having a cast of character that is peculiarly its own, so the fruits and productions of each particular system would be varied almost indefinitely, and the taste for appropriating these correspondently diversified. This taste, it must be recollected, will be constantly devolving itself amidst fastidious excellencies, and in all its successive changes, it will set still farther forward the reproductive processes, which it supports. On the whole, therefore, whatever partial inconveniency the proposed concessions may produce upon the circumstances of Great Britain, these, from the circumstances of the case, must be compensated and made up. It belongs to her industry to conform itself in an easy and regular way to her occasions; and for this reason, her true interests have never been altogether unprovided for, or left behind. When America had withdrawn her support from her industry, her industry found out new objects for its support. In the East, the very change here referred to has already taken place; and there a partition, of our colonial commerce with foreign nations, has produced the advantages above described. The commerce, thus

procured, has been most sedulously cultivated, and it has more than compensated every loss that has ensued. Nor is this matter to be wondered at, when for the prosecution of such commerce the range is so immense. To it Spain and Portugal throw open their immense territories, and the wide Asiatic continent, with America its abettor, following up the advantage begun by this inroad on our colonial monopoly, effectually traverse all its peculiar advantages.

But besides this, it will be recollected, that the nations of Europe must be held to be not only at full liberty, but in a general capacity, for forming colonial enterprises of their own, and that they are to be precluded from availing themselves of this privilege, only by the accommodation that our general policy may accord. That they could, if greatly put to it, institute colonies of their own, from means within their power, may be inferred from the advantages guaranteed to each state by the whole. These means must be such as will not only preserve them alike independent and respectable, but nurture and maturate their resources and their strength. We may no doubt infer, that they will not soon nor rashly betake themselves to enterprises that will draw off their resources so powerfully, as planting colonies will do; a regard to more important interests, and other peculiarly pressing duties, must render these undertakings noways either tempting or safe. Still, however, as we can lay claim to no power or right to interfere in their procedure, in

regard to such an object, it evidently becomes us to conform our colonial policy to their views, and to subserve these as completely as possible; and not only to give them no just cause for complaint against our leading policy, but to take out of the way whatever would draw them aside from their own line of duty into ours.

Although, however, we can traverse none of their colonial enterprises; yet, as on the same principles, we can hold fast the provisions necessary for securing to ourselves the sovereignty of our established colonial possessions, and all the advantages connected with this sovereignty, we may maintain these as independently, and upon the same high ground that these nations can maintain their guaranteed territory at home. This guarantee to our colonial power, and this acquiescence in the rights of independent nations, arise alike out of the fundamental principles of the new arrangement, and they alike render it necessary for the nation, projecting a colonial enterprize, to qualify its exercise of the right referred to, with all that deference to our established colonial rights, that circumstances may point out. Still, however, it must be recollected, that all such concessions and understandings as may thereupon ensue, are matters completely subordinate to the grand arrangements previously set at rest, and that these arrangements must be held to imply the fullest exercise of this right of colonizing; which right, being placed under the safeguard of the whole nations of Europe, not only no consent nor concession pro-

cured on the ground of co-operation, but no subsequent ultimate arrangement must anyways affect or infringe on; this right being held to be already recognized, and completely set at rest. The world, in so far as not affected by the general guarantee, is, by the spirit and import of this grand arrangement, thrown open for enterprises of every kind, and every interference with these enterprizes is most expressly debarred. On this vast field, arrangements may be made, and they may be altered; but none of these alterations must disarrange matters of ulterior moment. Nay, the guarantee of the nations, to this latitude of construction in regard to subsequent arrangements, is implied as a mute point; so that any thing that would preclude the application of this construction, must be held to be an attack on the system, which all are bound determinately to oppose. In forming these arrangements, we are not making concessions; the nations of Europe have always been as free and as capacitated to plant colonies as ourselves. Heretofore, indeed, the circumstances of many of them have not been such as to warrant any such diversion of their strength. At length, however, their several systems have been recruited, in returning to their independent character, they cannot but resume those concomitant privileges and advantages that attend it as its shade. Amongst those that may be thus resumed, surely the full right of extending colonial possessions is one of the most unobjectionable.

Although, however, we cannot pretend to interfere in the operations of nations in this matter, we may lead on an influential policy that will bear these

operations away from amongst our most interesting concerns. In doing this, however, our nerves as well as our views must be steady, we must neither seek what is unbecoming, nor be afraid of what is bold. Certain risks are unavoidable, others may be rendered innocuous by the train of measures into which they run; and all of them may be moderated, if not removed, by a sagacious, determined, and intrepid line of conduct, in the management of our affairs. We have always been afraid least France should become mistress of Egypt, and of the Red Sea; and if we are to maintain a timid lax scheme of government, in regard to our East India possessions, our fears, perhaps, can never outgo their just cause. But if our Indian Empire is established on sound and solid principles, if its resources are drawn out, its powers and its means organized and established, and its general energies and capacities exercised under our system, we will have little occasion to be under any apprehension on this score. In my opinion, the Mediterranean states would, under the system proposed, as naturally cling to Africa, as the resort for their colonial enterprises, as the states that lie upon the Great ocean do to its remotest shores. I can see no injury, that can happen either to our trade, or to the economy now instituted, although Austria could pour the produce of the Moorish territory into the Russian domains; and though Italy could command the shores of her ancient rival, and could stretch her line of territory into the Lybian sands; for we could have balances of colonies, as well as of international strength. We would have a new set of customers, for a new set

of objects, as well as new opponents in the common market; and whichever way we turned ourselves, rivalship would be set aside by the multitude of its claims, animosity would vent its strength in useful competition, and its virulence find in improvement a sheath to its rage. Proudful deference would thereupon take place of oppression, and in the exaltation of its object, obtain the satisfaction to which it aspired.

I am hence led to take into view, the circumstances of an empire that has hitherto been left out of our great scheme of improvement; the empire of the Grand Seignor. I apprehend, that the overthrow of the Turkish dynasty is an event which would give uneasiness to none. We may not, however, project it, nor calculate upon it; but surely if there is too much reason to look forward with anxiety to its accomplishment, it cannot be wrong to contemplate its issue, and to pourtray that arrangement of its affairs, which coincides most completely with the genial principles to which we cling. It would be highly impolitic to partition this empire, or to dismember from it any provinces that are not already disjointed to our hands. To Austria, perhaps, it might be proper to secure the territories along both banks of the Danube, as well as a sufficient extent of territory on those shores, that connect her with the main. It would, however, be highly impolitic to transfer any of its territory to Russia, to Britain, or to Spain. To aggrandize Russia in this luxuriant region, would be to at-

tempt to change her character. If we should succeed in effecting this change, what would be the consequence? would we not sever the whole into two nations, and leave behind us, the nation best prepared to assert its superior power? The strength of Russia consists in the austerity of her character; her political prowess is rested on the privations that she can sustain. Remove her from the severities of her northernly capital, and like other despotic monarchies, she will disclose the hideousness of the system that she sustains. Enervated by indulgences, if her territory were augmented from Turkey, civil discord would ensue, and transfer to the army the power of the state. Every general would become a conqueror, and a rival of the throne, and the myriads that would support him, would frequently make good to him his highest claims; such revulsive principles may seem inconsistent with the harmony that now prevails in Russia. Let it be remembered, however, that under inauspicious destinies, or an infeebled sovereign, crimes would lead to aggrandizement, and aggrandizement would prepare for crimes their appropriate reward. But besides this argument, there is another still more cogent against transferring the government to the Greeks, or to any system that is purely their own—the deep animosity betwixt this race and their oppressors could never, under such influence, be subdued; there is betwixt them and the Turks no one principle on which co-operation could be founded; but there are incentives to jealousy and rage of the most interminable kind. The Greeks themselves

are not sufficiently reclaimed from their profligacy, to be intrusted with high authority in such critical circumstances; their dispositions are debased, and their principles unformed. From such a system, it would be impossible to exclude coertion, or to establish in it a common national spirit, that would develope itself on beneficent and independent grounds.

It occurs to me that, if circumstances favored it, these once highly privileged regions, might be placed under the expatriated dynasty of France; under the auspices of that family for which Europe has so deeply bled. It is impossible for the Bourbons ever to obtain in France a sure footing, or to allay that incessant jealousy and animosity that would beset all their steps. The utmost condescension and benignity would never procure full confidence; the smallest change of circumstances would revive the spirit of contestation, and give rise to those terrors and conscriptions, with which France has been so long familiarized. In Turkey, however, the case would be different; there, the protection of a mild and dignified domination would be alike necessary and valuable to all. Turkey requires refinement as well as improvement. A train of measures, cautious as well as irresistable, matured in silence, but executed with precision, are necessary to this end; and to these, the deep experience, and incessant energy of new governors would, in such circumstances, most naturally dispose them to betake themselves. In Turkey, religious toleration must not only be established, but its rights must

be secured by the highest authority of the state; and what but such toleration and protection could subsist, when, by the prince, and by all his subjects, this boon was alike required? The truth is, in Turkey, there cannot for ages be any fixed ecclesiastical establishment; all must enjoy that religious belief which they profess; but to none can the privilege of interfering with that of others be with advantage transferred. When prejudice and passion have been brought down by collusive exercises, such provisions may do good; but until a thorough change of character shall have become manifest, the security, which a dynasty, implicated by its character in the cause of toleration, must carry along with it to the throne, is the highest ecclesiastical blessing that should be required.

A STATE, in the circumstances now described, could never be too powerful to be dangerous, nor too weak to sink under its assailants. Russia on one side, Austria on another, Italy at hand, and France and Britain prepared at a distance, would each protect its rising energies, and be security against each other for its integrity and independence. It cannot be said that it would connect itself too closely with France; for there, similar revulsion, but much higher, with that which keeps Britain and America apart, would prevail. Neither can it be said, that this empire would co-operate with Austria or Russia in plans of aggrandizement; for its security consists in maintaining each of these in its place, and in forming a common cause, with all the powers that

have this for their object. Tranquillity, improvement, and refinement, must be its chiefest good; and, under the shade of an ameliorating system, these would soon spread their influence every where around. There, the genius of ancient Greece might again rear itself aloft, and her spoils and her trophies again be displayed; there too, within the hallowed precincts of the ancient Palestina, may be introduced that sacred radiance from which they had been cut off by their crimes. Perhaps, it is to this very object that Heaven may have disciplined this illustrious house. These remarks may appear fanciful, but they are very important, and very necessary in this place; for they are only fair and appropriate inductions from the above illustrations. If it is an excellency peculiar to our own system, that it unfolds the connexion that subsists betwixt the regular and conscientious discharge of political and civil duty, and its appropriate reward, and betwixt gross, deliberate and determinate prostitution of peculiar advantages thereto, and correspondent debasement in every other point of character and condition, surely, in contemplating the fate of a country that has forfeited Heaven's highest behest, no one can avoid imbibing the spirit which such lessons afford. No subversion of political tyranny or corruption, that has as yet taken place, has been able to upraise this ill-fated country, nor to transfuse into the character of its inhabitants that energy, which, amidst their licentious rites, they had lost. They had prostrated themselves most vilely to the lowest of their passions, and, the introduction of new

principles and new characters, seems at length to have become indispensible to their recovery. When recovered, may we not hope that this people will prove the cape-stone of our system, and fill up that scheme of improvement whence all our excellencies are destined to arise ?

It is into a form of this kind, that I would resolve the whole energies and resources of the European commonwealth ; and it is in this way, that I would maintain in independence, the powerful and multifarious developements of its mighty system. I would, in the first place, aggregate them under those influences that were most favorable for their developement, and bestow upon each of them a characteristic national impulse. In the next place, I would secure and guarantee to them, all those territories and advantages that coincided with their peculiar range of developement, and place those under the safeguard and protection of the whole commonwealth. In the third place, I would prepare and mature all these arrangements and provisions that were necessary for drawing forth and exercising their respective powers and faculties within their own territories, and there I would expect that each system would strike its deepest roots, unfold its most valuable branches, and send forth its choicest fruits. But in the fourth place, I would not confine these high virtues at home, I would give them the range of the world for their developement, and provide facilities and advantages, in every quarter, for receiving and resolving

these developements. As all this while, the beneficent influences of our re-animating and envigorating, civil and religious institutions, would pervade the whole system, as the surcharge of one portion of the system would spontaneously make up the deficiencies of the other, and as pressure on one quarter, would draw forth directly most appropriate relief from another, I would preserve an equitable progression in the whole order of improvement, that might be induced. And as the sources whence these improvements first sprung, would constantly attract to themselves the most precious and the most plentiful supplies, so I would, under these very influences, and by the regular movements of the same system, and by the very means thus provided, replenish most abundantly the parent fountain, and bestow ample remuneration, for all the sacrifices that might be necessary.

In order to be satisfied that the great scheme of improvement, as unfolded and illustrated in the preceding pages, when thus provisioned and extended, would tend to resolve all the energies and resources of every nation which it might comprehend, in this very manner, it is only necessary to advert to its general circumstances. Its great object, it will be recollected, is to preserve nations and individuals in such a state of independence, that they may severally advance on their own basis, in that course of improvement that is before them. The necessities, and the acquirements, of Britain and of certain other nations, have been taken up and followed out, in this view;

but as the principles thus illustrated are common to every state and nation, whereof improvement and civilization, under beneficent and ennobling influences are the characteristic features, and as such results flow as directly from their developements in the states and nations sketched out above, as from those for whose service they were primarily designed, so it must appear evident, that these conclusive developements of each of these national systems, may be held to proceed forth in the same form, and to incorporate and concatenate with each other, in the same way, so much the more, when a great and invaluable accession of strength and of means to the general system has been obtained, and when a vast but necessary and appropriate extension of its natural powers has been secured. Let it however be farther recollected, that the introduction of these states into the system, and their advancement to a high rank and importance in it, is not only an accession to, but an indispensible part of, the great scheme. These nations necessarily constitute a counterpoise to the pretensions of those other nations, who would take umbrage at the supremacy of Russia and of Britain; for they have an interest in maintaining this supremacy, as the rampart of civilization. They are indispensible instruments or agents, in giving effect to the subtile and ultimate resolutions of the general system; for each of them will receive and carry forward, those higher and more interesting developements of the general system, that are peculiar to their respective characters; to which developelopement, without some such paramount protection,

these agents would be incompetent; and without which, of such resolutions the system itself would otherwise be absolutely destitute. When thus provisioned and extended, however, we perceive not only that throughout our general system, improvement, in the nicest and most delicate points, may without difficulty proceed, and become established; and the progress of corruption and perversity be cut short, before their baleful influence can spread themselves abroad; but that, in this way, and by these very means, the system may be carried every where along, in its strongest and most immediate course.

While these considerations demonstrate the great coincidence and correspondence that subsists betwixt the ulterior developements above referred to, and the due establishment and regular developement of the great system itself, there are other considerations, no less urgent, which shew that this is the very resolution into which the circumstances of the nations of Europe would most directly lead them, if they could regularly pursue those greatest objects, towards which their best, their highest, and their strongest propensities are bent. What those circumstances are, is abundantly evident, let us therefore, briefly consider those immunities and provisions, which the general system has in store for each of these nations. In the first place, each of them has secured to it, the most direct access to all the colonies and possessions of every other nation, whereby the most immediate and most effectual excitation and support to all its

reproductive powers may be held to be provided for it. Along with this, the power of planting colonies, and of obtaining foreign possessions of its own, is recognized and secured to each as a necessary part of the whole plan. Secondly, as each nation may have a validated paper currency of its own, sufficient to bear out all the operations of its reproductive powers to their proper object; and as each nation will be in a manner necessitated to resort to this as an indispensible instrument in its national economy, so each will be obliged to conform its general system as nearly as possible to those circumstances, that are proper to give full effect to this provision. In particular, each state must not only respect the property, the rights, the obligations of foreigners, and give to all their transactions effect of the most prompt and decisive kind; but it must institute municipal and juridical provisions competent to the protection of all classes in the fullest and most regular manner. Hence not only returns, but equal and immediate returns will be secured to, and be provided by, each community, for the service of its neighbours, as well as for its own immediate use. Thirdly, as the whole of these advantages will bear in the most direct manner on those courses of reproduction and developement, which it is most convenient for each state to institute and support, so the returns, so to be obtained, will ultimately become both valuable and appropriate, every way improved, and every way excellent and desireable. Fourthly, a stimulus sufficient to induce high and strenuous competition in the exercise and

appropriation of these advantages is provided. It is not enough for a state to be abundantly replenished with all that is excellent and desirable, to be entrenched amidst vast energies and resources, to be installed amidst immeasurable dignities and attainments; it is farther necessary that these advantages be borne on by circumjacent objects of sufficient power to give high efficacy to their developements; that they be kept in full exercise by means of incessant competition and most strenuous collision; and that the character and spirit of its system, and of all its parts, be made to exhibit themselves with every advantage, which unlimited space, unbounded means, and a powerful personal impulse can bestow upon them. In like manner, it is not enough for the preservation in safety of the greatest portion of personal freedom, and of national independence, that are consistent with national happiness, that establishments and institutions of the higher sort be set down, that these diffuse all the advantages that appertain to their character without restraint; it is farther necessary, that these be borne on by the influences of other systems which can serve, to give life and strength to all their movements, to expose their imperfections, and to correct their obliquities, that the experience and example of other nations in similar correspondent or analogous circumstances, be pressed upon their regard; and that these nations, and these systems, themselves, be capacitated to bear their respective powers and attainments with full effect upon correspondent circumstances in other nations and sys-

tems. This is an advantage that is peculiar to the European Commonwealth, and it is one whereby its chief excellence is displayed. Therefrom competition in matters of the highest and most essential importance, and upon the most extended and exalted fields of action, is obtained; and thereby emulation and collision in exercises, wherein the most noble powers and faculties are elicited, are excited. The peculiar appetency of the resources and energies of Christendom to its vast and multifarious occasions, is the result of this genial bearing its parts on each other, and the preservation and extension of this animated congeries of systems, is indispensibly necessary for the existence of the whole. The special object and business of the proposed scheme, being to give full range to the energies of each particular nation, and to harmonize and envigorate their movements, the territorial and extrinsic arrangements of each state being adjusted under this view of its interests, and the whole attainments and advantages of each system being made to resolve themselves in the easiest and most effectual manner, into the service of the whole, the extension and establishment of this very peculiar advantage must evidently be held to be a necessary consequence of its ordinary operations.

Before this treatise is closed, it is proper to take into consideration the influence of the system in its most extended scale, on the character and pursuits of men in their personal, and relative capacities. The system has for its object the happiness,

and advancement of individuals, as well as of communities. Its design is to disembarass the affairs of individuals, and to make them independent in their character, as well as in their circumstances, at the same time that it draws out combines and condenses their energies in the service of the state. Personal industry and enterprise, in consequence of the facility that is given to the resolution of the value of their produce, must, under its influence, advance and extend itself in every direction, and bear up at once the condition and character of individuals. Over the whole, it will be recollected, a most beneficent, purifying and ennobling general system is stretched, every where pervading and diffusing its influence. Science and erudition, a multitude of social civil and political attainments, and a form of society prepared for giving full effect to these are at hand. May we not therefore expect, that under these advantages, the progress of improvement will reach every feature of the human character, and dispose and enable mankind to pursue their best and highest interests with redoubled success?

Let it be farther recollected, that the whole system goes to establish peaceful and benevolent propensities, and to blunt and disarm those that are of an opposite kind. War and aggrandizement are the objects to which its leading principles are opposed, oppression and circumvention are the foes against which its highest energies are exerted. The exercises induced by it lead to the establishment of peaceful industry, and to the extension and

security of general enterprise. Talent is not only called into action by the most powerful incentives, but it is supported in its occupations, by every thing that genius, science, combined policy and articulate provisions can afford. Individuals, in pursuing their own interests on the most secure and independent footing, are led into plans and exercises that promote and extend the general good. In prosecuting their own interests on this honorable footing, they meet at every turn, objects, that support and envigorate them in their course, and find faculties springing up in their own minds, and in the minds of all around them, fitting them for every advancement that may ensue. By this means, individuals of every class may become not only independent, but powerful; but this power and this independence being circumscribed by energies which fix them down to their proper station, these will only dispose and enable them the more to develope and advance the best interests of all with whom they may happen to be connected.

But besides this, we may infer that society will gradually disengage itself from many of those cumbersome and fastidious forms and avocations, that disturb the harmony of social intercourse, and mar its progressive advancement. In the articles of dress, furniture, etiquette, and many others, various heavy and unmeaning appendages have been cleared away. With these, some avocations that served no other object, but to wear out the human frame have disappeared; may we not hope that when the

field of enterprize has become so vast, when intellect has been exercised so powerfully in every human occupation, when the philanthropic feelings of our nature have been so much refined and extended, and when our notions of excellence have been so greatly purified and exalted, that the same process will go on in other departments of human affairs with accelerated power, and gradually disengage our pursuits, and extricate our faculties from every debasing and worthless occupation? Here, let it be noticed, I quarrel not with fastidious excellence, either in the arts or in the perceptions of men. All that I look to is, disengagement from unmeaning laboriousness, and from perplexing intricacy, in matters of a subordinate nature. What man of fashion would now-a-days chuse to revert to the bushy wigs and buckramed apparel of his forefathers? What lady would throw aside her limber apparel for the damask gowns and hideous hoops of her great-grandmother? Yet in procuring these articles, the lives of myriads were consumed, articles which we now perceive to be worse than useless. In like manner, in literature, elaborate discussion on abstruse and unimportant points of controversy, together with frivolous distinctions which tend only to occupy in the most unprofitable manner the powers and talents of men, are deservedly thrown aside, and made to give way to the superior occupations which extended knowledge and higher acquisitions have prepared. May we not expect, that when the inlet to improvement has been thus extended, and its streams and their force

thus increased, that the same defecating course will continue, and that when mankind will not only have higher objects of pursuit, but powers and capacities proportionate to these objects, they will constantly disengage themselves more and more from the servility of their condition, that they will have more leisure, and higher matters with which to occupy this leisure, that they will have nobler employments, and greater advantages resulting from these employments!

But in contemplating the effects of the preceding system upon the human character and condition, we have to take along with us not only those effects that result from its direct influence, but these that may flow from those establishments, institutions, ordinations and other provisions to which it may give birth. Among these we must class those political and civil immunities and privileges that may be procured for the service of mankind at large, and that tend to extend and fortify all their powers and faculties. Even at present, kings and subjects, nobles and plebeians, judges and people are taught to look to one another with a respectful and confidential regard, which, a score of years ago, were unknown; they seek the welfare and security of each other, not merely from instinct, and a consciousness of obligation, but from a sense and a conviction of the necessity of such conduct for their own particular safety and prosperity, and of the deep interest which they have in maintaining their relative connexion with each other on the

most honorable footing, and also from an assurance that this can be done in the most liberal manner with perfect safety and complete advantage. These feelings and propensities are not now held to be defects resulting from surreptitious advantage, the established badge of antecedent depression, they are seen to be regulated and instigated by principles that indicate a superior origin, and that enable all of us to contemplate their operations as well as their consequences, with satisfaction and complacency; the duties, as well as the privileges of all classes, as defined, are received, and as recognized, are followed out in their various ramifications, and the implication of the concernments of all parties, in the establishments that are necessary for this purpose, as it is admitted, so it is acted upon, on every suitable occasion. In such circumstances, where could be the danger of excluding that mass of corruption from our representative system, that is so much complained of by reformers? I contend not for any principle of government or of representation, that is not universally received; I would deprive none of any right without a full and fair indemnification; I would invest none with any immunity that could discompose the general system; but surely, there could be no disadvantage in permitting those, who for ten or a dozen of years have paid a handsome tax on their income, and who have given every cogent proof of the independence of their situation that can be required, from procuring on fair terms the right of voting for a Member of Parliament upon the express condition of their indemni-

fying those, into whose hands such a right may at present have been constituted. I set forth no leading principle for adjusting this important business; all that I would indicate is, that the arrangements and adjustments that are necessary may be accomplished, without either difficulty loss or disparagement, to the state, or to any individual whatever.

In whatever light, however, we may think proper to regard this subject, one thing is certain, that as we as a nation derive our grandeur and our power from our free constitution, so we must lay our account with seeing the whole nations of Christendom not only emulate us in this particular, but strive to improve on our plan, and to out-measure us in our civil and political advantages. The advantages that must result to the prince as well as to the people, from a free, uncontaminated course of legislation have now ceased to be disputed. In military and in marine affairs, and in jurisprudence, as well as in the arts and sciences, and in agricultural and commercial establishments, all nations emulously compete with us. Will they be behind hand in that which is the source and parent of all these advantages? Certainly not; that power and stability which Britain has derived from her free constitution of government, other nations and states will aspire at, and Britain herself will be obliged to enter the same emulous course. This course, let it be noticed, is circumscribed and pressed upon by circumstances, that must render deviations that are unfriendly to good order, altogether impossible.

The parties are conducted alongst it by principles which cannot mislead, for experience itself will clear the way before any thing like change or partial innovation can take place. When the primary object is known and admitted to be, peace and general prosperity, when for this purpose, a course of reproduction and civilization, in which all are implicated, and with which every great concern is concatenated, has been established; when for the maintenence of peace and concord abroad, an adjustment of every momentous national concern, in which every state and nation of Christendom is a party, and for the support of which it is impledged, have been provided; how could the public safety be endangered in the way of following out its own advantages? Let it be remembered, that for the exercise and free developement of every latent and high personal propensity, a field of enterprize, commercial and political, that embraces the globe, is laid open, in which the inhabitants of every country may exercise themselves under every advantage; that to give due effect to these, and yet to preserve the high and governing powers above the sphere in which these enterprizes are carried on, a financial and commercial system that must nurture, maturate, and advance all that is excellent and valuable in civil life, that must lead in the most direct manner, to jurisprudential and municipal improvement are also held to be obtained, and to be fully employed in the service of the state, as well as in advancing and protecting the general interests of society. In such circumstances, must not loyalty and bene-

ficence keep pace with virtue and independence, and invigorate the parent stem while they add fertility to her branches; and must not the spirit and genius of the system give strength and energy to its constitution, at the same time that it renders its influence paramount to every opposing principle?

A SYSTEM comprizing such advantages, improved and extended amidst a collision of high and powerful energies, being held to be thoroughly and completely established in every kingdom, and its power and influences to be every where promptly and effectually obeyed, we must suppose that integrity and virtue, from the strength and solidity of the basis on which they rest, will in like manner every where prevail; and that tendencies to depravity and corruption will gradually fall off in their strength. The avenues to wealth, to power, and to high personal consideration, being all through the well beaten roads of well directed industry and enterprize, and honourable and respected employments; and these avenues being on all hands beset with barriers which render deviation injurious as well as difficult, at the same time that the stimulants to virtue and the incitements to high personal improvement, press every where around—may we not warrantably expect, that the ways of licentiousness and folly will be disgraced and forsaken, and that even the basest of the multitude will find themselves crowded into the paths of wisdom? Since the means and characters of those in respectable circumstances will thus be enlisted on

the side of virtue, may we calculate upon it, that every extension of their sphere of influence will prove an advancement in the course of virtue? The lower orders of society not only follow the footsteps, but they imbibe the spirit of their superiors: as they share in their public enjoyments, and partake of their general advantages, and as their passions and dispositions are affected by the same common concernments, may not the same benign character and the same ennobling principles, the most powerful and the most important agents in the human soul, by the general system upheld, and under its influence exercised, be expected to diffuse themselves amongst the crowd, to harmonize and ameliorate the whole frame of social life, and to give stability as well as efficacy to this great progression in the paths of virtue and of peace?

There still lies open one great avenue to public immorality that seems to transcend all these provisions, and to preserve, in spite of every other tendency, its contaminating influence over the human character. This avenue is situated near the heart, and its course, as well as its power, commands every other principle and sentiment in the mind. In the palace of the prince, and in his highest councils, its influence is irresistible, and in the enterprizes and pursuits of the best of human characters it uniformly displays its pre-eminent power. In place of attempting to unravel and dissipate the mazes of intrigue and licentiousness, let us see

what means are provided by our system for enlisting these propensities under its power, and for rendering them what the Author of our nature has specially destinated them to be, incentives to social virtue, the most powerful of any of which our nature, in its present imperfect condition, is susceptible, as well as pure sources of natural delight.

Here, the essential importance of domestic virtue, and vast inducements for cherishing its growth, alike force themselves on our notice. Nothing is more deservedly prized than domestic happiness, and nothing can be more conducive thereto than abundance of means, and an assured prospect of a happy settlement for posterity. Under the proposed system, the facilities provided for this purpose are immense. Industry and interprize every where pouring forth their plentiful supplies on one side, solicit an accession of hands to urge on their reproductive processes, and hold forth the incitement of a plentiful return for all the care and labour, and talent and means that may be laid out in their service. Peaceful security, and generous liberty and independence, on the other side, promise that the results of these shall be satisfactorily enjoyed. Above, a beneficent ameliorating system sheds forth animating and exhilarating influences; and underneath, establishments, institutions and provisions are prepared to receive constant supplies of strength, from every accession of hands or of means, that may be produced under their influences. One thing, however, remains to throw a

shade over these blessings—the profligacy and libertinism of the age. While the treachery and perfidy of females is eyed with indifference, and the crimes that lead to their shame clothed with the gentler names of frailty and gallantry, these advantages, that would otherwise have been excitations to virtue, become but too frequently allurements to vice. Like the luxuriousness of the soil, the rankness of abundance is more apt to send forth the weeds of noxious intemperance, than the inestimable and delicious fruits of ingenuous truth and love.

In my opinion, the cure as well as the cause of this profligacy which prevails in our days are alike obvious, if we can but take the courage to look them fully in the face. The laws and customs of our times favour gallantry, and unless the consequences of the crimes that follow be permitted to fall with their full weight on the guilty head, these tendencies must prevail, and the wary and the prudent remain, under every incitement thereto, averse from matrimony. When shame has lost its influence, power must intervene; and if power at all intervenes, it must give relief, and demark its object in an appropriate manner. The law, when it can detect, fails not to punish the seducer, as he is called; but what relief does this bring to the injured, what sorrow to the partner of his crimes? It is not customary, for it is thought inhuman, to propose inflicting more than what her own feelings have prepared! On such a subject it is in vain to reason, for in giving his opinion, every one will be govern-

ed by motives that are peculiarly his own. For my part, I would propose as the direct and immediate punishment of the guilty—in the first place, a complete divorce in the usual form, and this, as in every other case of punishment, without the least regard to the injured or the injurer's feelings or character—and in the next, the same or an analogous stigma with that which we inflict whenever the solemn pledge of a vow is forfeited. I would thenceforward hold a female thus demarked as ever after incapable of demanding a similar validity to her pledge. Let her, if things favour it, again take a husband—let her enter into any marriage covenant that she may please—but let her never be able to demand any provision for her offspring, excepting only that, which the law of the land in cases of illegitimacy, or the deliberate act of the husband, may bestow. I am aware, that there are many great and weighty objections to this scheme; but since it is evident, that it places the guilty in that very plight that she has prepared for herself, and since it draws a necessary and therefore a strong demarkation betwixt the circumstances of the pure and the vicious, I consider every objection that may be urged on this score as quite below, and undeserving of, our regard. Let us not say, that the punishment outgoes the offence. In Rome, where assassinations were so common, that the incitements to them were thought to be irresistible, the French operated a complete cure, by causing every convicted assassin without distinction, to be shot. The Jewish females though inhabiting a region on the Cyprian borders,

derived their fame for chastity from the severity of the laws with which conjugal rights were maintained. The person who could procure the enactment of such a law, far from meriting obloquy, would deserve to be hailed by the fair as their greatest friend and benefactor, as alike the guardian of their peace, and happiness, and truth, and improvement!

Having thus placed female virtue under its natural safeguard, strengthened and secured according to existing circumstances, let us next see what can be done for giving due effect to the advantage thus obtained. The principles and maxims of the times are not at all friendly to matrimonial associations;—can we not make way for the establishment of a sober method of thinking, favourable to domestic felicity? Profligacy and avidity, voluptuousness and licentiousness, go hand in hand in bringing celibacy and libertinism into repute, is it not necessary that provisions, sufficiently powerful to overbalance these tendencies, should be introduced into the system?

The burdens of the State press heavily on those who have families to maintain. By these all the indirect imposts are met at least in a duplicate ratio. To them, an extension of annual income and annual expenditure, things on which direct imposts are laid, without any extension of the means of enjoyment, is peculiar. Why should not appropriate relief be accorded to those who are thus burdened, seeing their burdens resolve themselves into

the public good? And as it is impossible to give this relief in regard to the indirect taxes, why should not effectual relief be given in regard to those of a direct kind, and this in proportion to the nature and extent of these burdens? There surely can be no objection to deducing one half of the tax on income, and of all the assessed taxes, in cases where two are to be maintained by it in place of one, nor to the deducing of one tenth more for every child living in a family under the age of fourteen; continuing at the same time, to such personages, all the public privileges that are annexed to the rate of assessment from which these deductions are made. I am aware that by this means the produce of these taxes would be diminished, and that in some instances parties would be assessed, and admitted into privileges, while in fact they had nothing thereto correspondent; but while the constitutional strength of the country is thereby only the more increased, we cannot greatly regret a retrocession of this kind. In adverting to this point, let it however, be recollected, as an advantage incident to this arrangement, that by this means much light might be thrown on the occult subject of income. Those, who for the sake of immunities would increase their proportionments, would find their reports checked by the party whose interests were reversed; while these again would find theirs counterbalanced by the informations that came out against them in the investigations into which jarring reports would necessarily lead. While truth would be thus elicited, the fair and o-

pen character which our system upholds would be developed. In the meantime, while these immunities would afford relief to those who live in families, the provisions on which this relief was founded, would go to rescind the unhallowed enjoyments of those who would traverse the happiness of others by their licentious displays.

There is another class of objects, wherein a decided advantage may be given to domestic associations, with manifest benefit to the community. We all complain of the desolations produced in our affairs by bankruptcies, and of the inefficacy of every public provision to check the presumptuous adventurer, or to procure redress for the injured. The principles of justice cannot be applied in such a case, without such an undue proportion of mercy, that the presumptuous debtor ceases to regard his danger, and the unfortunate creditor is left as defenceless as if the law had been made alenarly for those who have injured him. We do not enthral those who are completely ruined; and this is but right. But why are we to turn out the presumptuous anew as unrestrained, as if no particular check to their conduct was requisite. In remedying this general evil, I would give full relief to the bankrupt; but I would encumber this relief with conditions that would render him amenable alike to the public, and to those whom he has injured. The first effect of bankruptcy should be to place the bankrupt's effects under commission. The next effect should be to stop all interest from running up

against him, for his stock being now obviously unproductive, no revenue ought therefrom to be expected. The third effect, would be to place his person in a state of security; and this security, unless some fraud should be made out against him before the end of the first year, should thenceforward be irrefragable, on account of any thing that may have taken place before the bankruptcy. As a farther advantage, I would permit him to begin business anew whenever he pleased, but only in association with some other parties, and only upon condition of contributing annually one half of his profits to his former creditors. In case such associations could be made with one of the bankrupt's own family, I would limit this to one fourth, and in either case, take the partner's oath as a sufficient proof of the truth of his report. This is the extreme length to which I would carry the law of bankruptcy against the debtor; and I would mollify my procedure by the following rules. A complete discharge should be given whenever one year elapsed for every shilling per pound that the stock was deficient; and every contribution should be counted double, in making up this deficiency; and this rule, I would hold to have taken effect at the expiry of the period thereto necessary, without any proces of law whatever. In order to give every encouragement that was possible to industry, even on the lowest scale, it might be competent for the majority of the creditors to account any sum paid in as above to their division funds, to be triple or quadruple its import, whenever the circumstances of the case pointed it out as

adviseable. In no case whatever, would it be possible for creditors to receive such contributions, otherwise, than as double their import, nor to interfere with a common stock, nor to violate any personal right, nor to hold the bankrupt as otherwise than discharged when the due period had elapsed.

I am aware that many formidable objections might be started to an innovation in our bankrupt laws so great. In such a system as that which has been laid down, however, where security is made to go hand in hand with prosperity, some such innovation would be necessary. The radical evil of our commercial attainments is their instability, a thing inseparable from overtrading and from desperate enterprizes. The only cure for these is to keep the consequences of such conduct always fully in the eye of the commercialist, and to let him perceive, that though mercy may intervene, it will never disparage itself by being an abettor of wild far less of criminal pursuits, that it has a regard to the suffering creditor, as well as to the unfortunate debtor, and views with an equal eye their different claims. As things now stand, no rule, founded on equity, intervenes for regulating the matter of procuring a general discharge or certificate. In bestowing it, there is seldom the least regard paid to the fundamental maxims of justice and sound policy. Here, however, a rule is given, and this rule carries the whole business completely out of every difficulty.

It is, however, chiefly as it favors domestic and

sober associations, that I value the plan now set down. To family expenditure, many of our bankruptcies can be traced; on family inmates, therefore, I would throw part of the burden of extricating their head out of his difficulties, and I would encourage them in so doing, by every incitement of which the case could at all admit. Thus, I would exercise family connexions in honorable gratifying pursuits, and I would take care that these should be amply recompensed. As to those who want this advantage, it would doubtless be necessary for them to trim their way in the best manner that they could; all the indulgence however, to which their unsettled condition can lay claim, is accorded; only, they are made to contribute in proportion to the lightness of their natural burdens. It is amidst such fair and honorable discriminations as these, that I would exercise female virtue; and it is towards these that I would draw out the social propensities of a people, who are but too prone to personal indulgence; having done this, I would calculate on finding the female character every way respectable, placed in that situation wherein its greatest value would be most effectually disclosed; female virtue advanced in its estimation and stability, as well as in its power and influence, would produce on the hearts of men correspondent dispositions.

It is only under such advantages as these, that improvements in the process of educating youth can be truly beneficial. The progress of general improvement, under the system proposed, may be abundantly successful in ameliorating the circumstan-

ces, and advancing the intellectual powers of man, without ever reaching his heart, so as to renovate its propensities. It may draw forth displays in all the arts and sciences that will fascinate our minds, while they extend the range of our enjoyments and attainments; and yet our moral condition may all the time be very low and degraded. Like the luxuriance that spontaneously springs forth in certain climates, our system may be most exuberant in precious results; but these results may pass over our perceptions without mollifying the temper, or harmonizing the dispositions of the heart. Nay, when pampered amidst abundance, we are apt to spurn at our blessings, and to display the uncurbed virulence of our passions only the more from the increase of our means, and when we yield to the general restraints of our system, is not our fervor but too frequently resolved into subtlety? It is necessary that the heart be softened with purified intercourse and amidst most endearing connexions, before its propensities can be held to be fully enlisted under the banners of civilization—that the propensities of the individual be harmonized to his peculiar condition by that suasive yet powerful discipline which intimate domestic associations necessarily induce, before his other attainments can unfold themselves in perfect concordance, with the discharge of relative duties, or diffuse their influence benignly in support of its interests. But when this advantage has been fully superadded, when our moral, intellectual and corporeal powers are alike impressed with the whole powers of the system, we may look forward to results, which, as they must

have the blessings promised by the Most High to nations who duly avail themselves of the talents that he has bestowed on them, must transcend in every point of excellence whatever we have yet been able to discern *.

* This is all that seems to be necessary in this place to say on the subject of education. In a treatise published by me a few years ago, entitled '*Improvements in Glasgow*,' I think I have exhausted all that in following out the proposed system of improvement it is possible for me at present to adduce; for when I wrote that treatise, the principal features of the system now sketched out were as familiar to my mind, and perhaps even more strongly impressed on it than they are at this moment. It will be recollected that this is a subject, that to be discussed at all, must be treated systematically.

I hope, however, that it will not be considered as impertinent for me to give a compendious view of the scheme of education above referred to. The publication, when sent to the press, was meant merely to comprehend the outlines of a plan for procuring certain improvements in the most important suburb of Glasgow; but before a couple of sheets had been thrown off, occurrences had taken place which rendered the whole plan, as specifically laid down altogether impracticable. I thereupon proceeded to draw out the ideas already developed in such a manner, as to make them suit the circumstances of that great community with which this suburb was connected; but in doing this it became necessary for me to give not only a full, but a systematic elucidation of the general subject. In this way, I was led in the end to give an elaborate exposition of the general principles of municipal and institutional improvement.

The plan of tuition, developed in that treatise, comprized a process whereby the whole moral, intellectual and corporeal powers of man might be advanced simultaneously on one great academical foundation. In consequence of this last advantage, and of the various improvements and general economy of the

These views might no doubt be carried over many other departments of our national economy, and it might be shewn that even amidst the most ne-

whole plan, means for procuring real and essential advantage in general tuition were to be effectually provided, and a power was to be given to every department of tuition, and to be borne home on the circumstances and character of each individual, that was no otherwise attainable. The result of the whole was—that a competent proficiency in every branch of science and attainment was to be brought within the reach of every class and rank of men in the community; for the saving was not only in money but in time, not only in the adjustment of the powers of the general establishment, but in the adaptation of the faculties of the student to these powers. As an instance of the advantage to be thus procured, it may be noticed, that it was held to be competent for any student of an alert disposition, who had undergone the discipline of the previous courses, to commence and complete the study of both the French and Spanish languages, in their proper courses, within the year; taking along with him at the same time, such a complete practical course of Mathematics and Chemistry, as would render the elements of both these sciences ever after familiar to his apprehension.

The agency, by which these advantages were to obtained, was chiefly distinguished from the common method, by introducing into general use those principles of improvement in the first part of the process of education, that have lately attracted so much notice; which principles, however, when followed out and reinforced by others of an analogous nature, it was shewn, necessarily led into practical improvements that have not heretofore been attended to. The student, in consequence of the variety of his occupations, and of the powerful means by which his study is impressed upon his perceptions, is gradually accustomed to lengthened class hours, and to exercises, which, though laborious and ardent, are rendered as interesting to his mind, and as familiar to his perceptions, as any ordinary amusement or

cessary movements of the general system, various improvements of the most radical kind might be effected under its influence, coincident with, and illustrative of, its general character. Enough, however, has been said to convey an adequate idea of the nature and character of these resolutions, in so far as the ordinary circumstances of social existence are concerned. It is necessary, however, both for the sake of completing the views now taken, and for that of placing the advantages now

lucrative occupation can be. Emulation and competition in every thing great and valuable, were to be so fully, so universally, and so incessantly, made use of, that it was held to be difficult for any one to escape its influence, or, having felt its influence, not to derive advantage from it. In the languages, certain improvements were superadded; the verbal and grammatical studies were carried on together, and the principles of each language disclosed, by means which fascinated the mind, while they envigorated the apprehension and the memory.

In the view of giving full effect to these institutions, and also for the purpose of preparing a fund of appropriate exercise and rational employment to those in more advanced periods of life, there was superadded to the above the plan, of a municipal and parochial establishment. It was under the charge and authority of this establishment, and of the paternal characters that it comprized, that the proposed academical institution was to be laid. The functions of this body were however to be extended to other objects correspondent to their circumstances, and consistent with the general well-being of the whole community. It was, at the same time incidentally shewn, that the same principles, maxims, and rules of amelioration and improvement, begun in the tuitory establishment, branched themselves out and developed their influence only the more fully on those which followed, and which stood at its head.

held to have been obtained under influences competent to their preservation, to take into view the higher resolutions of our system, and to contemplate the advantages which it provides for those who take the lead in human affairs. It is a matter of the first importance to render the procedure of such individuals as concordant to, and as coincident with, those of the community at large, as possible. The influence of fashion and custom we know to be in many instances irresistible; it is individuals in high life who give the rule and standard and current stamp, to these powerful agents in human affairs, and on that account, it becomes us to regard the resolutions of the general system whereby these individuals are to be most particularly affected, with more than ordinary precision.

On adverting to the circumstances of these parties, the first thing that strikes us is the amplitude of the means that are brought under their power by the general resolutions of the system. Those things which promise abundant provision for the whole community, however, come short of the main object of the solicitude of personages in these high walks of life, which is to procure an elevated and distinguished situation for their offspring, a procurement which seems to imply the depression of those that are around them, as well as their own exaltation. For this purpose, these parties are at present in possession of advantages that enable them to outstrip most of their competitors; they can give to their children a more complete education, im-

press them with better habits, and set them agoing for their own interests in the world, amidst establishments and connexions that are more definitely calculated for their service, than it is possible for any other class of the community to obtain. But these advantages, (the safeguards and bulwarks of the aristocratical order,) decided and brilliant though they unquestionably are, can only benefit a small number: nay, even amongst themselves, of the competitors who surmount every difficulty that lies in their way before that demarked elevation of condition, of which all are in quest can be obtained, by far the greater part are left completely behind, and obliged to prowl in the dark, amidst hopeless dependence on the good will of those others that have already got the start of them. In what sense, therefore, (may it be said) can we consider the vast facilities and attainments for founding and bringing forward families, provided under the preceding system, as blessings to the higher orders in life?—ought we not rather to regard them as fatal lures, leading them on to degradation; in place of extending their capacity and power, ought we not rather to circumscribe their influence, and proceed to draw salutary limits round them, least they prove curses in place of blessings to the whole order? We have already contemplated the baleful effects of an indefinite increase of this order in France. Our frequent wars are said to arise but too frequently from the necessity under which we are laid, to provide for scions of high blood suitable employment! Shall we increase the evil that calls loudest

for redress, and expose the state itself to great and imminent danger.

The pertinacity of the aristocratic order, in maintaining every immunity and advantage appertaining to their class, more particularly those having for their foundation personal or family importance, against which the foregoing objection strikes, are very well known. But likeas when the violent exercise of baronial power, wherein the state of chieftains formerly consisted, was resolved into chastened displays of patrician influence, the personal antipathy of a few individuals could neither prevent nor traverse the establishment nor the deveopement of the blessings which ensued, so, in the present instance, we may fairly hold that the voice of the objectors will be drowned with similar facility, amidst the acclamations of those, whose more capacious minds can comprehend and relish the general advantages, that are prepared to their hands, by the necessary operations of the proposed system. It therefore forms no part of my design to take up the objection to our system, that is implied in the fastidious prejudices and predilections of this order ; the more especially at this time, when the proposed system, as already illustrated, is seen to comprize the whole leading and essential interests of this, as well as of every other class of the community. Although, however, it be unnecessary to take up the subject in the view of solving a difficulty, it is certainly proper to adduce a few remarks, for the purpose of exhibiting these peculiar

advantages and facilities, that must be held to flow from the general influences of the sys em, into the service of those amongt this class, who may form regular family associations, and for that of evincing the transcendant lustre, which the whole scheme must derive from the full developement of the advantages that are to be thus attained.

In the first place, let it be remembered, that the whole of the preceding system goes to extend the views, and to liberalize the sentiments of the aristocratic, as well as of every every other rank of life, and to prepare them for discharging in a becoming manner their several relative duties. To this system, statesmen, as well as political speculators, princes, as well as mere commercialists are rendered obedient, and made to find the advancement of their best interests, in the prosecution of the great designs of its institution. In particular, all parties are made to regard the security and prosperity of every other class, as essential to their own, and to act in correspondence with the clearest and fullest views of general good. As, on the one hand, the advancement of the superior orders is seen to bear up the leading classes of society along with their own; so on the other, every regular advancement of the subordinate classes is perceived to resolve itself, in like manner, into an increase of the power and means of those that take the lead. It is under these combined views, that the leading classes must regard their own duties and privileges, and it is in-

to the projects which these views imply, that they must resolve their future prospects.

In the next place, let it be remarked, that as there is an increase of power and of means, of the subjects of possession and enjoyment, and of instruments to procure and command these, and as there will, under the contemplated multiplication of family associations, be an increase of numbers in that class, wherein these associations must be most fixed; so there also must follow an extension of the range, wherein such operations may develope themselves, and wherein this class must exercise influence, and a more perfect security in the enjoyment of such advantages as may arise to its hands within the compass of this range. There will not only be more frequent and more momentous occasions for the interference of the capitalist, but there will be more powerful excitements for men of rank, to exercise their own peculiar influences on these occasions; their fixed as well as their circulable power, being made thereto subservient. Subjects that admit of improvement, and resolve their value into the service of the industrious, as they increase in value, increase in the intricacy of their constituent parts, and constantly tend to the formation of that capital, and of those possessions, that have a supereminent value, and are of a fixed and inherent kind. Such capital has already increased to an extent, that at no very distant period could scarcely have been comprehended. How many thousand illustrious families, does the interest of our national debt now

maintain, who, but for the improvement induced by an ameliorating system, could have had no means of subsistence? How many thousands more does the interest of capital vested in territorial improvements, in dignified employments, and in investments of the purest and most metaphysical nature, support? It is the special business of the proposed sytem to augment the power of mind over matter, and to impress the superinduced operations with benign influences, to draw out of these their greatest and most sublime value, and to give to the value thus created, a permanent and secure foundation. Ought we not therefore to infer, that under the proposed system, advantages more powerful, more numerous, and more analogous and proportionate to its circumstances than those in existence, will every way increase, that patrician families will find means for supporting their dignity, as well as for increasing their numbers, arising into their hands with constantly increasing force, and that, with every such increase, talents and dispositions, conformable to the change that has been inferred, will be produced, carrying along with them, those means and principles, that are most concordant with the genial progression of the ameliorating system, and with the best interests of all its constituent parts.

Thirdly. But it is not so much the magnitude of the advantages that are prepared for the establishment of families, as the adaptation of these advantages to the circumstances and character of the class now referred to, interwoven and concate-

nated as the concernments of this class is with those of communities progressively advancing in civilization and improvement,—that, in the case now before us, demands our regard. In the view now before us, wealth, that is floating and indefinite, yet circulable power over objects of value; and authority or influence, that is established and inherent, yet fixed and definite power over individuals to whom such objects appertain, have this in common with each other, that they are really and essentially estimable, not so much in proportion to their relative greatness, and the ratio of force or potency which they comprehend, as in proportion to the extent and importance of the range over which they can be exercised, to the value of the objects comprized within this range, and to the adaptation of these objects to the advanced state of those for whose service they are destinated.

This position may be illustrated by familiar analogies, and from these illustrations, the peculiar advantages, that are brought within the reach of the patrician order for the formation and establishment of family associations under the proposed system, must very manifestly appear. A Polish Jew may possess wealth and means that, in numerical amount, far exceed those of any English country gentleman, and yet the capacity of enjoyment, influence, and improvement, brought under the power of the Jew, or of any family associations that he may form, must be admitted to be every way inferior to those of the English Squire. Though

overburdened with public imposts, and surcharged with public duties, the squire bears up a power, and possesses a degree of personal consequence, that cannot but be held to be estimable, for they command for his use a portion of respect and influence, that to the other is unknown. Whereas the Jew, while encompassed with the most valuable possessions, must cower amidst his abundance, and, amidst alternate feelings of satiety and disgust, procure even the most ordinary marks of personal estimation, in a manner, that denotes at once his own degradation, and the impotency of his wealth. The reason of this is obvious. The objects, over which the wealth of the Jew can be stretched, are circumscribed by the narrow capacity of the society of which he is a member; they imply possessions, but they imply neither excellencies nor faculties suited to the character nor to the condition of one having such possessions; they belong to an inferior sort of existence, and they bear the estimation of that inferiority, in spite of all their power and splendor. A British Duke, who can no more dispense with existing laws than a peasant, and who cannot display a single immunity appertaining to his rank, without finding his influence, great as it is, compressed to the sphere of a subject, will, for similar reasons, be admitted to be every way a greater and more dignified character than a Turkish Bashaw, whose will is his law, and who disposes of the lives and fortunes of thousands almost at pleasure. The power of the British nobleman comprizes under it, objects every way more excellent; it commands and

influences the services of men, whose faculties and dispositions, advanced in their capacity, can contribute means and services equal to his occasions, and that too in a way that corresponds with his more elevated mode of existence. In obeying his impulse, his dependents display the greatness of their own attainments, and by administering to his nobler wants, they procure supplies to their own of the most valuable description. On the other hand, the rude and inert dispositions of those under the Mahometan satrap, render the co-action of violent and sudden propensities, alike necessary in the agent and in the instrument, and seal up those refined perceptions that lead to civilized intercourse, under the relentless aspect of revengeful rapacity. Like the high culture of our verdant fields, our civilizing processes provide for all who can attain but a morsel of power and influence, faculties for unfolding, and means for gratifying the best dispositions of his heart; whilst the ruler of the forest, to whose will regions unmeasured yield up without reserve their most valuable productions, must ever remain a stranger to such fascinating power. In communities civilized to the degree proposed by the foregoing system, there must be vast diversities of condition, amongst the leaders, as well as among the people, but to each of these degrees a plenitude of power, and of means and objects every way suited to their condition, must be secured, sufficient not only to satisfy the beneficent propensities of the mind, but to stimulate and support such high expectations, in regard to futurity, as must en-

courage the formation and promote the establishment of family associations.

In the fourth place, let it be noticed, that the whole attainments of the higher orders of society, under the proposed system, must tend to resolve themselves into greater and higher displays of excellence, which will prepare them for exercising themselves in a style correspondent to their circumstances. In a corrupted loose and depraved state of political arrangements, these very advantages may create a tendency towards war, dissension and infuriate cabals; but when the faculties of men can develope themselves according to the principles of an independent system, under beneficent influences, and in the direct way of general improvement and advancement, we may calculate alike on superior attainments and higher security. In consequence of all these advantages, we have not only the developements of internal prosperity, but those of that free and equitable intercourse with foreign nations, to which such prosperity may give birth, for building our improvements upon. This intercourse, while it will bring into the hands of the commercialist both wealth and influence, will prepare the way for resolutions in the general system, of a much nobler and higher kind, such as must introduce into it, fresh attainments, correspondent to the sphere in which it moves. Such resolutions in such circumstances will be not only elevated but consolidated, and, commanding a range for their developement, that is equal to their greatest capacities, will not be

compressed either in their value or in their functions, as those that appertain to petty states and isolated systems generally are; their powers and influences will stretch to the extremity of the civilized world, and their estimation be surmounted only by resolutions, the superior value of which is indisputable. This is an important fact, and it is one that in a general point of view cannot be controverted. Every thing that is excellent in any civilized country, bears its proportion and estimation in every other, and, in passing this estimation, brings back to him who owns it something of real honor and advantage. A petty improvement in some subordinate mechanical operation may raise its author to wealth and to celebrity. Nor does the potency and lustre thus obtained, necessarily perish in the display; on the contrary, this estimation becomes marketable, and resolved or resoluble into real property, and being surrounded with a maze of peculiar influence, it may infer a potency that will rival the most ancient hereditary possessions.

These advantages of the general system have a deep root in its constitution. Every nation has something of excellence as well as something of deficiency in its circumstances, that leads it into commercial transactions. In the circumstances that have been supposed, the exchanges that thereupon take place must induce not only relief and deliverance, but excellence and celebrity in the results into which these may lead. In the action and re-action of the principles that are called into

exercise, virtues of the highest class are elicited. Science, influence and example hence derive their force, and amidst exchanges of the most inert subjects, effect changes over the whole frame of civilized society. The means and incitations to industry, to regular domestic associations, and to the interchanges of intimate and endearing regards, thence to be obtained, must be of the noblest kind. The dissertations of Lavoisier and Fourcroy have not only raised legions of chemists amidst the upper ranks of society, and endowed them with wealth and influence, but they have impressed those that have been thus endowed with mild and beneficent habits. The mechanical improvements of Watt and Arkwright have led into the way of fair and regular enterprise myriads of grandees, whose power and splendor, noways allayed, but on the contrary greatly illustrated by means of their attainments, discover the irrefragable connexion that necessarily subsists between personal elevation of character and general social advancement.

In the Fifth and last place, when we turn our eyes to the natural and necessary tendency of advantages so vast and so high, on the whole extended scale of human affairs, we discover a continuation of the same benign and ennobling tendencies, and of the same harmonious accordance of principle and of operation. Christendom, though the greatest, is not the only vast system on our earth; it is the first in point of dignity, and it is destinated to swallow up and comprehend every other sys-

tem, but of all its advantages, perhaps none is more remarkable than its wonderful aptitude to renovate and ameliorate all that comes into affinity with it. This advantage, the result of generous and independent competition, is the point, wherein, the improvements to be introduced by the proposed system, are most particularly distinguished. When we contemplate a system of this kind, operating upon a most extended scale all over the world, and supported in all its denouements by means and powers and faculties prepared for upholding its resolutions on this vast scale, we cannot but expect consequences of the most powerful and extraordinary description. Every thing immediately under the influence of the system has already not only been virtually bent under its power, but absorbed into its essence. Over other systems the powers thus matured display a superiority that is irresistible. Conquest and commerce have prepared the way for its reception, and rendered its interests the main object of human solicitude. There is, however, in these adverse systems, a repulsive contravening disparity of principles, which still keeps them apart, and renders the benign influences that are shed around them, unproductive of real and permanent good. The votaries of Islam, while they greedily imbibe our corruptions, repel from their shrine the gentle and submissive doctrines of the cross. The mazes of Oriental polity, having their frivolity exposed and rendered subservient to our own selfish designs, continue to bewilder and stupify an infatuated race. Africa, without any thing that can

be called a civil or social system, bends horribly under our influence, and while she excludes the highest behests of our intercourse, regorges into our hands, the fruits of her own enfuriated procedure. America, less subtile in her operations, but not less illusive in her principles, less savage in her character, but much more prostrate in her condition, receives our powerful influences, as the desert heath receives the dewy influences from above; the means resolved into her service, but render her degeneracy the more morbid, and the power which our virtues communicate, but the more enfuriate her depravity; and although these genial influences have not been altogether abortive, they have, on the whole, as yet only sealed down the more forcibly the debasement of her condition. This, in a few words, is the general character of the influences at present exercised by Christendom over the other systems of the world. The time is no doubt fast approaching, when the effects will be widely different. Let us now see how the proposed improvements will accelerate this happy change.

In the first place, that overflow of personal talent and of general wealth, which is now hopelessly spent in vain struggles after national and individual aggrandizement, and that serves to dispose to, and enfuriate the most desolating conflicts, may easily pass over into such services. In China, and other prostrate countries, wealth, talent, and population increase only to work out more effectually the debasement and degeneracy of the system.

There, individual prowess is not only compressed by the weighty arm of unmitigated oppression, strengthened by the brazen sinews of ignorance and fanaticism, but its energy is paralyzed, and its spirit perverted, by the baseness of the system out of which it arises. In Christendom, however, it is personal virtue, developing itself upon independent extended and liberal principles that does every thing. The advantages thus attained are compressed by no influences that are inimical to their progression; on the contrary, they are thereby upheld and expanded; the important resolutions thus induced mount above each other, and at every step of their progress carry along with them the highest behests of our system. In such circumstances, if we can suppose war and unprofitable contestation at an end, peaceful commerce and international exchanges unfolding all their blessings, and the general system, surcharged with powers and means, seeking only a vent sufficiently capacious, and objects sufficiently appropriate, to receive its influence, may we not warrantably assume, that these will find their way into other systems, and from their recognized excellence and aptitude for communicating this excellence, that they will transfuse the influence, and insinuate the energies of the general system into the debased systems that surround them, and establish and consolidate its power upon the basis thus provided? And may we not infer from all those tendencies, that the power thus established will not only raise up the fallen portion of our race, but

bear up still higher the parent source, whence this force has been drawn?

In the second place, the high spirit of enterprize, which is the necessary result of a system unfolding itself with such transcendent effect, upon lofty ground, together with the decided tendency of the general system to beneficent and ennobling pursuits, must serve to give to the resolutions above noticed, a force which no difficulty nor obstruction can withstand. That high and strenuous emulation, which at present seeks the ensanguined plain, that enfuriate contestation which exhausts itself in its own destruction, as well as in that of its object, and that unhappy collision of interests which bear off most unprofitably the best powers of society, we may fairly suppose, will be attracted from these desolating pursuits, into the course of beneficent enterprize, and spend their vigor in services that must ameliorate and advance the circumstances and character of mankind at large. War and broils it is said are congenial to our race—if so, it must be because there are high qualities of the mind that can find no other denouement, and because from the corruption and depravity of society such a destructive denouement accords with its character. Under a beneficent system, however, developing itself powerfully amidst enterprizes of the most energetic, and upheld by advantages of the most transcendant kind, we cannot but apprehend that contestation of every kind will resolve its power into exercises of a more peaceful nature; that the incitements to

rage and revenge will gradually lose their power, and that these propensities themselves will change at once their character and their aspect. For let it be carefully attended to, that if once the horrid aspect of war was regarded in its proper light, as the foe alike of the assailant and of the sufferer, of the victor and of the vanquished; if the blessings of uninterrupted peace, amidst a high course of prosperity and improvement, were once diffused and firmly established—from the serene delights obtained in the enjoyment of the one, and from the horror that would be excited, whenever the unutterable anguish resulting from the prosecution of the other presented itself to our notice, we may warrantably infer, that every thing turbulent and violent in human nature would find its curb within its own range. Gently restrained in its first risings, the strength which inspired the vindictive and wrathful passions would quietly pass into mere genial exercises, or if impelled to something like disorder, these would, from the paucity of objects around them on which they might spend their rage, subside, before any lasting or important consequences could be produced. Something like an absolute and a most dangerous revulsion from established and recognized principles is even at present necessary to constitute a pretext or a motive for breaking up a state of tranquil prosperity; how much more must this be the case, when such prosperity shall have been fenced all around by such formidable barriers, when the avenues for drawing off all that is incitative to contestation shall

have become so numerous and so vast, and when the system that has been established shall have been rendered so powerful in its operations, and so universal in its influence? In such circumstances primitive simplicity of character may be found universally conjoined with high attainments, and a profusion of all that is excellent, with a vigorous application of this excellence to its highest uses; each resolution of these respectively and conjoinedly tending to extend and confirm the system out of which they have proceeded.

In the Third place. From what we have seen of the power of our system, and of the efficacy of its operations, we may infer that amidst the strenuous exercitations that would be excited by such advantages, and directed towards such objects, rude nations with their rude systems would be gradually embued with correspondent influences, and by being prepared to receive that renovated character, which it is the tendency of our system to bestow, that these too would actively facilitate the progression instituted. Making every possible allowance for inveterate prejudice, and deep rooted antipathy, and other causes of revulsion therefrom, in the character of rude nations, it must be admitted, that systematic improvement, every way advancing, must in the end envelope even the rudest. The American and Hottentot tribes, with habits as opposite to regular industry as it is possible to conceive, have not been able altogether to resist the influences in which they are emerged. But we have no proper data

on which to form our opinion regarding the effects that would be produced by the continued operations of a system, proceeding on principles thoroughly beneficent and independent. The few solitary Europeans, that have found their way into the good will and confidence of rude nations, are contented to secure for themselves good treatment and personal respect; their hands are tied up to services incongruous with their duties as renovatists; and they become the dependents of individuals, who have seldom any higher objects in view, but the promotion of their personal interests. Under the circumstances supposed, however, the case is altogether different. When the boundaries of civilization have been so enlarged as to comprehend under its full influence every Christian nation, the operations of the general system will be not only powerful, but for the most part irresistible. The fetters of commercial intercourse, now formed by regulations that bind up industry to the service of the lower propensities of human nature, will then be broken asunder. Competition and emulation, in occupations which have for their object the furnishing rude nations with means for improving themselves and their condition in its most essential qualities, will thereupon be instituted. Commerce of this kind must bear down every thing like jealousy and revulsive pride. The grand design being to make the fascinating triumphs of ambition, those gratifications that swell the mind by its mere emptiness, give way to the plain gratifications of profitable intercourse, the progress of the system will

soon bring its ultimate object clearly into view; and when this has been thoroughly effected, we cannot consider the absolute attainment of our grand design as either difficult or problematic. It will not then be, as it now is, that two or three nations, in virtue of their national prowess, will struggle themselves into a kind of monopoly of every commercial and political advantage. If it were, we might lay our account with a continuance of the same rivalry, intrigue, and dissention that now prevail, and expect to find as much solicitude exercised to depress, as in our present view is held to be exercised in upraising, the character of the rude tribes of our race. Neither is it a few benevolent and privileged societies, with their deputies and their missionaries, attempting to engross the honor of civilizing the world, that are held to be burdened with these high duties—It is Christendom at large, each nation within its bounds, developing its mighty energies with perfect freedom in the direction that must effectually meet this object—each possessing a plenitude of political power and staminal force—and each commanding every general advantage that lies within the range of the system. In such circumstances, what can preclude any one nation, the meanest and the most remote, as well as the most favored, from availing itself fully of the advantages thus brought within its power, from stretching forth its strength to remote common objects, and from finding in these objects delightful incitations to the services that are peculiar to their elevated condition? It is the full developement of

a mighty system we are contemplating—a system wherein individuals of the highest rank and characers seek those fields of enterprize wherein the most ennobling exercises are to be found. When we take this consideration fully along with us, can we doubt either its general success or its ultimate triumph? Its progression may at first be slow, and be subjected to many interruptions. The advantage gained by one denouement may seem to be exhausted, before they can be reinforced by another; but the inroads upon barbarism will constantly become wider and wider, and the stability of every consecutive attainment, become greater and greater; until, from the constant advancement of the paramount system, the barriers of barbarism be surmounted, and its bulwarks buried in the dust. Myriads of assailants, with the peaceful weapons of cordial influence, mild example, and beneficent officiousness, will follow on and raise the great cause of our race upon its securest foundation. The spirit of the system will thereupon animate the general progression, and give to every exertion and struggle that may follow, a necessary, as well as a real advancement in its destined course.

Before we proceed any farther, let us direct our attention to the advantages thus prepared for the service of the upper ranks of society. And here the value of these strike us with great force. The very idea of emigration implies preparation for great struggles, such as we must apprehend to be most competent to those in the upper stations of

society. Without great means and high influence, uncertainty and disappointment await the emigrator, and may engulph his highest hopes; but under a certain judicious expenditure of these that such evils can be avoided, and success secured. It is not enough that a man of eminent talents and endowments be set down precisely where these can be of most avail; he must be placed in circumstances to unfold and display these with full advantage; he must be able both to bear these with full force on their proper objects, and to elucidate the connexion that subsists betwixt his powers, and those consequences that result from the due exercise of them, in a way that will not only attract attention but ensure confidence. How many thousands are lost to themselves and to the world from defects in this particular advantage? Yet this defect, the rich and the powerful alone are able effectually to supply. Thus amongst the rudest nations wealth and power can procure equivalents; and although here the personal powers of man unfold themselves with peculiar facility, yet the superinduced attainments of the great can seldom be dispensed with. Eminent personal powers are no doubt indispensibly necessary in such extraordinary circumstances, but the extrinsic behests of fortune are for the most part equally necessary, in order to make these powers answer their end. In short, the great and peculiar advantages of these higher developements of our system may be held as appendant on the condition of the leaders of society. In its proximate advantages, there is something like a parity in the distributions of our sys-

tem, and a regular proportionment betwixt the advantages of enterprize, and the personal powers of those who embark in them; but in these higher developements, where substantive wealth and paramount influence are so necessary to procure preparations, and to ensure confidence and co-operation, it is requisite that this wealth and influence be superadded, before any thing that can be called a regular proportionment betwixt the talents exercised, and their reward, can take place. Without the benefit of outfits, without the protection of friends and associates, the highest personal qualities, and the most supereminent individual attainments have seldom made a permanent impression upon rude nations; with these however, something like insuperable power has not unfrequently been displayed. When the established prowess of the system shall have universally secured placid acquiescence in our assumptions, who can limit the efficacy of such influences?

These high and powerful denouements of the general system bring into view such a multitude of fresh exercises for human talent, and such a variety of avocations, that call most directly for the intervention of the first means and influence of communities, that we must consider the incitements to form domestic associations amongst the leading classes of society, as sufficiently strong to overcome even the most fastidious objections that can on such a subject be listened to. These are considerations of high importance, and although strictly taken, the subject does not fall under our view, as a principal, but as a subsidiary develope-

ment of the general system, it carries such weighty consequences along with it which bear so directly on its most essential parts, that we cannot dismiss it without some farther attention. As things now stand, a grandee, on dismissing into the world, one of the junior branches of his family, must be understood as addressing him thus, " Raise your fortune " to that pitch, that I can without disparagement " to my dignity acknowledge my relationship to you, " or let me never see or hear from you again. " Keep this my purpose steadily in your eye, and " count on means and influence sufficient to make " good your claims to personal deference. Neither " the principles of religion nor the voice of con- " science, a regard to your own comfort, nor to " life itself must be held to be too much to be sa- " crificed, if in the pursuit of your leading object, " such sacrifices should be necessary." That parental injunctions now-a-days delivered by the great to their dependents amount to this, and to little more than this, is not to be disputed, for though the meaning may be wrapt up in sentimental pathos, or in sarcastic rhapsody, the import is nearly the same —family pride and family importance, the grand and ultimate object to be attended to, are alone to be subserved in every family arrangement.

But in the circumstances of society, set forth in the preceding context, we cannot but suppose that such sentiments as the foregoing, even where they are most powerful, will be moderated and limited by superior principles. It will be seen

that no family power nor family object can compete with the progression of a system, which has for its object the advantage of our whole race, and which carries individuals along with it, not so much according to their relative importance in the general system, as according to the powers and offices which they can introduce into its service; and that this system, while it comprehends in its object, every social and real good, of which the human condition is susceptible, apportions to individuals their share thereof, on sound and equitable principles. It will be seen also, that in following out these principles, neither deficiency nor disparagement to family expectations need take place; for that as these coincide with, so they are respected as essential parts of the system. The views that must thereupon be formed, and the projects into which these views may lead, must be very different from those that are now formed, when the court and the camp, the senate and the bar, the bench and the pulpit are the sole objects towards which these may be formed. At present, the narrowness of the sphere of competition, whets cupidity to an inordinate degree, and gives rise to the most daring and licentious intrigues, in which the parties interested unhesitating acquiesce, as mere *ruses de guerre*, to which it is permitted to all parties, as occasion offers, to resort. In the case before us, where the importance of pure and upright dealing is so great, and the temptations to an opposite practice so small, it must be the business of the father to follow out the general tendency of the system, and to

form the views and projects, as well as the fortunes of his child in coincidence with its character. There will be no necessity to concentrate in one branch all his hopes, and to devote all the rest to the service of, and to dependence on this branch, for he will perceive, that without anywise abridging the fair claims of his immediate successor, he may provide abundantly for each descendant. He may not be able to give them all fixed possessions, but he will most assuredly be able to set them agoing in circumstances wherein possessions not less valuable, may be procured in a fair and regular manner. He may say to them—"You are born for the good of "others as well as for your own, you have the ad- "vantages of birth, education, substantial influence, "and a variety of facilities and advantages, to enable "you to prosecute this good on the largest scale. "By prosecuting it in the fullest manner, under "the influence of beneficent and liberal principles, "you will most assuredly attain to independence, "power, riches, and high respect, as well as to the "great and primary objects to which your labors "have been conformed. Restrain your licentious "passions, for their object perishes with the using, "and they will lead you on to ruin. Cultivate "your noblest endowments, for these will never "die, and they will bring into your hands heavens "highest behests. I dismiss you not to the ensan- "guined field, where you must seek the life of oth- "ers, least they take yours. I consign you not to "the mazes of political intrigue, where you must "debauch all that is excellent in your nature, and

" struggle to bring all around you into similar and
" greater debasement. I send you to the fields of
" enterprize, where in doing good to others, you
" find your own good. As your talents may there
" be exercised, not only nobly but profitably; as my
" influence can procure for you both protection
" and respect, and my means serve you in double
" stead at every rencountre, count on these as safe-
" guards, and never shrink although misfortune or
" disappointment should cut short your hopes.
" The glory and renown you earn are mine as well
" as yours, and I am at hand in your straits to
" succour and relieve, or to uphold and advance
" you, as occasion may require."

The diffusion of such sentiments would provide stimulants to virtue of the purest and most ennobling kind. Here, too, the same powerful springs of action that produced such wonderful effects during the feudal era would rise up into our hand. Female excellence, when made to bear on the youthful mind with its native force, not only defecates its debasing qualities, but fills it with the most generous emotions, and disposes it to the most beneficent pursuits. It is true, that a strong line of demarkation is now drawn betwixt the different ranks of society, which seems to preclude the operation of such emotions, and that fastidious etiquette now sheathes most unrelentingly these enthusiastic advances, which, in the era of feudalism, fascinated the heroic mind amidst the most arduous exploits; and perhaps, while moral and political profligacy

and groveling perceptions of personal interest are so prevalent, it may be proper not only to give efficacy to these and to every other rule by which the rights of superior rank are to be maintained, but to inforce their subservance. Let us not deceive ourselves, however, the time, is now forever gone, when the mere tinsel of birth and pomp of wealth can carry forward the leading concerns of nations. Personal talent and individual force of character are now as requisite for the patrician as for the man of business, for the prince as for his confidential servants; and these advantages, without a full participation in the arduous exercises of the incumbent system, are altogether unattainable. The arguments that are adduced for depriving the monarch himself of the advantage of domestic enjoyment are not worth the listening to. Say not that thereby his spirit will be drawn out into pursuits unworthy of his station. Were your Plantagenets, who scarcely ever passed the precincts of their domains for a wife, either debased or enfeebled? It must not be asserted that thereby the order of succession may be endangered; the only instance in English history, that could support such an assertion, is that of King Edward the fourth; and this merely proves a fact that has never been seriously disputed, that before the principle of succession as now received was fully admitted, while society was in such a rude and disordered state, that the mere force of eclat and lustre of importance, attendant on daring and resolute acts of usurpation could shade their criminality,—that in such circumstances,

the vacillating character of a monarch, and the monstrous depravity of those in whom this monarch placed his confidence, could make way for transactions that went to cut off his progeny from their rightful throne. Let it be noticed, however, that the order of succession was much better established in King Edward's family, than it was in that of this monarch's predecessor; and this too, in spite of the high birth and high spirit of King Henry's, and the lowly connexions of King Edward's, spouse; for King Edward's line remained unimpeached, until his progeny was cut off by the unprecedented brutality of his brother; whereas King Henry's was forever and completely set aside in his own and his son's lifetime. For which reason, taking these facts along with me, together with the eventful history of the Stewart dynasty, I cannot but infer, that it is a calamity, rather than an advantage, for monarchs to burden themselves and their subjects with high matrimonial connexions. The alliance of King Charles with the first monarchy of Europe saved neither his throne, his character, his life, nor his family; while that of his son with a family barely patrician, so far from debarring his line of descent from the possession of his abdicated throne, actually secured it to them, until, in the natural course of things, his protestant line became extinct. The events, that have taken place within our own day, would tend to carry this point much farther; for they certainly prove, that much greater disparagement may ensue to sovereigns from their refusing to avail themselves of the advantages re-

sulting from a commixture of their blood with that of the highest classes of their subjects, than can possibly result from giving way to its worst effects. Would it have been possible for Bonaparte to have set aside the Spanish dynasty, if this dynasty had struck its roots sufficiently deep within its native territory? Might not the Stewarts and the Bourbons themselves, in spite of all their tyranny and misgovernance, have filled their respective thrones in security, if their lawful line of descent had prepared an host of natural connexions, amongst the upper ranks of their subjects, sufficiently strong to protect their common patrimonial interests? Or rather, would they not have been prevented from falling into the crimes and follies, in which their calamities originated, had the genial influence and example of their natural connexions been exercised around them?

I CONTEND not here for any peculiar advantage in favor of the royal or patrician lines of descent. I contend for an advantage that is common alike to the sovereign and to the people. Whenever the nobler propensities of our nature are bent down to services, and applied to objects, that are purely factitious, while at the same time, high stimulants are applied to such propensities, there, we may expect that these will develope themselves in the most irregular and licentious manner. Every one knows that these developements lead into the baleful mazes of criminal intrigue; that intrigue always requires obscurity and intricacy; and that rather than

want its accustomed subterfuge, it will shroud its head in the destruction of nations. On the other hand, we know that regular domestic associations most certainly do give birth to the best feelings and propensities of the heart, that these are the source of simplicity of manners and purity of conduct, that the influences, thus prepared and maturated, must bear on society at large with their full and natural force, and that as they are held to take effect under advantages that are most intimately adapted to the character of each individual, so they cannot but operate with irresistible energy, in advancing the interests of the industrious and the sober-minded part of every community.

This position will appear more evident, if we take up its counterpart, and examine the consequences of an opposite state of things; one wherein these highly honorable connexions, by which society is bound up in its relations, can be violated with impunity, and without reprehension. When debasing propensities usurp and set at nought these hallowed privileges, and when the highest influences in society are placed in circumstances that incite these to throw their whole weight into the scale of licentiousness, then, and in every such case, we may count upon it, that libertinism will prevail, and breed in the whole frame of society, corruption and depravity, the harbingers of every political and civil calamity. This fact is obvious to the perception of every one who has bestowed the least attention on the history of mankind, and it requires no illus-

tration whatever. Its consequences, however, are deserving of regard. However high the character of any profligate society may be, however great, however splendid its political and intellectual renown, its decided tendency, in such circumstances, must uniformly be to the debasement of the indivi-ual; and the greater the abundance of desireable objects with which this society is replenished, the higher the excellence of these objects, and the more extensive the facilities for distributing and appropriating them, the more strong and the more determinate will the progress of this degradation become, and the more irresistible the torrent of profligacy and depravity be, that will thereupon ensue. Corruption and oppression will assuredly become installed at the head of its affairs, so that the purest will be effectually bent under their power. That the degradation that must follow will become at length so intolerable as to render any revolution or convulsion, an enviable deliverance, no one can possibly dispute, who has attentively considered the fate of corrupted nations. If we would look for a remedy to that extremity of human misery and moral evil which some philosophers have of late fancied to be the natural consequence of excessive population, we must look for it amidst the scenes of pure domestic society. It is a fact that admits of no controvention whatever, that, in such society, the more helpless and the more hopeless the state of individuals are, the more closely does the parent cling to those objects, and exercise for its preservation an affection that is most pure and

disinterested. Amidst the endearments which follow such intercourse, there emanates a fervor of enjoyment, which most abundantly recompenses all the pain and sorrow that one would naturally connect with such a condition. Here, however, as I am discussing a theory, that in my opinion has nothing to support it but apprehensions as fallacious as they are presumptuous, I shall dismiss the subject entirely, without any farther remark.

I HAVE been the more particular and express upon this head, because it appears to me that there is implied in it, that very point, upon which, as its apex, the highest results of the whole system turns. When those relations, which are the fountain of our purest and best affections are duly respected, and those ordinations, by which the most sacred and appropriate rights of these connexions are maintained, can be preserved inviolate, feelings and perceptions and habits, congenial to the most refined and ennobling intercourse, are engendered, brought forward, and nurtured, throughout the whole social system. In such circumstances, it must, I think, follow as a natural and necessary consequence, that the standard of manners will become constantly more and more conformed to moral excellence, that habits, dispositions and propensities, disciplined for general advantage, will more and more prevail, and that society at large will steadily advance and improve in the most important points and features of its character. This conclusion must, I think, appear to be altogether uncontrovertible,

when it is considered, that it is during their youth and nonage, and amidst domestic endearments, that mankind receive their most forcible impressions of character, and that the disclosure of personal talents, that takes place amongst individuals connected together by the ties of consanguinity, is always most determinate and efficient; our improved system being always understood as bending these, at the same time, towards proper objects, and affording them an enlarged and independent sphere of developement.

If by these means, or by such other means, as the principles now unfolded would educe, we can effectually stop the flood-gates of corruption, we shall have accomplished an object of the utmost magnitude and importance, and one most eminently conducive to the attainment of the great and beneficent design of the whole system; and we shall not only have destroyed a worm, that incessantly gnaws at the root of every denouement of excellency, but we shall have succeeded in diverting the whole strength of the most generous and most powerful propensities of human nature, into the service of the system. The tendency of the proposed ordinations thereto, cannot be held to be at all problematical; the whole system evolves subjects that elicit faculties of the most ennobling kind: it coincides, most completely, with virtuous and respectful sentiments, such as these ordinations are calculated to maintain: the human character and condition are not only to be thereby improved,

but by its most ordinary and necessary movements, to be developed in a way that is most exactly coincident with pure and unsophisticated enjoyment. From the general depravity of mankind, we are only the more prone to vitiation, when our attainments are the greatest; but these ordinations, by resolving the energy and inflammability of our nature into their proper object, and by passing them under the influence of beneficent and appropriate absorbents, destroy the corruptibility, in which this danger consists—it is neutralized, and its force drawn up under the power of the system.

Let us now take a brief retrospect of the advantages that we may at length hold to be fairly provided for our service. Our system, as we saw at the outset, though powerful both in means and in resources, had nevertheless become incompetent to its object, in consequence of a deficiency in that instrument, whereby these means could be distributed and appropriated, and those resources drawn out and apportioned. This instrument, we perceived, though connected with, and emanating from, the precious metals, was strictly considered a pure representation of every species of circulable wealth; such as could only exist where a suitable efflux and consumption of this wealth could be fully maintained. This efflux and consumption, we also perceived, naturally flowed from, and mutually supported each other, and were the direct and necessary results of well directed industry and enterprize, when upheld by suitable civil, municipal, and political provisions

and advantages. We thus discerned, that our general system was like a stately oak, which sent forth its developements, according as its roots could supply its stem with appropriate nourishment, and that these developements partook at once of the strength and of the character that could thus be infused into them. We were thereupon led to consider the character, origin, and tendency of our established industry and enterprize, and of the various existing institutions, provisions and advantages, whence this stem drew its nourishment from the parent soil; to do this in comprehensive points of view, and to sketch out express and articulate plans, for the amelioration and improvement of each of these classes of provisions.

As the result of the various discussions into which we were led, and of the plans and methods for renovating the character, and extending the influence of existing establishments, we were induced to propose and to digest various arrangements civil, municipal, and political, most directly conducive to human improvement, and to draw them out into a regular system, wherein national and individual wealth, and relative importance, were unfolded, not only so as to display their augmentative power, but so as to dispose these to elicit higher and greater advantages. The human character, as well as the human condition, are thereby alike advanced, and the general attainments, that have been thus procured, are born on subjects, every way coincident with the exalted influences of the system.

Every thing, that is or can be brought under the influence of the system, is made to conduce to its extension and establishment; and an aggregate power is provided for carrying forward its general developements, amidst higher, and greater, and nobler results. All this, too, is to be accomplished not only without at all interfering with prior attainments, or marring individual or public happiness or enjoyment, but in such a way as to give to these their purest and most exquisite relish, so as, in fact, to make them alike excitative to higher exercises, and instrumental to present gratification.

Having thus laid for our system a basis so deeply fixed in the frame of human nature, so comprehensive of all that is powerful and excellent in mundane affairs, and so thoroughly constituted for high and beneficent purposes, we perhaps might without impropriety proceed to sketch out, at full length, and with very great precision, the outlines of the whole superstructure which this basis is destined to sustain. This, however, is a task that must for the present be declined, on account of the difficulty of doing any thing like justice to it, in a treatise already so much encumbered with matter. I cannot however dismiss the subject, without attempting to convey some idea of those ulterior results which, under the views that have been taken, may still be held to be but imperfectly adhibited. By doing this in two or three particular instances, the nature and character of

the whole of these results will, I apprehend, be not imperfectly illustrated.

In the first place.—In virtue of the provisions and regulations above referred to, individuals of every class will have more ample and more appropriate scope for enjoyment and personal happiness, as well as a greater range of attainments and possessions, on which to occupy all their faculties; and consequently, they will have stronger inducements to prize and to maintain their highest advantages, and less temptation to throw these out at a venture, for the sake of objects contingent and at a distance, than they now have. In other words, individuals, considering the real excellence of the attainments that are secured to them by the established order of things, will not only become sensible of their advantages, but have these borne on their minds, in such a way, as to make them, characteristically and systematically, averse from contestation and disorder, and ardent and sedulous in every fair and honourable pursuit. It has been well remarked, that a little learning, and a little power, are apt to be more productive of mischief than of advantage to their possessors, and that this malverse propensity has been most particulary efficient, when such attainments and possessions have been rare and splendid. Such attainments, however, must be held to be stripped of their lustre under the foregoing system, by their being rendered so common, and by their being so readily and so universally applied to the most ordinary purposes of

life. An effectual curb to the impetuosity of mere personal feelings is also provided; for this curb, which is only to be found in the domestic connections of mankind, is reinforced by all these peculiar and accessory arguments, which proceed from our resolving every supervening power into its service. These provisions are seen to arise out of the instituted order of things, and to resolve the most irregular movements of the system, into the more complete establishment of this order. The tendency towards domestic association, the first and the most powerful link in the social scheme, is thereby rendered alike fascinating and beneficent. The links of the social chain which follow are every way most important; for these associations, and the propensities in which they have their rise, in a high state of social improvement, never fail to become possessed of the most commanding force. Give to mankind, amidst such a plenitude of excellent provisions for all their wants, peace, and security, and comfort at home, and you take the most effectual method possible, to produce and to cherish mild and beneficent habits, tender and indulgent dispositions; you fix their views and desires, as well as their talents and endowments, upon tranquil and concordant exercises, and you implant in their minds the utmost possible aversion to every thing like contestation and disorder. It was not till their domestic feelings had been outraged, that the French became a nation of savages. The cupidity of individuals may be whetted, and their rapacity excited, so as to disturb the orderly train of human affairs; but

so long as the sentiments, appertaining to husband, and father, and brother, subsist, these may again be tranquilized.

By such means, established industry becomes itself a link in the political chain, possessed of paramount influence, and it is made to conduce to universal peace and security, as well as to individual improvement and advancement, in the most efficacious and irresistible manner. In such circumstances, every condition of life will be seen to have charms peculiarly its own to unfold. Mankind will have more leisure, and more delightful offices with which to occupy this leisure, as well as more means and higher personal powers upon which to exercise these means. There will not only be a greater multitude of public and common attainments, to which all will have equal access, a higher profusion of blessings brought within the reach of the industrious and deserving, but there will be produced a more complete relish for these blessings, more ample satisfaction in these attainments, and a greater capacity to appropriate these blessings and these attainments to their destined services; these attainments and these blessings themselves, becoming always more and more adapted to, and concatenated with, the wants and circumstances of man.

Secondly.—The paternal character of the governments held to be instituted in the different nations of Christendom, the multitude of irresistible impulses by which these must be urged forward

in the direct path of national duty, the noble and independent dispositions and character which must thereupon be produced among people thus governed, and the immensity of means and of resources, that are prepared and laid to hand for the purpose of giving unbounded efficacy to all these superinduced advantages; all these things, together with the beneficent and energetic spirit of the great incumbent system, and the peculiar excitation by which its faculties must be incessantly envigorated and unfolded, must dispose and enable the rulers of the nations to resort to and to carry forward measures of the most liberal and comprehensive kind; such as will best promote the most essential interests, and advance the highest concernments of the people under their respective charge. This is a most important consideration, and if we duly attend to the real state of human affairs, it will appear that it is only by such means that that intrigue and embarrassment, which create so much mischief amongst nanations, can be moderated. Low and partial views of advantage beget inadequate procedure; the consequence of which is, an absolute want of cordial cooperation betwixt the governed and the governors in matters, wherein, the most decided precision and energy are most indispensibly necessary, and much timidity, revulsion and jealousy, whenever the least appearance of mischance or uncertainty appears: whence it is, that the destruction of the object about which all parties are most solicitous, is but too apt to take place. Under the system now proposed, however, it is seen that not only the interests and

pursuits, but the views and feelings of all parties must be so completely identified, that while no ordinary calamity, nor difficulty, nor mischance will be able effectually to contravene the general progression of its powers, every advantage, that can come in the way, must resolve itself fully in the public service.

The position, above referred to, may be both illustrated and established by a direct appeal to the circumstances and character of Britain and of France. The first, under a load of national debt, a pressure of public imposts, and a volume of public expenditure, that have no parallel, either in ancient or in modern history, not only supports, in an easy and becoming manner, that majestic character which she has attained, but she prosecutes the boldest and most determinate measures, with a facility, precision and energy, that indicates at once the plenitude of her prowess, and the high confidence which the people and the state have mutually in each other. This confidential regard evidently proceeds, not less from the wise and comprehensive views which the nation and the government take of their duties, and of their interests, than from the complacency which these severally feel, in the beneficent and ameliorating operations of the great system under which they act. On the other hand, France has always had upon her hand so many crafty and daring projects, which she dare not completely avow, and so many fallacious appearances to support, which she cannot make good, and has

always been so much entangled amidst half measures, and desperate measures, that were disgraceful alike to the state and to the nation, that, notwithstanding the immensity of her resources, and of her attainments, of her sacrifices, and of her sufferings, she has procured neither the esteem nor the confidence, either of her own people, or of foreign nations. She has, no doubt, made astonishing displays of political prowess and physical strength, and whenever crooked measures, or daring flagitiousness could reach the object, she has seldom been otherwise than splendid in her achievements. But while she thus exhausted her staminal vigor, and disciplined hostile bands, that made her pay dear for her presumption, she effectually denuded herself of ten thousand fascinating influences, that constantly emanated from her attainments. The French government never attempted to cut asunder the connexion that subsists betwixt paper money and the precious metals, so absolutely as Britain has done, and yet France never could maintain her currency, even in her most favorable circumstances, on such an equal par with these metals as Britain, under this unprecedented measure, has maintained it. Britain could renovate her civil and ecclesiastical policy, almost without effervescence, and without inducing any necessity for foreign interference, and that too, under circumstances the most unpropitious; while under circumstances the most propitious, in attempting this object, France not only failed most completely, but created a turmoil and effervescence, that the greatest and most

absolute combination of foreign power, that ever the world witnessed, could scarcely allay.

Under the scheme proposed, the same advantage extended and encreased to a very great degree, may be expected to be attained. The circumstances of each government must be so pressed upon by objects that fix them down to their duty; this procedure must be so borne upon by institutions, ordinations, laws and usages, to give full effect to every beneficent tendency; and the views and sentiments and feelings of all parties, both governing and governed, must be so assimulated to such objects, that measures of the most powerful and comprehensive nature, may be pursued with every advantage in the full face of day. By illustrating this position under two particular views that have been already familiarized to our apprehension in the course of this treatise, its importance, as well as its truth, will plainly appear.

First. In regard to taxation—we all know and feel the extremity to which the public burdens have been carried, and lament the necessity of their continuance. The proposed system, however, opens the way to relief; for by inspiring both the government and the people with confidential regards towards each other, it prepares them for resorting to these measures, whereby the pressure of these imposts, may be either alleviated, or so borne upon the processes of reproduction, that compensation, and sometimes even advantage, may result from

their operation. Already many of our assessments have this tendency; thereby, certain kinds of industry, which would otherwise have been depressed by rival importations from abroad, are upraised and established; and thereby, also other kinds of industry, that when unduly extended are detrimental to the moral character or political interests of the nation, are kept under restraint. On the return of peace, many of our taxes that would distress our commercial interest, must be either modified or repealed: our income and assessed taxes and convoy duty will fall to be rescinded; and as the burden of our national debt will nevertheless be noways met or alleviated, some new impost that will conciliate the minds of the people, while it amply replenishes the national treasures, will be found to be awanting.

I APPREHEND that the only tax, that can in such circumstances be ventured upon, is an income tax, conceived in the view of establishing some great public concession of right to the people. In a former part of this treatise, (page 887, &c.) I took up this subject at some length; it will be recollected that it was there proposed to deduct one half from the rate of assessments laid on married people, and one tenth more for every child living in the family. Besides this allowance, however, and that at present made to the lower rates of income, I would, following out the same equalising principles, assume the importive value, and not the absolute amount of income, as the rule for ascertaining the

assessment to be laid on each individual. For instance, taking an income of £500 per annum, and the tax as 10 per cent. for a given case, I would designate the importive value of such an income from land £12,000, and levy £60 from it; from funds as £10,000, and levy £50 from it; from liferent as £6000, and levy £30 from it; and from contingent salary or profits in trade as £4000, and levy £20 from it. Proceeding on the same ground, I would venture, in certain cases, to augment the rate of assessment. For instance, when a landholder resides in a country under a foreign crown, I would double his tax; and even when he merely lived above the half of the year in a different portion of the united kingdom from that where his concernments lay—for instance, at London, when his property lay in Scotland, Ireland, or any of the colonies, (otherwise than on public duty)—I would add a fourth or a fifth more to his assessment.

The amount of the returns of such an assessment might through time be made immense, while its operation would be every way salutary: but I would begin it at a low rate, always comprehending all the circumstances by which it could be affected, and annexing to it certain peculiar immunities in favor of public liberty. I would divide the higher rates of contribution into four classes, taking into account the run of time, during which, a contribution may have been made, as well as the real amount contributed, and carry down the account thus obtained, through the direct line of descent in

case of death. To the lowest class, I would give a voice in all parochial concerns, and subordinate matters of a local kind: to the next, along with this, I would give a voice in county meetings, and a voice in choosing a parliamentary representative: to the third, I would give the privilege of being appointed to the office of assessor: and to the fourth, that of being eligible to a seat in parliament. I would give full effect to all these regulations, and also provide an effectual check on returns, by publishing annually, within each district, a complete statement of its whole assessments methodically arranged.

On the same grounds, I would annex immunities to districts in proportion to their contributions. I would, in the first place, proportion, in the most exact manner, the amount of validated impledgments emitted in each, to its contributions by validating precisely the same sum of impledgments within its bounds, that was drawn off in the way of income assessments. There could be no hardship or difficulty in this, for if it was seen, that the whole amount either exceeded or sunk under the demands of the district, the period of their currency could be shortened or lengthened. The same period of currency, however, behoved to be adopted all over the kingdom, for I would consider the amount of income as a test of the value of industry, every way correspondent to the object, and hold it to be incumbent on us to proportion the emissions of impledgments by the rule thus obtained. Farther, I

would put into the hands of the body of contributors, the premium obtained for the privilege of emitting impledgments within their particular district, to be laid out by them in procuring such public improvements for that district, as they themselves should appoint. The time might come too, when it would appear to be both wise and proper, and every way safe and befitting, to resolve a great part of our whole taxes into this very impost; in such a case, I should imagine it to be highly adviseable to follow out the plan above given, by proportioning within each county and town, the number of members to be returned to the house of commons, to the extent of its contributions.

It is very evident, that the whole of this plan goes to favor the provincial and remote parts of the general empire, more particularly our colonial possessions. A paper currency resting on, and resolving itself into local acquisitions and improvements, as well as political privileges and attainments, bearing onward the business of the state, as well as that of the community, is just what these need in the situation which they are now held to occupy in the general system. We stand in a threefold relation in regard to our colonies, and have duties to discharge, and interests to provide for, in each of these, of no unimportant kind. First, we have a paternal character to sustain, we are understood to have given our colonies free intercourse with the rest of the world, and to have adumbrated them with the whole influence of our

institutions; our financial impledgments, as adapted to their internal circumstances, and the funds to be drawn out of these, and placed at their disposal, for procuring to them peculiar provisions, are necessary accordingly to give effect to these advantages; these would not merely advance and improve their condition in the sphere which they occupy, but they would diffuse a cordial sense of these invaluable behests. Secondly, as the dominant state, the absolute dependence of these distant possessions, in civil as well as in political affairs, must be provided for. This the above provisions may be understood to effect most completely—by the ultimate resolution of their currency in the common centre of commerce—by the representation and consequent influence held to be secured to them in the legislature—by the patronage exercised by the state, and by such other measures resulting from these, as circumstances may suggest. Thirdly, we have to take care that returns, sufficient to compensate for the care and burden of maintaining our interest in these colonies, be secured. The income assessments, which must affect alike every description of commerce and of productive industry, will bring home to the state, a revenue perpetually increasing, and always proportioned to the extent of the advantages secured to the colony by the general empire. The direct and indirect benefit, resulting to our general mercantile and territorial interests, from this developement of our common means, thus provisioned, and the facilities obtained from our having at all times

these validated impledgments to remit homeward, and funds, the value of commodities transferred to other countries, to draw for, must in like manner tend to place this object, in so far as the mercantile and mother countries' interest is concerned, on a footing the most advantageous. It is thus that we may discharge the delicate and highly important offices attached to our connexion with these distant members of the empire, not only with perfect safety, but in such a way as to render the connexion mutually beneficial, identify our interests, and combine them into one. Thereby, too, the state will animate individuals in private pursuits, that go to abet its designs, infuse the fervor of true patriotism into our common enterprizes, and to make our public feelings beat with simultaneous emotions.

In the next place, the necessary consequences of the establishment of this paternal character, in the different nations of Christendom, would be not only to facilitate arrangements, the most momentous and interesting into which their circumstances might lead them, but to endow these arrangements with influences of the most beneficent and of the most diffusive kind. This will take place more particularly, and more completely, in regard to matters of a financial kind; and the position, here adduced, may be illustrated by a familiar instance taken from these, that of Britain adhibiting her financial prowess, in aid of a foreign potentate. In order to do this in such circumstances, it is only necessary for this potentate to institute general arrangements, as fa-

vorable as possible for commercial intercourse with Britain, and for Britain to remit the necessary sum in financial impledgments, to be paid out, and to be run off, periodically, within regular definite spaces of time, and according to a fixed and determinate mode; the subjects of both powers being alike bound to receive and pass these impledgments at par with bullion, and the state and public functionaries of each government to do the same. The direct and unavoidable effect of this arrangement would be, first, that the sum advanced would be obtained without abstracting funds that were at the time occupied in the support of the processes of reproduction then going forward. Secondly, to stimulate and support other processes that lay in the direct way of supplying the public wants for which this sum was provided; such as those that could send forth abundance of naval or military stores, if these were wanted; for, into the hands of the holders and providers of such, these funds would directly pass. If the sum provided was merely to relieve the general exigencies of the state, the same effect would follow; for, if the relief wanted was once operated, it would diffuse reproductive influences all over the community. And therefore, thirdly, a stimulation of production all over both kingdoms, and correspondent returns of wealth, would forthwith ensue, sufficient, within a short period, to return to the state, through the medium of the income assessments, a revenue, certainly, in ordinary cases, adequate to the whole demands at first created against it. This matter has already in principle been sufficient-

ly illustrated. When funds are sent into circulation in industrious and enterprizing communities, thus situated, and thus connected, thus bearing on each others processes of industry, and thus harmonized in their political, commercial, and financial operations, the stimulus and support thus provided, will insinuate and infuse itself so powerfully and completely into these processes and operations, that means and funds, to the requisite extent, cannot but arise into their hands. For, it must be remembered, that it is of the nature of circulable wealth, to substantiate itself in every form that is coincident with the wants and circumstances of communities, and to resolve itself thereunto, in the most powerful and plentiful manner, when the range of its circulation is most extended, and best provisioned. The truth is, that if any thing whatever can make nations conduct themselves harmoniously towards each other on a great scale, it is this reciprocation of impledging and guaranteeing each others general procedure, and acting in full confidence on the guarantee thus given.

I come now in the third and last place, to consider these grand ulterior results of the system, which proceed from the convergence of its whole parts and influences on the highest objects of human solicitude, on the most sublime points of the destination of our race. We have seen, that in consequence of the aptitude of its parts, to the developement of Christian and independent principles, society will become alike replenished with means, and with

funds for distributing these means, in correspondence with the general character of the system; and that the harmony of operation, thus induced, must endow both states and nations with those sentiments and propensities, which must inspire them with full confidence in each others good, and thus render them mutually instrumental in each others welfare. We have seen too, that provisions may be made to arise out of these advantages, that tend to defecate the corrupting tendencies incident to a state of great prosperity, and that may serve to enlist the strongest propensities of our common nature in the service of the system; thereby rendering our individual faculties most subservient to our most important duties, and most conducive to our most essential interests. Let us next proceed to consider the grand and ultimate resolutions of these advantages. The human being himself, is the object on which all our greatest attainments converge; the capacity of this being, to exercise himself in coincidence with his highest distination, is that point of his character and condition, to which these attainments must be most completely adapted. Let us therefore contemplate more nearly, the manner, in which, the stimulus and support, the objects and exercises that have been provided, as borne on him in this capacity, will operate and conduce to these ends.

But what are these supreme objects of regard, these ulterior results of the whole progression of the system, wherein such excellency principally consists? Do these splendid attainments, these ennobling

institutions, these superior means of enjoyment and improvement, of exercising and expanding the faculties and energies of our race that we have been contemplating, constitute these objects? I answer, that in themselves they do not, but as emanating from, and enveloped in, a system, which inspires the most beneficent manly and concordant feelings, these advantages either constitute or comprize these objects Attainments the greatest, and means and institutions the most comprehensive, might administer only so much the more plentifully, to the corruption and malverse propensities of man, and ultimately induce a prostration of his character, and a debasement in his pursuits, of the most deplorable and hopeless description. It is, as following out the grand design of the Divine Author of the Christian system, as introducing into our social and civil intercourse, all those purifying, ennobling and beneficent influences, which are its characteristic excellencies, that the greatest advantages, with which this intercourse may be fraught, can be held to be either blessings or valuable behests to our race.

These views of the honors, advantages and immunities to be connected with a domestic way of living, that have been so much extended and so fully considered in the preceding context, already illustrate a most important part of the subject. That the absolute developement of the concerns and exposition of the circumstances of individuals, held to be constituent parts of the system, must have the

same tendency, will distinctly appear, if we consider the natural and necessary consequences of this developement and exposition. These must tend in the most direct and powerful manner, to raise the minds of men above that fastidious and pompous nicety, or affectation of nicety, in regard to mere personal concerns, wherein the finest feelings of the human heart, and the most acute perceptions of the human mind, are so generally ingulphed, and exercise them on subjects every way more deserving of their attention, as rational and moral beings. It is only under such circumstances, that all that is valuable and respectable in human society can be brought forward and matured, and identified, and incorporated with its general acquirements, and that governments can be held to be fully invested with, that paternal character in which their supreme excellence consists. In such a state of things, laws and ordinations, and customs, and habits correspondent to such a state, will become prevalent, and facilitate and dulcify the developement of social feeling that may be adduced, and of social prowess that will thereupon follow. The displays of wealth will be gradually resolved more and more in such services, and be seen to be gratifying, fascinating, and powerful, according as they approximate the great object of the system, and to be capable of diffusing its influence in a supereminent degree. There is an emanation of power, that is inseparable from personal respectability of every kind, which begins at the highest class in the community, and reaches more or less even to the lowest. To this power

and personal influence, however, in such circumstances, favor and esteem, love and veneration, will be more and more annexed. It will be seen, and known, and felt, that the character thus estimated, shrouds nothing sinister or unbecoming in its aspect. These influences, spreading themselves every where around, always augmenting and extending themselves, will constitute powerful restraints upon vice, and supports to virtue: they will be transferred from those, who, without the substance of them, could adduce their appearance, to those who possess the substantial quality, and the excellence to which they are attachable. In the mean time, the great and leading advantage, that, without which, all others are of no avail, that of a consciousness of merit and integrity, resting on itself, and not on deceitful appearances, will rise out of these candid and intelligible displays of personal prowess, and bear in the estimation of each individual, all that weight which its importance deserves.

These considerations bring before us, the second and last particular, in the illustration of which, the importance of the grand ulterior resolutions of the system, must prominently appear—*Colonization.*—In the preceding context, and in other parts of the treatise, this subject has been taken up, and its importance and leading interests unfolded at considerable length. But the extent and importance of the considerations which this subject embraces, seem to render something more than these incidental expositions necessary. Man himself, is of all the

subjects about which he is conversant, the most important, and consequently those concernments, of which he is the immediate object, are of all others to each of us, the most deserving of regard. Of these concernments, what can be of more importance than colonization—the deportation of our species? Indeed, the value and importance of all the advantages previously considered, appear only in their full and proper light when viewed, in connexion with this subject. As the advancement of the character and condition of man, personally considered, is the grand point into which all our acquisitions converge, so the diffusion and extension, as well as multiplication and increment of these acquisitions, and of all the advantages connected with them, are the direct and necessary consequences of this convergement, and they lead most directly to these deportations, or colonial enterprizes, as the sole channel wherein full effect can be given to these tendencies. A surcharge of marketable commodities points most determinately to an augmentation of the general market of consumpt; and in the ordinary way, the augmentation brings forth into exercise fresh resources and energies, which more than make good the subtraction from the absolute amount of these commodities, that has in the meantime taken place. In like manner, and upon similar principles, an exuberance of wealth and of population, of latent and of energetic ardor, calls most distinctly for deportations of these on a correspondent scale; for thereby alone, can the powers and means thus comprized, develope

themselves with full advantage, and in thus developing themselves, not only give full effect to the ulterior destination of the system, but replace for the advantage of all concerned, the powers and means that for the moment may have been withdrawn.

That colonial enterprizes constitute the grand ultimate resolution of a system, whereof a progression in all that is excellent, an extension of all that is truly estimable is the tendency, as naturally, and as necessarily, as intestine broils, and international warfare, constitute the result of that system whereof continued corruption, and aggravated perversity, are the most prominent points of character, I hold to be a point already fully and completely established to our hands. If the state and character of Europe had been such, that these four or five millions of human beings, with their families and effects, who have fallen sacrifices amidst the devastations created by France, could have been drawn off, and implanted in regions wherein their acquirements would have been real and essential blessings—If the same spirit that had actuated the simple hearted renovatists of Britain, a century or two ago, had prevailed in France, Germany and Italy, the whole terraqueous globe might, by this time, have been one vast scene of renovating industry, wherein the acquirements of Europe, nurturing civilization and improvement, under Christian principles, would at this moment have been fully unfolding themselves in the most transcendent manner. Europeher-

self, though bereft of such invaluable possessions, in consequence of the fresh and vigorous stimulants to newer and higher exertions in the paths of excellence, to be thus applied to all her energies and resources, and in consequence of thus having means of the most valuable and exalted description provided for her service, might, not only have had all her sacrifices compensated, but have found herself surrounded with the purest radiance of glory. War, however, and desolation are seen to have been more congenial to the degenerate temperament of the nations of Christendom, than any such progression in virtuous excellence, and the miseries which war induces to have been requisite to impress her with a suitable abhorrence of moral turpitude. There is at length, I hope, a disposition to return to the forsaken paths of peaceful improvement. As colonization may be regarded as the ultimate end into which an advancement in these paths necessarily leads, the views that have been given cannot be closed, without a more ample exposition of this most interesting subject, than has yet been given.

In the earliest ages of society, colonial expeditions must have been great and frequent; there was then a steady and constant increase of men and of means, and abundance of scope for developing these on the largest scale. In general, cattle formed the principal subject of wealth, so that migrating habits became at once natural and necessary to mankind. It was not until possessions became fixed, and territorial improvement estimable, that

these deportations occasioned either turmoil or sensible inconveniency. But when the concrete system, reinforced by legions of captive slaves, had obtained the complete ascendancy in human affairs; when improvements in the arts had begun to display their power and value, and the importance of a concentration and organization of human acquirements had been disclosed; and when coertion had become the universal instrument for urging forward human industry, then, colonization, as it had previously existed, may be held to have ceased. Mankind, goaded in by an insanguined and fatuous superstition, resorted to exhibitions more congenial to the system under which their energies were drawn up. In place of peaceful migrations, which at once relieved and replenished the social body, devastating irruptions came to prevail, such as had it for their object, to carry off and enslave the person of the individual, as well as to seize and enjoy his effects, to devote him and his posterity to the most debasing thraldom, as well as to usurp his fixed possessions. The character and operation of this system, having been already illustrated under another head, it is only necessary to notice, that while the whole exuberance of the social body was appropriated, by the dominant class, to such services as coincided with the concrete character of the system, and while the effluxes of population and of means, did little more than diffuse its coercive influences, however much the occasions and the views of the dominant class might be subserved, and, however splendid and valuable the public and

private attainments, that were procured under it, might be—the overturnings of established advantages and authorities, and the devastations that perpetually followed, more than overbalanced, even to this favored class taken in the aggregate, the peculiar immunities that had been secured to them.

It must nevertheless be admitted, that in many instances, these devastating irruptions served to convey the knowledge and the power of important improvements in human affairs, and that at all times, they were instrumental in impeding that progression of corruption and perversity, which tends most directly to public and universal degeneracy, in all that is characteristic of man The commercial states in the Eastern coasts of the Mediterranean, and Carthage, Greece and Rome, (themselves colonies from Egypt and the Asiatic shores,) formed more or less under the influences above described, and highly exemplifying the peculiar character and operation of these influences, failed not to introduce certain kinds of their own civilizing processes, into the colonies which they implanted, and to draw up the native energies which were subjected to their power, under such modifications of their own laws, institutions and customs, as tended to ameliorate the general circumstances of the subjugated, and to endow them with faculties of improvement, and of enjoyment, that not only greatly upraised their character and their condition, but ultimately made them highly efficient members of their common polity. The importance of those co-

lonial innovations appears from the acquirements which were made, and from the consequences which these continued to produce, for many succeeding ages, and centuries. Nay, at this moment, after the lapse of two thousand years, impressions, made by the civilizing processes of Greece and Rome upon rude nations which they had subjugated, still remain, and in established institutions and attainments, evince the liberality of that colonial policy, by which their first characteristic lineaments were formed.

Let us, however, leave these unaspicious developements of the exuberance of society, which, at the best, were but productive of aggrandizement, and were necessarily more or less directly opposed to radical improvement, and pass over the barbarous irruptions of the northern nations, the instruments appointed by Heaven for breaking asunder the concretion of human powers, so pertinaciously obstructed to the progression of beneficent and independent principles; because both the one and the other of these subjects have already been sufficiently elucidated under another head, and because it is inexpedient, and indeed unnecessary, to burden our present views any farther with them; and let us proceed to take under consideration those efluxes of the system, in which we are ourselves involved, the characteristic property of which is radical improvement, on independent and diffusive principles, but unhappily comprizing many deteriorating and corrupting tendencies, which have in-

duced a correspondent propensity to disorder, civil and political. and beset it with many obstructions which have marred its superior developements, and which frequently resolve its noblest and most benign qualities, in base and vitiating services.

It belongs to this beneficent system, to influence the character and pursuits of men, in the most powerful manner—and to introduce into their civil institutional and political concerns, its principles, and its spirit, and to send forth its peculiar developements, with such efficacy, as to evince that power, essentially transcendent, prevails in their production. The effluxes of the system partake of correspondent advantages, and accordingly, differ from the effluxes of every other system, in most important particulars. First, the character and circumstances of the agents are such, that motives and conduct, more or less conducive to the extension and diffusion of the characteristic beneficence of the system, must prevail; and fruits, more or less congenial to its principles and spirit, must result, from their procedure in its service. Secondly, even when there is a deficiency or perversity in the agents, the native energy and irresistable operation of the system will ultimately disclose itself, amidst every developement of exuberance, and evince the supereminent value and importance of the systematic improvement which it comprizes. Lastly, there is seen to overshade all these developements, an influence which displays itself to be divine. Along with the blessings accorded to Christian nations, with this system, a para-

mount duty of disseminating its principles all over the world, was devolved upon them. According as these nations, more or less zealously and faithfully, wisely and determinately, discharge this office, blessings or curses, punishments or rewards, manifestly follow their footsteps, sometimes indeed, not immediately or perceptibly, but always ultimately and consecutively, and decisively indicative of the character of such adumbration. Christendom is as it were the advanced guard of our race, in its conflicts with vice and ignorance; and on it, of course, falls the general consequences of success and mischance in this service.

These facts may be abundantly illustrated, by a reference to the great enterprizes of the nations of Christendom, and in none more than in the history of the Crusades. The necessity of meeting the irruptions of the Mahometan marauders with appropriate means, and the sound policy of doing this before their system had developed itself, with full strength, and stretched its influence too near to the centre of Christendom, cannot be disputed. The generous and pious motives of those who devoted themselves to this service, the sublime and magnanimous sacrifices, which, in discharging it, they spontaneously made, and the heroic exploits, which they achieved, are as little matters of dispute. We all know too, that though success was varied, though the losses that were sustained were immense, and though the degenerate corrupted empire of the East could not ultimately be saved, yet that Eu-

rope itself was delivered, and an effectual stop given to the farther progress of Mahometanism in the west. These were glorious achievements, and in the circumstances of Europe, they could not have been effected without the redoubted and disinterested services of the Crusaders. The follies and aberrations of the Christian knights, their licentiousness and rapacity, no doubt, but ill accorded with the high and resplendent character which they had to sustain. But did not these meet with the chastisement and punishment which always follows such demerit? The disgraces, depressions and calamities that were induced, were every way most peculiar; and they plainly indicated, not only the ineptitude of the mental and moral prowess, that were borne onward, to the objects to which they were to be applied, but the divine displeasure at such flagitious procedure under such sacred banners. The derision of succeeding ages, has been excited by the presumptuous zeal of these high-minded champions of our faith; but before we give in too explicitly to such views, let us attempt to appretiate, with some degree of precision, the magnitude and importance of the blessings that have descended from them into our hands.

We all know, that at the time when these Crusades were projected, Europe was overspread with the deepest shades of ignorance and oppression, and that in civil, political, ecclesiastical and jurisprudential affairs, its system exhibited a very chaos of incongruity, from which common sense, and

common honesty, were frequently excluded. What has produced the wonderful change which we now see? The seeds of moral, intellectual and religious improvement, long before shed abroad, owed even their preservation to circumstances which indicated their divine origin, and their independence of all the destructive elements with which they were surrounded: these formed the germ whence this exalted series of objects have arisen; but what was it that darted upon them the full effulgence of supernal light, endowed their shoots, with energies so diversified and so resplendent, and elicited from these, fruits so precious and so excellent? The lore, locked up in the recesses of the East, thrown open by these Crusaders, and by them set forward in a Westerly direction, prepared the way for these high developements—but it was the sublime genius which the lofty spirit of the times had called forth into such vast, and such ennobling fields of enterprize; it was the transcendence of moral energy, which made individuals, of the highest rank, of the most eminent talents, and of the most diversified mental prowess, abase themselves from their station, and embark themselves and their all in services the most arduous and the most complicated, that gave that high excitation to the European system, and procured for it the superabundance of means, of resources and of energies, which have so completely renovated and advanced its character, and endowed its former attainments with energies and excellencies which were till then unknown. The sacrifices of the Crusaders threw loose for the service of the

deserving of every class, possessions, honors and influence; their researches prepared for the exercise of these, means the most appropriate; and their fire and genius kindled amongst them a congenial spirit which nerved them for every exertion.

It must be admitted, therefore, that it is to these Crusades, these transcendent developements of the exuberance of society, as the instruments thereto appointed, that we are indebted for all our discoveries in science, all our improvements in the arts, for the discovery of the new world and of these innumerable worlds in the starry heavens, for the art of printing, and the art of navigation and all the complicated advantages that result from these; and for many arrangements, social, civil, religious and political, favorable to mankind at large. This, it may be said is true, but as these knights knew nothing of the nature and character of the advantages that they were preparing for Christendom, and as for the time their exploits served more to display their aggregate folly and licentiousness, than the spirit or genius of those sacred banners under which they fought, it is impossible to attach to them the merit of procuring for us such advantages. I answer, first, that the personal conduct of these knights, was such, as to exclude every thing like vaunting, and that their personal fate accordingly coincided with their procedure; but, secondly, that as they were animated with high and generous sentiments, made sacrifices, which indicated a plenitude of devotion to their sacred cause, it coincided also with

the designs of heaven to make them instrumental, not only in warding off the inroads of Mahometan barbarians, but in introducing into Christendom those means, whereby its character, energy and destination were all supereminently advanced, and to preserve for us so much of the history of these expeditions, of the motives from which they arose, and of their general operation and tendency, that while we are possessing and enjoying multiplied and invaluable attainments resulting from these, tracing their mutual connexion and dependence on each other, and contemplating their final and necessary tendency, we may discern the high estimation in which unreserved self-devotedness to high services, and supereminent exercises in these, are to be held and appretiated *.

* To some, no doubt, these views may appear to be more fanciful than real. It is impossible to contend with any one at such weapons, for the ideas themselves possess importance, only as we choose to attach importance to them. For my own part, looking at their general motives, procedure, tendency and consequences, I have no hesitation in declaring it, as my fixed opinion, that the Crusades, as historical facts, constitute a proof of the divine origin of the Christian dispensation. inferior only in point of importance to the history of the obduracy and imprecation of the Jews, the subsequent overthrow of their system, and dispersion of their race, and their continued existence and preservation as a separate people, blinded and maledicted, overthrown and dispersed. It partakes too of the same authoritative aspect with that irrefragable historical testimony; it marks the character of the dispensation, while it announces its certainty; it illustrates its operations, while it appeals forcibly to our own convictions of their force and reality; and it displays before us, the vast range over which its interests and its concernments extend,

None of the effluxes of the European system, subsequent to the era of the Crusades, have proceeded from principles so truly heroic, been prosecuted upon grounds so truly exalted, nor been followed by consequences so supremely conducive to the advantage of Christendom, as those which we have been contemplating. As it is out of the sacrifices then made, that our progress in the arts, and subsequent high attainments in every department of knowledge, have been drawn, so it is from these acquisitions, that the exuberances of so-

the absolute subserviency of every other object to its ends, and the necessity, under which individuals are thence laid, of entertaining sentiments respecting future retribution, at once sublime, and correspondent to the expositions of the Divine Author of the system. Our highest wish must be amidst humility, and self abasement, to promote its beneficent designs; while our confidence in the superintendence of the Most High, must in the meantime be absolute. To a future and eternal state alone, we accordingly must look forward for the completion of our personal happiness. We may farther learn from the same circumstances, that methods the most unlikely, and means the most despised, according to human appretiation, are often made use of for the greatest and most important purposes; that in the different shades of human character and of human conduct, the Divine eye discriminates every diversity of motive, and every particular movement of the active powers, and while he chastises what is amiss in the way that corresponds best with its nature, he crowns with success whatever is excellent, in a way that evinces his own supremacy; and that, while he lays open the truth in that way which is fittest for our apprehension, he leaves it to ourselves, by exercising the powers with which we are endowed upon such subjects, to elicit suitable views of this truth, and to engrave on our minds the lessons which such truths necessarily give forth.

ciety, in spite of the decided propensity of states to hostile and devastating enterprizes, have tended so powerfully to general improvement.

Until the discovery of America, and the passage round the Cape of Good Hope, nothing that deserves the name of colonial expeditions took place. But after that period, colonial expeditions assumed an aspect very different from any thing that had for a long time existed. Like these of the early ages, these constituted enlargements of the general system, the paramount influence of which they everywhere established. Displays of political prowess, of martial skill, and of irresistable valor and courage, altogether unprecedented, accompanied these; yet those magnanimous sentiments, those generous motives, and that disinterested self-devotedness, which had characterized the Crusades, ceased to exist. Ambition, avarice, pride, cruelty, revenge, raged without control, and laid prostrate at their feet, every principle of religion and humanity. Amidst the horrible struggles that followed, the range of the general system was however enlarged, and its capabilities augmented. Its virtual power and energy, too, were increased, and an additional force and impulse given to its extended movements, that speedily rendered the European nations lords paramount, wherever their power could be borne.

The ensanguined atrocities committed by the Spaniards, on laying the foundation of their colo-

nial system, are not to be palliated by ascribing them to the savage temperament of a few individuals; the Spanish character, arrogant, bigotted, vindictive and unrelenting, had long been nurtured amidst scenes of horrible bloodshed and devastation; and neither then, nor at any subsequent period, has it ever developed itself in a manner that can be termed magnanimous or disinterested. Their only virtue seems to be a characteristic aversion from certain pursuits, that are considered as degrading and unseemly, and an unbounded veneration for certain customs and institutions, that elucidate the loftiness of their system. The Spaniards of course, are violently attached to those ecclesiastical formalities that have been established amongst them, and extremely pertinacious in extending and defending the Romish discipline. Though such blind and unworthy devotion amounts to nothing in a religious point of view, it has served to draw a strong line of distinction betwixt their colonial polity, and that of every other European nation. The coertion, by which the reproductive processes are urged on amongst them, though most proudful and unrelenting in its principle, is not debased by that criminal licentiousness, nor aggravated by those acute severities, that are so prevalent in the other colonial settlements of Europe. This proceeds partly, no doubt, from the loftiness of their character, that cannot condescend to such practices, nor burden itself with the details of incessant and accumulated coertion; but it proceeds in no small degree, also, from the adumbrating and soothing influences of the established superstí-

tion, which, in securing to itself its own peculiar immunities, casts down every intervening claim and pretension, that would oppose its paramount influence. It is none of my business to enter deeply into the peculiarities of the Spanish system, nor to point out with precision, either its radical imperfections, or the means of removing them. It having been customary, however, to consider this system, as necessarily devolving itself amidst atrocities, similar to these on which it was founded, I consider it necessary to suggest a few observations that will bear such matters closser home to ourselves, and dispose us to enquire how far our own procedure, in regard to our own foreign settlements, does not implicate us in a similar arraignment.

The Tropical possessions of the Europeans in the west, are all of them founded on, and supported by, deportations of unhappy captives from the coast of Africa, whose forlorn condition, wretched and pitiable in the extreme, is as evidently produced by our colonial polity, as the desolation of the American regions was by that of Spain. May we not therefore, consider ourselves as having given our sanction to these misdeeds, and become partakers of their consequences? May not the proud pre-eminence of Spain, as a colonizing nation, notwithstanding its deep criminality, arise from a still greater degree of moral and political turpitude, in the general polity of other nations—that of their abusing and perverting greater and higher means of improvement, and disregarding the end for which

these means were bestowed. It is truly wonderful to mark the fatuities into which the corrupting influences of the European system have led its different nations. It is evidently the design, as it is confessedly the command of the Most High, when he crowns its nations so plentifully with his best blessings, to make them his instruments for diffusing these all over the globe; and it has again and again, in the course of providence, as well as in the language of the gospel, been demonstrated, that arrogance, rapacity, licentiousness and revenge, coincide not with such services, but must give place to that moderation, justice, temperance and charity, which lie at the foundation of our system. How have these designs been followed out? In the first place, as to the discharge of the great paramount duty, on the principles above mentioned; it is evident that nothing which deserves to be named, was so much as attempted, until the reign of his present Majesty. It is very true, that previous to this period, America, and certain districts in Asia and Africa, were appropriated, colonised, and drawn up under the auspices of certain European systems. But in what did this originate? certainly not in any great preconcerted schemes of national enterprize, having for their object the improvement and advancement of the human character: for these were generally undertaken and patronized for the sake of national aggrandizement, and expressly calculated and limited to this object. In some instances, indeed, as in the colonisation of some of our North American provinces, and Carribean Islands,

forlorn outcasts, men in whom neither the state nor the nation took any interest, came to have it in their power to dispose of the effluxes of our system, in some such way, as that which took place before national law was established, whereby, within the precincts described by them, the principles of social improvement and advancement, peculiar to our system, were regularly developed. But can any one call this following out the object of the system on liberal principles, correspondent to its design? By no means. What has been the consequences and the tendency of these establishments? Most assuredly, something very different from the diffusion and consolidation of Christian and independent principles. We search the whole in vain, for traits of systematic beneficence; we are at every step appalled at the almost total dereliction of the most commonly received principles of rectitude; and, whenever we meet with amelioration, either of character or of condition, we discern nothing less efficient in procuring it, than the arm of the state.

His present Majesty, at a very early period of his reign, set forward certain voyages of discovery, concerning the beneficence and propriety, of which it is impossible to cavil. These seem as yet to have produced no consequences that at all correspond with the beneficence of their design; but are we therefore to conclude, that the moderation, condescension and liberality that have been displayed, are absolutely lost? Certainly not. These have made way for our system, and they will, if a wise

and steady plan is followed out, lead ultimately to its establishment, within regions the most immense. The indigenous inhabitants have already tasted of our generosity, but they have hitherto been spared the salutary discipline of our system; a shameful prostration of sentimental forbearance has spared them this discipline, and disposed us to bend our own system under barefaced villany and imposture, in a manner the most disgraceful; nay, we have conducted ourselves towards their most abominable and pernicious customs, as if these were scarcely in the least obnoxious to us. Is the bare announciation of our design, a sufficient indication of our earnestness in our own cause? It is in vain to mince the matter: wherever we go, the power, the terrors, and the consequences of depravity must be displayed, enforced and impressed, otherwise all our good intentions must go for nothing; without this, our system never can be established, and the blessings which it comprizes must pass off in the using. The mild and merciful inhabitants of Otaheite, the most gentle of these barbarians, are, in the lump, inferior in character to those of our countrymen whom we consign to the hulks and to the gibbet, and although we must make the necessary allowances for their deficiency in intellectual attainments, we must also make them feel the salutary restraints of our laws, taste their blessings, and exult in their operation, before we can hold that we have made the smallest advances in the improvement of their general character.

At a subsequent period, schemes, professedly and

obviously destinated for diffusing the knowledge, and extending the power of the Christian system, were adopted. Missionary Societies and Bible Societies, having under their influence, funds adequate to the most comprehensive objects, were instituted. The beneficent object and charitable procedure of these are not to be disputed; as little, however, is their inefficiency in the great design to which they were destinated. In sending abroad our missionaries, we seem as if we were impressed with the idea, that it was enough for us to provide and send forth the spirit and the instrument, without concerning ourselves much about the circumstances of the mission, and without consolidating the scheme under which these were destined to operate. This, according to my apprehension, is just as if in fitting up their vehicle, we had contented ourselves with setting aboard the mariners and the compass, without furnishing the vessel with the provisions needful for completing the voyage. Why do we with-hold a colony, when our own exuberant system tells us, that a colony, fitted to give effect to a mission, might be spared? When about to engage in war, we previously digest a plan of operation that will meet every ordinary contingency, and regularly make the provisions necessary for every campaign—why do we act otherwise, when the object is to civilize barbarians, and to absorb them under the Christian system? God, it may be said, will provide for his own servants, and for his own cause. No doubt, he always does so; but why do we pretend to serve him faithfully, zealously and determinedly, when we with-

hold any thing that it is competent for us to give, when we keep back these invaluable institutional establishments, these immense, political and physical attainments, these powerful, moral and intellectual endowments, and these exhaustible means, energies and resources, that are fairly applicable to such services? It was not thus that the Crusaders deported themselves, and, notwithstanding their misfortunes, left behind them such notable monuments of their heroism.

The Bible Societies have so much of pure Christianity in their design, object and operation, that it seems almost sacrilegious to impugn their procedure; but who told us that the word of God, without the accompaniment of the means instituted for giving it effect, is to work irresistibly at our bidding? Let us not deceive ourselves; there is in human nature, an aversion from every thing that is characteristically excellent, until in consequence of the labor, and solicitude, to be sacrificed in attaining it, we become duly sensible of its value. Discipline must be enforced by systematic rules, and these rules must be educed from and supported by, attainments and provisions correspondent to their object, which imply something beyond the bare delivery of the Bible. The present may be valued, the book may be prized, its precepts may be venerated, but is not mental as well as bodily exercise under its influence, necessary to beget and support that habit of subjection to these, which more than every other testimony evidences their truth and their

power over our minds? Although therefore, I do by no means call in question the value and importance of Bible Societies, I am completely satisfied, that by resting too much in them, as instruments, we have been led to neglect the most important part of our duty, that of bearing the force of the doctrines which the Bible unfolds home upon the minds of those whom we would proselyte to the truth, by means of the exercises that may be induced, and by means of the examples that may be held forth. If the great design is to be prosecuted in full earnest, our system must be transplanted—its precious effluxes must pass off under a well concerted scheme, in such services as will evince, with sufficient force, its character and tendency. But, alas! a fashionable or fatuous devotion, to matters altogether inconsistent with such objects, prevails; and the only competent means for extending its influence are most grievously perverted.

The truth and importance of these considerations, will appear in their full force, if we attend to the course of developement, which the ultimate results of our system generally describe. I am not for investigating too closely, the ordinary procedure of the state, nor the ordinary expences of the nation. But into what are the extraordinary effluxes of the system most generally resolved? How is its exuberance disposed of? In pursuit of what object are these most plentifully exhausted? Is it not in gratifying the ambition of a few pre-eminent families? For their sakes, the whole exuberance of society, to-

gether with its vast physical and political attainments, have been set forward, almost at a venture, amidst hostilities the most infuriate and desolating. If these could have terminated in any grand display of moral or intellectual prowess, in any superb, social, or political attainment, the rivers of blood, poured forth on such occasions, might not be held to have been shed altogether in vain. But no such object has been sought for, and of course no such object has been obtained. The possessions of a few great families may have been trimmed, to suit more conveniently some of their domestic arrangements; certain junior and dependent branches may also have been more amply provided for, and a few nitches in the temple of fame filled up by peculiarly fortunate shoots from these branches. But the great mass of human affairs remains much as it was, saving only in those instances, where the hand of destruction has bared the scene, of some one or other of our most precious attainments. Our grand paramount duty, that of proselyting the heathen, continues undischarged; and the supreme object, towards which all our attainments, the most estimable, as well as the most immense, ought to have been applied, so far from being promoted or advanced, is not only unobtained, and even unattempted, but is effectually disparaged and set at a distance, by the procedure into which these attainments have led.

These misdeeds have found, and they will always find, their own punishment, in the consequences which they necessarily produce. Our proud hearts,

however, bear us up under such calamities; we are incompassed with sparks of our own kindling, which we hail as the radiance of the brightest glory, and disdainfully exhibit our contempt of those who have not the advantage of being involved in this maze. Let us attend to this fact, however, that the paradise in which we thus bask, is but a fool's paradise; and that we are even, on our own principles, no gainers by our achievements. Spain, proud and embecil, as we scornfully term her, carries off without making any acknowledgement for it, the most precious fruits, and the most estimable results of all our achievements. While Britain and France, two or three times every age, hurl the flower of their strength to premature destruction, Spain manfully spreads her whole exuberance over the finest, the richest, the most extensive, and the most valuable regions upon earth. While we are satiating with the keenest rancor our petty jealousies, and prosecuting with the most determinate fury our pitiful plans of aggrandisement, Spain is peacefully maturing influences and energies, means and resources, which, in process of time, must establish under her system, an empire that must most effectually overshade every other. I am aware, that intestine broils are now blighting those fair projects, and that the Spanish system, as now constituted, is not competent to superb designs. But I am aware also, that such circumstances form no objection against the views which have now been taken, which go not to demonstrate the wisdom or magnanimity of the Spanish government, but to contrast the advanta-

ges of its system, under its manifold disparagements, with those of our own. Taking the whole circumstances of the case fully along with us, these mortifying conclusions may accordingly be held to be only the more completely established by those occurrences, that seem at first view, to form exceptions to their import: these evince at once their justice and importance, to the Spanish counsels as well as to ours; they demonstrate the necessity of a thorough renovation of the Spanish system, and they give fair hopes that this will be done with promptitude and effect.

The bearing and force of these remarks can only be made to appear in their full strength, when the leading advantages, possessed by Spain as a great colonizing nation, are compared with those possessed by Britain, as a great industrious nation. It is not to be disputed, that the British capitalist, as characteristically industrious, ingenious and well informed, as incessantly exercised on subjects sterile in themselves, but by dint of highly concentrated exertions, made both valuable and important to mankind, is a personage every way more respectable than the Spanish Hidalgo, who, though he has extensive and highly improveable possessions, scarcely bestows sufficient attention to the course of reproduction, which a bountiful climate is incessantly advancing under his hand, to enable him to supply his own exigences. It can as little be disputed, that the results of the exercitations of the one, are deservedly prized on account of their ad-

mirable applicability to our circumstances, while those of the other are for the most part extremely crude. It is nevertheless certain, that the Briton, in spite of all his earnestness to better his condition by such laudable means, and in spite of the utmost endeavours of his government to second his exertions, can seldom improve his general circumstances so much as the Spanish Hidalgo could do, provided his government were as liberal in its policy, and as wise and energetic in its measures, as its concernments require. If the government of Spain were to admit the genius, and foster the risings of improvement of every kind, in a generous orderly manner, a Spanish Hidalgo would find his property constantly rising in value, as well as increasing in productive power. If it were farther with a strong hand to bear down obvious obstructions to the advancement of the character, and improvement of the condition of its subjects, this personage would come to possess vast advantages and endowments, as well as high estimation as a gentleman. On the other hand, the utmost that the British capitalist (though aided to the utmost by his government) can do, in the way of extending his advantages, is to make more room for the developement of his reproductive processes, and to bring back greater returns for these. These returns may be anew invested in means for increasing and concentrating the powers of industry, and for making their results still more estimable; but, like the consumable objects which they send forth, these returns are all the time liable to perish, or to become un-

profitable attainments. These resolutions of value are familiar to all of us; our population is not unfrequently disorganized and overwhelmed with distress, our means are at times exposed to contingencies in foreign markets, which absolutely annihilate their value, and our general system is, in consequence, constantly liable to become completely paralyzed in its highest, as well as its most important functions.

These may be held to be contingencies, inseparable from an overflowing population, and from an exuberance of reproductive energy; from Britain's having determinately devoted itself to attenuating employments, while Spain contentedly adheres to those that are most luxuriant. The Spanish system, in consequence of its immense and invaluable territorial possessions, constitutes as it were, an entire aristocratic order in the system of general improvement; she remains invested with domains and possessions the most valuable, in which every improvement, in every other part of the general system, might be found ultimately more or less drawn up. Whereas, Britain, besides its proper aristocratic order, comprises, as the chief part of its essence, an immense order of industry, which can have no other returns as its portion, but those fruits that are prepared for its service; all which fruits and their value, although for the most part neither small nor unimportant, from the tenure by which they are held, cannot but be both precarious and insecure. The chief advantage, derived by Britain from this state

of things, is, that she has always at hand a vast population, disciplined to obedience and the highest exercises, and bound by the strongest liguments to our interests and to our cause, immense means prepared for every service, and applicable to every emergency, and incalculable resources and irresistable energies, that can be borne home upon every great occasion. When we come to cast up the results, to look into the disparagements and defalcations to which our advantages give rise, to the radical deficiencies and imperfections of the system out of which they proceed, to its corruption and perversity, and to the calamity and desolation into which these vitiating tendencies subject her, we must feel our complacency in our own excellency, only so much the more allayed and composed.

Britain too, however, possesses important and invaluable colonial settlements, and enjoys very peculiar advantages from their possession. It is upon these, that her maritime power has always been most securely rested, and from these, that her great manufacturing establishments have derived their chief excitation and support. Before the American irruption, these advantages were of immense avail to us. Our mercantile and naval prowess was thereby promoted; with steadiness and with power, it struck its roots deep in our system; our internal industry was thereby extended, strengthened and invested with additional value and efficacy; in virtue of its connexion with the grand reproductive energies of our colonies, (the fruits and results of which, be-

came augmented and invested with value and importance, proportioned to the advantage and stability of the connexion then subsisting,) a vast financial system was created and gradually more and more expanded, and our resources were replenished, diffused and consolidated, in a way that was altogether new. Britain, at this moment, partakes largely of the advantages then procured, and of others of the same character, emanating from her extensive colonial establishments. Britain, however, neither then, nor at any period of her history, ever devoted herself with that systematic earnestness to colonial enterprizes, which their importance to her required. The extended regions, thus annexed to her domains, were seldom treated otherwise than as provincial appendages of her empire, deserving only of a very subordinate degree of attention. They had been peopled by outcasts, and others in whose interest the nation at large took very little concern; and they were continued under a system, which, though it provided, in general, sufficiently for the safety of the state, contributed nothing to assimilate and amalgamate the connexion, that had been instituted. On the contrary, the supercilious phlegm and caustic humor of the step-mother was frequently displayed, when a conscientious discharge of duty, and a due regard to real advantage, called for the earnest solicitude, the unremitted tenderness, patience, and good offices of the affectionate parent, and faithful friend.

The fact is, the exuberant wealth and resources

of Britain, have for the most part a destination of a very different kind. Colonial, commercial and financial enterprizes suit well enough the habits of the middle and lower orders of her population, and to such interprizes, these orders are for the most part completely devoted. The industry, talents and genius of these orders, accordingly give vigor to such of the reproductive energies of the system, as their force can be applied to, and they seldom fail to produce proportionate results. In the meantime, however, the upper classes of society, those in whose hands these results are drawn up, who possess power, means, wealth, leisure and opportunity, to converge and exercise these upon proper objects, and to control and direct the great movements of the nation, have business of a very different kind before them. The court and the cabinet, the mitre and the bar, are held by such as alone deserving of their regard: to these pursuits accordingly, the minds of this class are bent, and from them their pleasures and gratifications extracted. Civil and political manœuvering, intrigue and circumvention, tending ostensibly to prevent contestation, but, in effect, producing it, together with corrupting and blighting international arrangements, arise out of this tortuous order of things. The occupations and exercises thereby produced, are devolved upon the dependent and enterprizing part of this class, whose hopes and fortunes lie entirely in the contingencies that may thence arise. These availing themselves of the supineness of their senior brethren, to whom the chace and the race-course seem matters better

worth their personal regard, come to manage the whole. These fail not to conduct the national energies two or three times every age, into infuriate and desolating warfare. In this way, the best means of society, the flower of our population, and that exuberance which might have adorned and replenished the earth, come to be consigned to destruction, in the way of making suitable provisions for the inferior orders of the dominant class: the whole order of things, wherein the leading interests of society consist, is, thus set up at a venture, in order to afford to these, convenient opportunities for catching hold of those civil immunities and offices, which alone are thought to be deserving of their regard. Nay, as these immunities and offices, must, from their character, and from the general circumstances of society, be limited in a variety of ways, so, to these evils, a caballing and dissentious spirit of equal malignity, is by the same means added and kept alive, in every department of the state, which not unfrequently infuriates the temper, and debases the procedure of the nation, even more than international contestation. In short, the great courses of improvement are by this means universally cut short, and a multitude of deteriorating influences constantly kept in full exercise.

Unhappily the circumstances of Christendom give but too much effect to these malverse propensities. It is evidently necessary for the great states of Christendom to preserve a certain balance, and a certain bearing of political power, that will insure to each its independent existence. The way in

which this has generally been attempted, is to preserve as nearly as possible, those limits of territories, and those demarkations of power, that are held to be already established. This plan, although its basis could be admitted to be equitable, and its design conformable to its object, (which however, is far from being the case,) is liable to many objections from the imbecil and noxious character of many existing establishments, and from the constant tendency of these, to resolve themselves into other descriptions of power. This tendency, influenced sometimes by the general progression of improvement, and at other times by factitious liguments of connexion, gives rise to many real, but to more imaginary dangers in the general system, which induce a multitude of interferences, which again lead into transactions and intrigues, the certain harbingers of infuriate contestation. This takes place, even when the object in contest is trifling, problematical, and at a distance. Into this field of enterprize, however, our leading characters are drawn, and along with them they carry the flower of our nation, who, from the frequent recurrence of such enterprizes, and from the principles instilled into them by their public education, may be held to be systematically brought forward, under the influence of this inverted order of things. It is not at all my intention to set about decyphering this abstract view of this subject; it is enough for me briefly to notice prominent facts and circumstances. Every scheme for preserving tranquillity in such a system, has heretofore proved nugatory; and it is

evident, that every idea of universal improvement must be scouted, when we can calmly and deliberately consign the junior part of our offspring, and the unformed political entities of our system, to perpetual commotion in seeking self-balancing principles, amongst states who have no political energy within. High and resplendent deeds have, no doubt, thereby been achieved, but are such deeds to be placed in comparison with those noble and animating exercises, whereby the blessings of Christianity and civilization are to be universally diffused, in which our greatest sacrifices will ultimately be most abundantly compensated, and the supereminent excellencies of our attainments, most completely unfolded and displayed?

It has frequently been remarked, that Spain has became feeble and inert, and has fallen off in population and in national prowess, since she began to empty herself so profusely into her foreign settlements, and an argument has thence been drawn against colonial enterprizes, on a great and extended scale. This matter, however, has been much misapprehended. The deportations that were made from Spain into the New World, perhaps never amounted to so much as she had formerly spent in wars and other desolating pursuits; and it is certain, that it never could have affected her population otherwise than advantageously, if the tyrannical procedure of a fanatical government had not disorganized her whole system. Colonial and commercial interprizes necessarily give a powerful stimu-

lus to internal improvement, and seldom fail to fill up, in the most ample manner, every void that they create. This end, however, they reach only in the way of stimulating and supporting processes of industry, and rendering their fruits and results more plentiful and more precious. The impulse to improvement, provided by the commercial and colonial interprizes of Spain, was evidently immense, but its force was then spent in vain; the Spanish territory having been about this time denuded of a million or two of its most industrious inhabitants, by the banishment of the whole Moorish part of its population. Let it, however, be supposed, that this measure was necessary, and from the circumstances of the case unavoidable, would not a wise government have set in earnest about re-establishing the industrious processes now dismantled, and reorganizing the courses of improvement on which its prosperity depended? This puerile government, however, not only neglected these paramount duties, but by its vexatious and tyrannical impositions and restrictions, either neutralized all the virtues of the superinduced impulse to industry, or transferred their influence to foreign realms. A ghastly superstition took place of systematic improvement, and absorbed the active powers of the most valuable part of the population, consigning them to celibacy and inaction, during the most active period of life. Personal and family pride, grown rank from the abundant nutriment that was on all hands administered to it, consumed in listless and unmeaning displays, that wealth which might have rendered

the proprietors of the rich soil of Spain, the most respectable body of men upon earth. In the meantime, the multitude and the pomp of holidays, and scenes, the most fantastical, paralyzed the great body of the people, and absolutely unfitted them for that systematic improvement, which was so necessary to render them duly partakers of the blessings with which they were surrounded.

But while we thus reprobate the perversity of the mother country, let us not forget the superior power and excellence of that line of improvement, which the colonies of Spain have described for themselves. In spite of the absorption of their best energies in the unprofitable services above noticed, in spite of incumbent tyranny and fanaticism, and in spite of palpable deficiencies in those fundamental principles of improvement, that were common to Christendom, these colonies advanced in population, in wealth and political importance, far beyond any other that had been subjugated to European influence. What is the reason of this? It proceeds not from any particular virtue in the parent stem: what is it, therefore, in their internal constitution that has given these colonies this high advantage? The cause must be sought for, in their circumstances and in their condition. The Hispano-American is at home within his own territories, and is not like the British colonist, a mere transitory incumbent on the ground, who repairs to inhospitable regions solely to make a fortune, that is to be spent within the territories of the mother coun-

try. No; the Spanish emigrant in deporting himself, carries all his hopes and desires to his adopted country, and there he accordingly developes his powers and his means with that earnest regard to futurity, that becomes one who considers himself as established in a fixed possession. He forms and he fortifies domestic arrangements; he attaches himself to, and incorporates himself with, native institutions; and he follows out and improves the train of advantages that have been prepared for general good by his predecessors, with all that placid cordiality, that becomes a person who regards them as his own. Increased population, and augmented energies and resources, flow naturally from the course of life that is thus led. In the meantime, the vast extent of the Spanish domains, their value and their importance, render an enlarged system of policy, sufficient to comprise all its objects and all its interests, and sufficient to correct or moderate the many perversities and deficiences that prevail in the parent system, indispensibly necessary. In such circumstances, the duty of maintaining in vigor this system is laid in the most imperious manner on the general government. These advantages are altogether peculiar to the Spanish and Portuguese colonies, and as yet, they have been adopted by no other colonizing country; free intercourse, a fair and full way for amelioration in general institutions, together with internal tranquillity, are necessary for giving effect to these advantages. What would follow, if this free intercourse, and this radical amelioration were secured to them, it may be

difficult to set down with precision or with certainty. Of one thing, however, we might rest assured, that these superinduced political advantages, together with those that these regions possess from nature, would attract no inconsiderable portion of the wealth and population of Europe, and that these, under such advantages, would regerminate with irresistable efficacy as soon as transplanted, so as in the end, to outrival every other colonial possession in that part of the globe. From their circumstances, they are now, and would long be deficient in all the liberal, and in many of the most necessary branches of industry; but would not this render the commercial connexion betwixt them and the industrious nations of Christendom, only so much the more irrefragable? This connexion would accelerate their progression in territorial improvement; and it seems to follow as a natural and necessary consequence, that so far from endangering the Spanish domination over them, this whole train of advantages, would, on the whole, (taking it for granted, that government, all the while in a wise manner, drew up the courses of improvement that were instituted under its own influence,) only so much the more fortify and consolidate this domination.

Let us next turn our attention somewhat more closely to the British system of deportation, and examine in a liberal and extended point of view, its consequences and its results. Here such a multitude of virtues and high energies, of splendid achievements, and immense and invaluable at-

tainments, burst forward upon our notice, that, notwit standing the palpable inferiority of our system, in various most important respects, to that of Spain, we must admit that it carries the palm in all that is essentially excellent, and that even amidst its greatest aberrations, it still remains deserving of our highest veneration and esteem. Commerce and industry, the characteristic features of the British system, necessarily beget colonization and maritime enterprize; these again, on the extended scale now subsumed, as necessarily give birth to political and institutional prowess, advantages under which the colonial system must proceed with peculiar success, and which have accordingly in our case, not only transferred the invaluable effluxes of our system, to the most distant and appropriate regions, but have made these regerminate there with unparalleled vigor and efficacy. The same ebulition that made France scatter over the European continent, her myriads of forlorn outcasts, every way forlorn, and every where burdensome, disposed the British system to give birth to the American Commonwealth, and to lay the foundation of a vast empire, inferior only to herself in powerful and magnanimous displays of social excellence. The same improvement in the arts, that made Italy and Germany a nursery and a receptacle of connoisseurs and mountebanks, reared upon the British shores thoroughly organized establishments, which have placed under her control the overflowing wealth of every clime. British power and wealth, though thus exalted, and thus paramount

and irresistible all over the globe, never became the scourge nor the terror of the nations, as has been done by France. These, acquired by lawful means, and exercised on beneficent principles, became the safeguard of the nations, and their securest barrier against the inroads of barbarism. Britain is thus not only exhibited as the head of the colonial system, but as comprising in her procedure, all that is substantially good and excellent in that system.

Industry is the parent of improvement of every kind, but Britain is not only possessed of immense resources and faculties for the excitation and support of industry, but these are essentially concatenated with colonial and naval establishments of the most stupendous description, which give to them virtues the most transcendent. These resources and faculties have, by this means, not only been brought into full exercise, but they have disciplined and improved her whole population in characteristic excellence of every kind, in so much, that every individual, from the king on the throne, to the meanest of his subjects, is necessarily at all times more or less exercised under the influence of the system. Mutual confidence in each others integrity, and a respect for existing laws, sufficient to give harmony and efficacy to the whole instituted progression, arise out of these advantages. In short, Britain may be held to be already completely provisioned, and thoroughly organized for the most comprehensive colonial enterprises. Already re-

gions, known but by name, have learned to hail and bless the British nations. To the inmost recesses of Asia, to the wilds of Africa, and to the unexplored regions of the north and of the south, by means of factories, forts and establishments, both political and commercial, our attainments have been displayed. There our assiduity in transfering the blessings of Christianity and civilized existence, has been exhibited; thereby, within certain limits, our zeal has been rewarded with success; and although national rivalry, and the devastations of war have so far marred these invaluable denouements of our system, still enough has been disclosed to evidence the paramount excellence and stability of the principles on which it is founded.

It must nevertheless be admitted, that all these fair denouements of our system, are liable to be perverted, and have in fact been greatly perverted, and that these must ever remain imperfect, without that more radical and essential vigor which can arise only from the absolute transplantation of our system. This is not a new, nor, when the real circumstances of the case are fully considered, will it be found to be a problematic doctrine. The preceding illustrations prepare us for entering upon the consideration of it with every advantage, and for taking up the subject under those different aspects, which our circumstances render most interesting to us.

Before however, we enter upon this subject, it is

proper to notice, that with us too, amidst the blessings which we enjoy, the rankness of abundance has generated corruption, and has given rise to evils of the most pestilential and of the most dangerous description. This is a calamity altogether different from that defalcation in the powers of industry, and in the means for influencing these that have been already considered at such length, but it points to the same remedy; it calls for high exercises in the course of improvement, and abundance of means for stimulating and advancing such exercises. It bears no resemblance whatever to those contingent and temporary disorders that flow from external calamities, for it is radical, and it affects the most powerful principles of the system. It is perpetually advancing and striking deeper, and shooting higher in the system, and it is as powerful in the midst of national calamity, as in the most flourishing circumstances. The evil discloses itself in the upper ranks of life, in a factious and caballing spirit, which substitutes party interests for rational motives, and which subverts every moral consideration that interposes itself before its object. Hence a concretion has been produced in the most essential parts of the system. Men are drawn under influences the most pernicious, and bound up in their service, they are impelled into action, not by emulation in that which is excellent, but by dint of pure coertion. Men, in the most independent and respected stations of society, are thereby made to bow before those in the most debased, and their highest exertions in the service of a beneficent sys-

tem, made to conduce to the subversion of its principles. Those in inferior circumstances, coalesed under such influences, not only give to the superinduced operations unbounded effect, but imbibing a congenial spirit, these introduce the prevailing influences into every department of social life. Such things indicate a concretion of the system in its most essential qualities, that calls directly for coertion in its simplest form; but as they point to a compression of the principles of action as their immediate cause, they discover to us plainly, that an enlargement of the sphere of action, is the best means for relieving and expanding the compressed developements of the system. An enlargement adapted to such an object, it is evident, can be fully attained amidst our widely extended, well organized colonial enterprises. These will at once induce to high exercises under genial influences, and inspire liberal motives for the prosecution of exalted objects; they will also effectually wean from base habits, and, by means of appropriate discipline, enure to ardent and indefatigable pursuits.

The above position may be still farther illustrated by casting our eyes downward upon the lower orders of society. What is it that drives individuals in these ranks into such a variety of wayward and vicious courses, that makes them alternately destroy each other in the way of rivalry and contestation, and join together in wild and unprincipled cabals, that are disastrous alike, whether their object be accomplished or be lost? It is a frivolous answer

to say that this arises out of the luxurious temperament of the age, unless you can, at the same time, maintain that the case itself is hopeless. It is equally unsatisfactory to declaim at the prevailing impotency of moral perceptions, and the general debasement of intellectual exercises. Place within the view, and within the reach of such personages, a sphere of action that will call forth their best powers and faculties; stimulate them to betake themselves to this sphere by motives suited to their capacity; let them see that superior attainments are alike characteristic of, and instrumental to, their personal advancement; that along with more valuable results, more animating objects of regard, are to be found in the way of liberal enterprise; and that present advantage and enjoyment, as well as future happiness and security, are attendant on those pursuits wherein the good of all are concerned. Let these things be fully exhibited to the eye of all classes and ranks of society, and be borne effectually on their circumstances, and then say whether our case is thus deplorable and hopeless.

This subject is pressed on our attention by considerations the most irresistible; to pretend to draw lines for the operation of deleterious principles, in a system so diversified in all its parts, and in every point of character, as ours is, is evidently impossible. There is one view of the subject, however, that calls forth our marked regard—these perverted energies must be restrained by coertion generally in the simplest form. This coertion, let it be no-

ticed, in our circumstances cannot purge the system of crime, though it may restrain its enormity. It cannot irradicate habitual principles of action, or inveterate propensities to unlawful objects; it can only curb their excrescences, and in doing this, it may make them send forth shoots more abundant and more noxious, to which our power cannot, without much concentration, be borne. Hence concretion in the most important parts of the system must arise. In such circumstances, the coercive influences must be constantly augmented, and yet they will constantly become less efficient in regard to their ultimate object. That the natural tendency of such a course of things, is to an absolute concretion of the whole system, and that a complete reliance on coercive influences for its support may thereupon follow, is clear from the history of past ages. Thereby, numerous and invaluable institutions and establishments, those political entities, wherein science and moral excellence are endowed with political influence, inspired with social energy, animated by generous collision, and thus rendered instrumental to universal improvement, will be changed in their character, as well as in their circumstances. They will become, as they have in former ages been, the dark recesses of superstitious phrensy, the abject organs of vindictive oppression.

The importance of the whole subject is farther disclosed, by considering that the resources and energies thus perverted, might be most beneficially and delectably exercised in the glorious office of

renovating the face of this globe, and ameliorating the condition and character of our race. Let us therefore attend somewhat more closely to the value and importance of the advantages thus neglected or sacrificed. Man, abstractly considered, is the most estimable of all the objects by which he is surrounded. No method can be devised more effectual for improving his character, than setting him in good earnest about improving his condition. The consequence of exertion is, however, determined by the character of the system under which it is made. Under our beneficent system, every such exertion tends to elicit advantage general as well as individual. Replete with means, it tends to bring these into the possession of the individual, whose systematic exertions are destinated to increase their aggregate amount: fenced round by ordinations tending to secure to each individual his appropriate share, the increase of this amount stimulates more generally and more powerfully, those who have access to it, to correspondent and appropriate exertions. In this way, man, impressed by a system replete with means of improvement, is made instrumental in advancing the general improvement of the species. The perversities of our system are results that naturally flow from compressing such influences, and exercising them incessantly on mean and debasing objects. Give to these influences a sufficient range, place them amidst affairs that correspond with their character, and you may render them universally diffusive of those principles with which they are fraught; they will take up surround-

ing powers and resources, and amalgamate these with the general system, and they will make the combined energies thus obtained, conducive alike to its progress, and to its establishment.

Let us now transfer these views into the subject at present before us; let us suppose that the wealth, industry, and power of Britain, are seriously, strenuously, and systematically, engaged in improving and extending her vast colonial possessions, and in rendering them as instrumental in diffusing the blessings with which they may be fraught, as circumstances will admit of. Let us suppose that political and commercial advantage, the sole or principal object of our present care, are sunk in the more generous and expanded idea of augmenting the influence and happiness of our whole citizenship, and of rendering these more and more consolidated and substantial. What would follow? In order to have our answer, let us consider, First, Britain's present advantages. Second, Those that have been held to be provided for her, by the system now under consideration. And Third, Those ulterior peculiar advantages, which such an earnest regard to these interests as is here supposed, would lead into.

First. Let us consider her present advantages. Her marine commands the seas, and secures to herself, and to each of her colonies, direct, secure, and complete intercourse with each other. Perhaps, no empire ever could, from the juxtaposition of its parts, enjoy this advantage more fully. Her wealth, in-

dustry, and commercial prowess enable her to turn this advantage to the best account. There is no enterprise from which good can be expected, that is so vast as to be disproportionate to her strength, or to her means; nor any aggregation of returns, from such enterprises, that may follow, so peculiar, as not to have points of contact, wherein it may resolve itself into an augmentation of her staminal force; and when thus resolved, may not thereupon find her prepared for higher exercises of duty. To this advantage, her civil, municipal, political, and military attainments, are prepared to do full justice. Her social organization is admirably adapted to give strength to the general arm, and security to the body that wields this arm; to digest and resolve every advantage into a reinforcement of her staminal strength, and to make that strength most efficient for the general good. Her population is not only fully drawn up, and habitually exercised in the services that are thus provided, and in the prosecution of the duties that thence arise, but it is imbued with a spirit, and fraught with dispositions and propensities, that render these services and duties the subject of delectable pursuit, the matter of individual enjoyment, hope, and desire. Hence the multitude and diversity of her institutions, established in conformity with these results; and hence the power and efficacy of these institutions. To add no more, the colonial possessions of Britain are situated in every quarter of the globe, and precisely in those circumstances, that constitute them the fittest receptacles for the diversified character

of those transferable energies, which compressed circumstances destinate to colonial enterprises; and to render these receptacles most valuable in themselves, and in their connexion with the parent stem, and with each other. The rude but necessary productions of Canada and the Cape; the more precious and valuable productions of the East Indies and of the West; our forts, magazines, and factories all over the globe, that introduce us into every habitable country, exhibit a chain of advantages, that is every way correspondent to these great objects, and fitted to give full effect to every commercial and colonial enterprise that is wisely and regularly digested; and, when conducted on liberal principles, to make such enterprises the harbingers of blessings to the British nation, of the most extensive and valuable description.

Secondly. Let us next consider the peculiar advantages that are held to be provided for extensive colonial enterprises thus concerted, under the proposed system, as now sketched out. The most prominent of these is, that universal intercourse which is held to be secured to them in common with the parent country. This of itself must give an impulse to the improvement of colonies, at once most powerful and efficient. They will thereby be rendered generally the resort of men of talent, skill, capital, and integrity, and the receptacle of means, every way proportionate to the object in view. The privilege of being able to procure and constitute financial establishments, to be rested upon native or

other established resources, may be held to be the next advantage in point of prominence. This will give efficacy to the foregoing advantages, in all their various tendencies and bearings; it will enable those implicated in the improvement of our colonial possessions, to carry forward their projects with the greatest facility, and it will excite them to prosecute these to the utmost. But perhaps the first advantage in point of importance, stated as resulting from the proposed system, may be held to be the benefits that must result from the liberal assistance and co-operation of the general government, and of the parent country, thereby improved in their general policy towards them, and thereby prepared for giving this improvement its most advantageous operation. Here, reference is made not merely to the advantageous circumstances in which our reproductive establishments, and political connexions, and the individuals concerned in these, are to be placed, in regard to improvement, whereby the commercial movements of the nation are to be so highly benefited; but to the interest which all ranks, classes, and descriptions of persons in the community, and the state itself, are made to hold in regard to such matters. We hold the king on the throne, and the whole patrician and dignified orders, as well as the merest hind, to have an immediate interest in these establishments, on account of their being the ground work, on which the more dependent part of their families and other connexions are to be built up; and we hold the established order and constitution of society, to be such as to render the con-

cernments of these inferior branches of family connexions, pledges of co-operation, and bonds and liguments of a common interest, the strongest that can be conceived. We hold also, that the state itself, from the extension of the income and other direct assessments to these colonies, and from the power and strength of the natural and necessary combination to be obtained and secured by this harmonious communication and amalgamation of paramount advantages, must have all its peculiar interests, and views of interest, as completely identified with the welfare of the colony, as with that of the mother country.

Third. It remains to take under consideration, the ulterior peculiar advantages into which an earnest regard to colonial interests, would necessarily lead. These are of various kinds, which severally require particular animadversion.

It was well remarked by an eminent statesman, in discussing the constitution of government given to Canada, that a distinct peerage was necessary for that immense region. I would adopt the same views, and extend them to Hindostan, to the region at the Cape, to Jamaica, and to our great colonial establishments in Dutch Guiana. In stating the thing wanted, under the term peerage, all that is usually appended to its honours and privileges, is evidently included; particularly an upper legislative house, comprised of individuals, whose extensive entailed properties render the great leading

interests of the colonies in which they are situated, essentially their own, and whose influence would at all times be sufficient to give to these interests a preponderating influence in the deliberative councils of the nation. Perhaps, it might be necessary to attach these honours only to families whose entail could be extended to possessions in the mother country, or in colonies that belong to another class, as well as in the colonies wherein these honours are to be politically exercised; because this would place the parties thus distinguished, more effectually under the public authority of the state. But whether this were necessary or not, it would most certainly be necessary, that both the upper house and the lower house should send representatives to their correspondent branches in the Imperial Parliament. To argue on this point would be vexatious and tantalizing; I shall only state, therefore, that by this means, both the government and the people, the mother country and the colonies, may have the most immediate, the most complete, and the most satisfactory method of coming to a full explanation and understanding, respecting every colonial improvement or abuse, and respecting the best means of promoting the one, and redressing the other.

Remarking the numerous and invaluable advantages that result from consulates, and from commercial and other constitutional associations, wherein local interests are aggregated in the most respectable manner, and made, as occasion requires it, to bear on appropriate objects the full weight of the inter-

ests which they represent, I would farther recommend their establishment in every department of the empire, and their being so constituted as to be a fair representation of every class of interests, in every particular colony. The consulates, being the appointment of the crown, would of course only be in the great central cities, and regard only general and leading objects; but the associations might be multiplied and varied in every way that circumstances seemed to require. The merchants of Calcutta might have their association of merchants trading to Quebec, as well as of those trading to London; the colonial interest of Jamaica might be aggregated in London as well as in Kingston. All these, however, and every association on similar principles, behoved to be tied down most effectually to the object of their association, and to be limited in their operations to the mere matter of procuring information, and the means necessary to obtain, and diffuse, and present the information so obtained, before the constituted authority. The advantages, at present resulting from these associations and consulates, are so great and so numerous, that I cannot see how they can be either disparaged or impugned. They must lead to a variety of improvements that are not now thought of, they must obviate numberless difficulties that might otherwise be unsurmountable, they must prevent disorder in the prosecution of colonial business, provide for it facilities, and expedite its progress.

There is just another peculiar provision that I

have to propose, and that is the transplanting, as far as our circumstances will admit of it, our general establishments and institutions into all these colonies—liberalized in their plan as well as in their principles, and accommodated, organized, and adapted to the case and circumstances of each of these colonies. Universities, and seminaries of education, are as necessary, nay, perhaps, from the superior power and influence of personal attainments in remote regions, they may be more necessary in Bombay, than in Edinburgh. Improved forms of jurisprudential and municipal polity are matters of the last moment, and they are indispensible, if we are in earnest in diffusing the invaluable blessings of our public law. Ecclesiastical power has been so frequently abused, that it is dangerous to give it any other but its native influential authority; this authority, however, may be of great use in rude countries. The discipline of our reformed churches is such, that they never can with one voice exclude from their communion any other but those who are absolutely unworthy of trust. While I recommend, therefore, no destinction of party, I would recommend, that no man, who did not acknowledge the Divine authority of the sacred scriptures, and prove his sincerity in that belief, by his connexion with some Christian establishment, should be admitted into any office of power or of trust that is in the disposal of the state.

I HAVE here stated enough to give a general idea of the line of improvement in which I hold our

colonial settlements to proceed; to enter farther into detail is altogether unnecessary. Liberality of principle, though the character of the spirit of these improvements, does not here want its necessary limitations. Yet these limitations are sought in circumstances that arise out of the course of things, more than in articulate provisions, especially constitute thereto. Such provisions, indeed, can scarcely be held to be at all necessary, for it is all along understood, that power remains in the state in its present form, and that the means and establishments for enforcing it, are in no sense whatever impaired. All that is attempted, is to exhibit to view the obvious and natural consequences of certain special provisions for ameliorating our present attainments, and the positive advantage of paying due homage to superinduced improvement, the source of all our blessings. This object, the sketch now given sufficiently expresses, it embraces the leading features of the course of improvement, that is held to have been superinduced; it implies all that is at present established, procured, and confirmed, in behalf of the state, the nation, or the community; but while it does this, it respects every principle and object to which our best feelings or perceptions can possibly cling.

In place of going over any more of the provisions and arrangements that might be held to be made in such circumstances, let us now suppose, that impressed with the importance and necessity of wise and suitable regulations, the state, the com-

munity, and all who are to be affected by these, will, as a matter of course, not only betake themselves in earnest to such provisions and arrangements as may be requisite, but follow up their import with correspondent energy. We have, therefore, only to consider the general consequences of Britain's betaking itself with full earnestness and solicitude to the improvement of its colonial possessions, and to contemplate the train of blessings that would necessarily flow from her carrying along with her into such enterprises, all her vast, peculiar, and attainable advantages.

We may begin with inferring, that the relief, thus regularly given to the surcharge of her population, would operate as an effectual remedy alike to that virulent collision, and to that overwhelming compression, by which her powerful energies are so often most incessantly and unavailingly exercised. This is a most important consideration, whether the evils thereby produced, or the talents thus sacrificed, be taken into account. Most of the crimes, and much of the turpitude which appal us, arise from the irregular and desperate measures into which overstretched competition amongst individuals, and unbalanced compression on the part of those, in whose favour the results of these are drawn up, tend to lead. The obvious relief is to offer a new range, into which these may be transplanted, wherein their powers may be exercised on the largest scale, not only without detriment either to themselves or others, but with general advantage.

In particular, the lower classes of society may therein find a place of refuge, whenever it appears that the state of society is such, that their industry will not bear its proper value in the public eye. In a great and improving society, many individuals will always be left behind, or thrown out of that place in the general progression of society, which their merit seems to have marked out for them. Such it is evident are liable either to sink into despondency, to resort to desperate courses, or to wear themselves out in the most unequal and injurious competition. The obvious remedy for all this, is a new field of industry, wherein correspondent excitements lead to more regular and satisfactory developements. It is true, when society has become vain and corrupted, and when in consequence, the lower orders are contaminated and debased with frivolous views, and perverted inclinations; when their principles, affections, and habits, are all alike prone to the dust, and rendered incapable of obeying any generous emotions; such inducements and facilities may seem to be impotent. This consideration, however, ought not to appal us, nor ought we too hastily to conclude that our condition is thus desperate. A little relief may produce great effects; and who perceives not the virtuous struggles that are made in every quarter for this relief? Nay, even when the moral feelings have in truth become torpid, the case must not be held to be hopeless. How often has compulsive deportation been followed

with manifest advantage, to the individual, as well as to the public *.

* There is, no doubt, at present a harshness in the movements, and a deficiency in the organization of this part of our system, that render compulsive deportations particularly offensive. These, however, suggest their own remedy, which remedy is obvious to all of us, but we are prevented from resorting to it, from a peculiar aversion to turn ourselves seriously to the business. Compulsive deportation as now managed, is expensive and arduous, and its application to any other but extraordinary cases, is thereby rendered altogether inexpedient. But how comes this to be the case? Has not the public a full right to destrain from the labours of individuals the fair and full value of the trouble, if not the real amount of the expence, which their crimes have rendered necessary to be applied to their persons for the general good. Must all our deportations be confined to New Holland? Might not even these be made to proceed with perfect ease and safety, provided we carefully separated individuals into these different classes, which their crimes, circumstances, sexes, ages, and established character indicated? Might not their treatment during the time of the voyage, in certain cases, be regulated by considerations, arising from these? Might not their term of durance, as well as its mode and circumstances, be also in like manner affected by these? Might not individuals be kept plying, even a ship-board, at some employment that would go far to pay expences? These questions must all be answered in the affirmative, and they plainly disclose to us a truth of the highest importance in itself, and as connected with the foregoing system. They point out to us this fact, that deportation is necessarily neither so arduous nor so expensive as we suppose it to be, and that accordingly it might be extended to a multitude of offences, which at present, from the want of a congenial mode of repression and of punishment, are not duly thought of, or chastised. Offences, which we know, by escaping without due notice being taken of them, make way for crimes of the deepest die.

The importance of the proposed improvements in the colonial system, to this numerous class of the community, will appear, if we attend to their character and condition. They are every way different from those hordes of wanderers, who, in the rude stages of the world, sought only the extremes of perilous exertion and slothful indulgence; to whom adventure was the stimulant to action the most gratifying, and to whom nothing was more abhorrent than continuous or systematic industry. With the lower classes of society amongst us, on the other hand, incessant simultaneous labour is so habitual, as to have become necessary alike to their comfortable enjoyment of what they possess, and to their attainment of the means necessary thereto. In the early part of life, indeed, and while its entanglements and obligations sit but light on the individual, the youthful fancy, in feasting on the pleasures of varied existence, induces a restless spirit, to which adventure, with its concomitant difficulties and hazards, may for a time appear delectable. But how soon is this spirit exhausted amidst frivolous pursuits, and puerile exercitations! how quickly is the fancy satiated with ideal enjoyments, when it must be found that these can only be gratified amidst real privations and distress. It is certain, that individuals of this class may in general be held to be so beset with multiplied incitations to fix themselves early in their own place, and within their proper sphere; to have their best feelings and propensities so wound up within the simple gratifications which this sphere comprises; and to be so thoroughly impressed, at

every prospect of change, with the wasteful expence, painful incertitude, and accumulated labour and vexation, and other necessary consequences of such changes, that to them, for the most part, after the first vagaries of fancy have spent themselves, nothing can be more distressing and tantalizing than propositions, that have for their object, a change of country and place of abode.

In the mean time, the number and circumstances of the industrious, are perpetually tending to outshoot the means necessary for meeting the demands that they create: for even when the course of things is favourable to peaceful habits, the disproportion of means to demands is only the more augmented. The reason of this is familiar to all of us. In a state of improvement, when any leading branch of industry flourishes, it bears up along with it a variety of other branches, each of which, in spite of their dependence on the parent branch, introduces a peculiar set of wants, correspondent to its particular character and resolutions. In this way, the best means, as well as the most productive powers of the community, come frequently to be absorbed under adventitious influences, and in this factitious state, to maintain a commanding influence over all the resources and energies of the community. Thus it is, that prosperity becomes the fore-runner of disorder. Hence arise combinations amongst our workmen, or, as they might more properly be termed, conspiracies amongst dependents against their upholder, in order to obtain greater and superior im-

munities than this upholder can consistently grant. No one can for a moment regret the successive enjoyments, that may be annexed to the condition of the dependent, in consequence of these combinations, but every one, who has any opportunity of knowing the rank and abominable indulgences, to which, from the prevalence of that very licentious spirit, which gives birth to these combinations, these attainments are applied, must pause, before he allows this convenient self-complacency to get the better of purer and higher feelings. Did we see the sordid spirit, the multiplied acts of oppression, violence and fraud, committed by these conspirators against their masters, and against each other, as means necessary for carrying forward their designs, the most benevolent mind would shudder at the sight. Yet in the present circumstances of these labourers, such combinations, with all their consequences, not only are, but perhaps must be tolerated; for, while they secure the rights of this class, they develope those principles of independent and individual improvement, amidst which the general blessings of our system are prepared, diffused, resolved into other and greater blessings, and again drawn up into valuable establishments. It is by these means that the results of general industry are made to reach their value, are circulated on mercantile principles, and, in the end, made to constitute capital.

Such struggles, however, must, in the course of time, come at length to a head. Industry is known to be paralized from excess of nutriment, as well

as from its general frame and order being convulsed on account of the multiplied unsubstantiated claims that may be brought forward against its results. It is amidst such excess, and while its flood-gates are overpowered, that the torrent of depravity, previously prepared, rushes down most forcibly. The habits of the industrious have fixed them down, not only to a particular department of industry, but to a particular line in that department, which can alone give to them their wonted supplies. They have been drilled to regular obedience, but they have also been familiarized with violation of civil order, and inspired with confidence in the daring leaders of conspiracy, which emboldens them to raise their hands against that very progression of improvement, whence their supplies must be drawn; nay, they scruple not to level with the ground those attainments and institutions, in which the vital energy of their own peculiar craft is concentrated. They oppose improvement, simply on this ground, that it abstracts from the amount of their labour. Unmindful of the public injury that is thereby inflicted, they even bury in ruins fixed capital, and menace the individual to whom this capital belongs, because it is from thence, that the obnoxious improvement proceeds. No one dares defend these brutal and horrible outrages; but how amidst the surcharges of population, the multiplied and unconquerable claims of this population, and the default of means and instruments for meeting their continually increasing wants, are we to find a remedy? British subjects are accustomed to obedience and regularity, but they have none of

the sullenness and tameness of the Hindoo fatuists, who repair to the high-ways in myriads, and abjectly consign themselves and their families to destruction.

It is amidst our highly improved colonial possessions alone, that a remedy to this dreadful evil is to be found. It is there that the surcharges of our population may be employed with every advantage. The necessity of enuring individuals to labour systematized and productive, is acknowledged. Let us proceed upon this ground, but let the circumstances of our colonies be prepared for it; let their system be so improved, that British parents may, with a whole heart, consign thither their offspring, not amidst the murmurings of apprehension, but amidst the alacrity of confidence. Let the discipline to which these young shoots are subjected, the apprenticeship under which their habits are formed, and the hopes that are placed within their reach, be such, as to make them betake themselves to the employment that may thus be devolved on them, with correspondent sentiments and feelings, and then these surcharges of population will assume a character altogether different. Virulent propensities will thereupon be obviated or assuaged from the timeous and constant relief thus given. An asylum will be formed of inconceivable value and importance, amidst friends and connexions, scattered over immense regions. These will not be enemies to, but companions of, our industry. They cannot be held to rival it, for in such varied circumstances, diversified demands will regulate the claims of each,

and share out to each portion of the empire, its own sphere of industry. We will thus not only save a great part of our race from destruction, moral and natural, but render them valuable and highly efficient members of the body-politic. We will advance the poor man's condition in his own estimation, and in that of all around him; we will endow him with principles and motives, that will make him worthy of this exaltation; all our improvements, the abbreviations of labour, as well as the increased value and amount of its results, will be to him, as well as to his superior, precious. His interest therein, and his participation in the general advancement of society, will be great and incessant; and like the genial current of vital energy, these will constantly develope the means of their own continuous progression.

In adverting to the circumstances of the enterprising class of the community, those, whose genius and spirit, talent and means, carry forward and sustain the general business of the nation, as affected by this chain of improvement in our colonial possessions, a scene, bright and every where attractive, rises upon our view. In the first place, the secure and ample range of the British empire is provided as a basis on which their undertakings may rest themselves, from which they may diverge on all hands, and inhale the blessed influences which the power and splendour of the British name has provided for them all the world over; from whence again they may securely draw back property, and

resolve its amount in invaluable possessions. In the next place, the congeries of advantages, arising from the native resources, and from the invaluable and diversified industry and attainments of the colonies thus stimulated and supported in the way of universal improvement, and thus converted into so many free ports, having all their reproductive processes fully borne on by the whole impetus of unrestrained external intercourse, and thus profusely supplied, not only with all the means necessary for their advancement in this course, but with all the talent, skill, genius, spirit, and energy, which these inestimable attainments may attract, will converge, and be borne home upon their different establishments, so as to render the multifarious transactions of this class, both lucrative and secure. Lastly, Hence the processes and the subjects of enterprise will become intrinsically valuable in themselves, and substantially powerful in realising this value. Universally diversified, improved, and accommodated to the existing circumstances of all who are to be affected by them, and their value—and, harmoniously resolving themselves into objects, establishments, and attainments, more capacious, more excellent, and more valuable—they will constantly tend to raise the individuals whose personal concerns have been thus provided for, and whose personal exertions have been thus favoured, into higher spheres of action, exalt and consolidate their interest, and incorporate it with that progression of general improvement and social advancement, beneficent, and resplendent as it is, in which they and

their all are involved, and make them participate largely in its best and purest blessings.

The truth and force of these statements, have already, perhaps, been sufficiently illustrated. There is one class of objects, however, that has not been set forth in its full light, and as it is only by taking up the subject in its most extended, and most completely developed state, that the real character of these advantages can be discerned, it is proper to advert to this view with some precision. Taking it for granted, that the interests of the dominant country, and those of the colonies, have been as completely identified as possible, and that the circumstances and establishments, both of the one and of the other, have been so improved, organized, combined, and borne on each other, and on the various objects wherein the best interests of each are contained, that the whole acquisitions, as well as inherent advantages of each, may be developed in the most powerful and splendid manner, I apprehend, that the mere article of deportation, will of itself afford a vast and invaluable source of enterprize. I am not to be told that emigrations may be carried to an undue extent, when it is seen, that the natural checks upon these are so powerful, and must of themselves continue to increase in a reduplicate ratio, to all the incitements by which they may be affected; nor to be questioned about the fate of the deported, when it is held, that the interests of the enterprizing, as well as the care of the state, and the force of every respected principle,

have their arms around them. My position is this, that in the supposed case, such will be the advantages for exercising improved and concentrated industry within all our colonies, such the stimulus and support that will be afforded to it, from varied external and internal excitation, that the enterprising will universally perceive, that in stretching forth their hands to the aid of those of their fellow-citizens, whose circumstances dispose them to give the preference to a colonial residence, they in effect provide means for advancing their own interests; and that the state must feel its own interest in giving operation to these advantages. It is merely transplanting energies and resources from amidst corrupt and fruitless exhaustiture, to regions, where influences, the most powerful and benign, may develope their inherent excellence, and render them the means of vast improvement; and it is doing this in a way that ameliorates the condition of all, and consolidates the power of the state.

It is not to be supposed, that in such circumstances, deportations, accidental or preconcerted, would take place betwixt the mother country and the colonies alone. I can see no reason why they may not include in their range, not only the population of the whole colonies, whose diversified circumstances may point to diversified denouements of their respective powers, but also that of foreign states, more or less implicated in our general line of policy. Will any one say, that the Hindoos, or even the Chinese, might not with advantage, obtain settlements within

our Transatlantic possessions, or that the colonial adventurer, whose genius has been matured under every advantage in these last possessions, may not carry along with him into the tameness of Eastern enterprise, energies of the most beneficent operation. Experience shews that we must not expect from the temperament of adults, that which is only to be obtained from the plastic activity of youth ; that we must look forward to a time, when varied existence can be contemplated under those extended views, which knowledge and experience alone can give : but it shews too, that we must, in the meantime, avail ourselves of every real and contingent advantage, that can enable us to urge forward our general plan ; and, that in so doing, the difficulty of the undertaking, like the asperity of the weather, will press forward our design only so much the more forcibly, and ultimately render every contravening power and impetus valuable and important instruments in our hands—agents that will encompass designs, that without their aid, might have been altogether impracticable, but which when accomplished, will make our general power and influence, only so much the more secure and consolidated.

These views will be better apprehended, when their relative connexion with the circumstances of the dominant class of society is taken into account. Those, in whose favour the results of industry and general enterprize are drawn up almost without any effort of their own, have an interest in the general fate of all our great concernments, and an

influence over them that is peculiarly their own. This class comprises the junior shoots of royalty and nobility, who have so frequently produced high effects on the great affairs of civil society. The parent branches of these dependent stems, having all legal authority in a manner vested in themselves, look on the great affairs of state, as things completely under their control, and as implicating at once the proper sphere of action, and range of resources for those of their dependents that may happen to be in want of them; and they are but too prone to estimate the value of the objects which these comprise, according to the weight which they can be made to bear on their own personal and family arrangements. Nevertheless, it is certain, that they and all their concernments are necessarily completely enveloped in the ultimate result, much more than in the immediate effect of every great national measure, and that the aggregate amount of the benefits resulting from these, are out of all comparison, greater and more important to them, than their most beneficent direct operation on their immediate concerns. The enlargement of our colonial policy, and the advancement of the general interests of the remote provincial departments of the empire to a parity with those of the dominant state, belong to that class of measures, which is of all others the most important to this high order of men. Thereby, a most immense range of affairs is brought under their influence, and their nearest and most essential interests are extended to objects of a value and importance that transcend all their former attain-

ments. These great affairs, which now lie loose to the mere adventurer, and which have of course been digested into an order that effectually excludes the great influence of systematic exaltation, are, under the improvements proposed, most effectually prepared for their service, and endowed with qualities and capacities, that in this service, may be rendered productive of the most transcendant general and particular advantage. In these operations, the patrician carries along with him every other class of the community, from the highest to the lowest. Here they find an ample field for dignified and heroic enterprise, subjects that call forth and exercise their best and highest energies and resources, which will not only most abundantly remunerate all their labour and assiduity, every sacrifice, and every privation, that they may induce, but crown them over and above with splendour and renown, the most estimable and glorious that can be attained by human beings.

In order that we may carry along with us some general ideas of the true character and extent of these advantages, it is proper to state at the outset, that under the proposed plan we necessarily hold, that in consequence of the advancement of provincial and colonial interests, to a parity with those of the dominant state, and in consequence of the enlargement of that line of policy, under which the leading concerns of the nation are to be conducted, that the whole range of the colonial empire, and the unfathomed extent of colonial resources, must

be not only thrown open to personal enterprise, and to general improvement, but be permeated by the purest and most genial influences of the incumbent system. We hold, not only, that the parent state, but that the entire range of our widely extended, and highly diversified empire, are fully organized in the service of the most productive industry, completely animated by the genius and spirit of the mighty system, fed with population and means, energies and resources, coincident with their wants and circumstances, all regularly and fully drawn out and exercised in the direct line of social advancement, and urged along this line by excitations, the most appropriate and irresistible: but we hold that this vast order of things extends itself, by dint of commercial interprise, throughout the whole circle of the earth, is upheld in its course by the strength, talent, and policy of the British state and nation, and is every where developing resources, and exercising energies, that tend directly and irrefragably towards higher excitation and advancement. All which advantages, resting upon British territory, and resolving themselves into territorial improvement, serve to identify and concatenate the interests and advantages of every portion of this territory, both at home and abroad, and thus to exalt and fortify the dignity and prosperity of those, whose lot it is to represent and stand at the head of these territorial interests. If even under our present restricted policy, the narrow precincts of our native realms develope wealth sufficient to sustain so many thousands of families of patrician and eques-

trian rank, besides myriads of others of a most respectable, though of a less dignified order, over and above upholding that vast goodly frame of society, which basks amidst the blessings and effulgence of highly refined, and civilized existence; how many millions more must be advanced to eminence from the high cultivation of the most luxurious regions upon earth, stretched alongst every shore, fertilized alike by the most powerful energies of nature, and the most strenuous exertions of industry: every individual, and every class of individuals, being instigated and animated to the full exercise of their talents, by the full impulse of our mighty system.

Let us next advert somewhat more particularly to the exercises and circumstances of those, whose circumstances are thus held to be implicated in the improvement of the colonies. And here, as in the case of internal improvement, we must begin with fixing our attention on the external intercourse that is held to be provided for the excitation and support which these require. These colonies, possessing within themselves immense resources, are in the first place, stimulated and supported by direct intercourse with the mother country, and with each other. Establishments and facilities, for abbreviating labour, and augmenting and perfecting its results, are thereupon procured in vast abundance; hence a mass of invaluable productions, adapted to all the demands that can be made to bear upon them, is obtained. Hence too, the claims

of the landholder, and the mere capitalist, of the state and of the community, as well as those of every dependent order and class of men, are satiated, and provision made in their hands, for higher and greater trains and courses of improvement, in the arts and in the modes of society. As these things come into existence under our authority, and are exercised under our influence, we may calculate on their proceeding in a secure, if not in a steady progression. In consequence, however, of these advantages, and of the other greater and still higher advantages of our system, the whole productions of our industry must increase beyond our power of consuming them; for our processes for reproduction constantly tend to become more and more multiplied, extended, improved, and consequently to increase the surcharge, so that we are not only called upon, but forced to seek outlets to this surcharge, wherever these can be found.

If nations were actuated by wise and magnanimous views, they would avail themselves of this tendency, as the surest means of calling forth those internal resources peculiar to themselves, that are best calculated for meeting the demands that would in a regular way be created against them, and thus turn the balance again in their own favours; they would, by inviting such intercourse, and remunerating those who maintain it on fair commercial principles, render it necessary for those very parties again, to find ways and means for relieving them, on their part also, of those superfluous pro-

ductions, which the induced intercourse had stimulated into existence. The nations of Christendom, however, being generally actuated by very different motives, in their procedure towards us, admit just so much of our commerce, as renders our courses of industry dependent on theirs, and they unhesitatingly cut asunder this course of dependence, whenever it suits their views. In the mean time, our progression in this dependent course of industry, with its various branches, may have grown up into such power within our system, that not only no small portion of our population, of our resources, (those of all orders of society, and the state itself being included), and of our circulable wealth, (which, from the growth of public confidence, combines and concatenates the fate of whole legions of the enterprizing into one), are placed in a great measure at the mercy of nations, the rivals, or the enemies of our prosperity; but a course of dissension, of corruption, and of disorder, is perpetually maintained within our own system, which constantly mars, and frequently interrupts its best and highest progressions. It is altogether in vain to calculate on remedying the evil, by means of commercial treaties, and international arrangements. These things may serve to moderate the operation, but they do not reach the source, of the evil; nor can such arrangements ever be made to reach this source, while a tendency to such dependence is in such forward progression.

That this is an evil that ought to be remedied,

and that must, under this proposed system, be most effectually remedied, will sufficiently appear, if we attend to the leading design of the proposed improvements, and indeed of all improvements whatever, that are of the same radical character. No one courts labour and privation for their own sake, and every one seeks to abbreviate them, and to render their continuance when necessary, not only productive of real and essential advantage, but as far as possible pleasant and salutary. The difficulty, referred to, arises from the necessity under which individuals are laid, of following out instituted and established forms of productive labour and enterprise, which may have tendencies and consequences of the foregoing deleterious and unpropitious kind; and it accordingly becomes the business of those having influence over this course of things, to surmount this difficulty, by giving fresher and higher impulses to the system, such as is here proposed. How is this to be done? The power of our nation, and of its whole provinces, including the capital vested in them, the forms of industry and enterprise, the general organization of society, and the objects to which the general policy of our state and nation are destinated, seem, in spite of ourselves, to be destinated to services, which, in the first instance, maintain us in our present resplendent condition; but in the next, these very advantages give to foreign nations, that very command over it, which impresses this dependent character on our system. Our commodities must be suited to the market of rivals, otherwise they and the establishments which pro-

duce them, will become useless. The commodities produced, accordingly, and the establishments in which the powers of these producers are concentrated, together with all the wealth upheld by them, must continue to be under the immediate influence of our consumers, who thus give us the law, and, from the immense importance of the intercourse thus upheld by them, drill us into conformity with their circumstances, and learn us to accommodate our institutions, customs, and habits, to their will. Where then is relief to be attained, without consigning to destruction all that is thus upheld? I answer, first, that it is admitted, that immense labour is bestowed, where comparatively small returns are obtained, and that real bondage is inflicted, where high command might be exercised; now the plan that has been developed, does not so far exclude those high agents from our system, as to deprive us of the whole advantage of intercourse with them. We retain these in their proper subordinate place in our system, and we raise them and all our concerns to higher ground. Secondly, this plan disposes us to resolve our own acquirements within our own system, as far as our own system can receive them, and to adduce and support those higher and greater acquirements, which must be the consequences of these resolutions; while it carefully husbands, and readily admits any facilities or advantages, that can naturally and necessarily arise out of external relations, into our hands.

Thus it is that we advance our colonial possessions,

in the view of prosecuting this great paramount object, the delivery of our system from degrading and infatuated dependence on rival or hostile nations, while we retain all those ulterior advantages which our improved system has in reserve. In the mean time, no doubt, part of the external intercourse formerly maintained may drop out of our hands, but the part that remains will be much more valuable, productive, and efficient to the object that ought always to be held in view. We will not throw loose, and at a venture, the grand ulterior resolutions of our system, amidst unauthorized enterprise, and injurious consignations, where they are consecutively engulphed in bad debts, and loss on exchange, and in investments in productions that cannot reach or return their full value, without traversing courses of industry and enterprise of a domestic and more valuable character. The unnatural attitude, into which our courses of reproduction are thrown, in consequence of their dependence on rival nations, will most assuredly be remedied, whenever this dependence is counteracted by the powerful diversion that must be procured, and the improved intercourse that must be maintained, under proposed circumstances; which diversion, we conclude, must affect the whole frame of society, and raise it above the power, and beyond the sphere of that low species of intercourse, which is its greatest bane.

The vast importance of colonial improvements

which tend to place under the same genial influences, an immense expanse of productive energies and resources, and to make these harmoniously resolve their respective powers into the service of each other, thence becomes evident. It is amongst these, that the enterprising, under proposed circumstances, must be chiefly conversant; and, while they thereby augment, at every return, the real wealth and power of the community, and place this wealth under the full authority of the state, and under the entire influence of our civil laws and institutions; they, of course, ensure, not only to the individuals concerned, but to the state and to the nation at large, the full value of every consecutive resolution.

The interest, which the dependant branches of the dominant class have in such resolutions, has again and again been referred to, but under the views now taken, they assume an aspect that is every way important. These parties, although respectable and dignified from their line of connexions, are, happily for us, to be regarded only as commoners; as such, they occasionally mix with the upper classes of the enterprising, to which they frequently add both power and eclat. It being, however, chiefly in the various departments of the state, in the civil administration, in the church, and in the army, that they are disposed of, their personal or nominal prowess is accordingly therein chiefly disclosed. They are necessarily, however, in these departments, so confronted with various kinds of

merit, which the exigencies of our public business elicit from individuals appertaining to other classes, that few of them can bear up under the contest. Hence it is, that so many of them soon fall into insignificance, and exhaust their patrimonial means and resources in paltry intrigues, or dastardly pursuits, sometimes in the face of day, but more frequently in obscure corners of our own, or of foreign capitals, regardless alike of the results of their criminal conduct, and of the burdens thereby entailed on the better part of the nation. As it is in vain to disguise the truth, and altogether absurd to expatiate or amplify upon it, where the matter of fact is so prominent, and is so fully established, I shall only notice farther, that it were well for mankind, and it were well for these parties themselves, if their affairs could be thus limited and restricted; for it but too frequently happens, that they either directly, or through the medium of their friends, maintain a very improper, and a very injurious sway in the great affairs of the state and of the nation; a sway which would keep perpetually in motion, plans of daring turmoil or deep corruption, were not their influence systematically checked and counteracted by the talents and means of other classes. To provide suitable employment for them, all that is really excellent and valuable in civil society, being therefore thus incessantly exposed to sanguinary and desperate national warfare, the importance of the diversion to be obtained for the profitable occupation of their talents, under the proposed colonial improvements, is sufficiently evident. There are two lines of colonial enterprise, wherein

the interests of this class, and of the general class of the enterprising, so happily and so completely coincide, and wherein the importance of this diversion is so pointedly disclosed, that it is proper in this place, to take a distinct and separate view of each.

First, raising our eyes above those cheerless scenes, which intercourse, dependant on rival nations, presents on every side, and carrying along with us all the advantages that have been held to be secured for our service, let us, in the first place, fix our attention on the widely extended regions of the African continent, where a vast and stable empire, with numerous forts and settlements, set down on various parts of its coast, have prepared for us fields of enterprise of immense extent. Here the dusky African solicits a participation in the fruits of that industry, which those of a kindred complexion spurn from their shores. These disconsolate and unsophisticated beings think only of our intercourse, as it affects their real and immediate happiness; they never dream of paralyzing our invaluable industry, or insulting our condescending urbanity, of undermining our establishments, or overwhelming our social and civil attainments, by acts of hostility, overt or clandestine, against our general commerce. Sensible of the blessings which our abundance can bestow, they eagerly strive to find out some common line of connexion, some commercial or social ligument, by which to append their concerns upon ours, in order that they may

thereby participate in this abundance. These vast tribes of human beings are possessed of a country, whence returns to us the most valuable may be drawn. Though their vague exercitations in the arts be rude, and marked with the slothfulness and barbarity of their minds, they themselves are possessed of faculties that may be subjected to systematic improvement, and of powers which may be concentrated and borne home on appropriate objects. They are not insensible of the obligations that are laid upon them, of exercising their powers in such a way, as will bring forward results sufficiently valuable and important, to interest us in their labours; they refuse not our instructions, they reject not our assistance, they are neither averse from systematic operations, nor unfit for ardent and persevering exertions. Their condition is, no doubt, at present, altogether most unfavourable to radical improvement, but are they not, thereby, only the more disposed to adumbrate their system of industry under ours? Their dispositions are, perhaps, on the whole, both stubborn and ferocious, but are they not thereby only the better prepared for undergoing these rude and boisterous toils, to which, under our influence they must be subjected? The intercourse, that can be maintained in such circumstances, has this palpable advantage, that great and valuable natural resources, and powerful and capacious human energies, are placed under the influence of a system which tends constantly to develope their inherent excellencies and advantages. The establishments that may thereupon be upreared

and supported, both in the dominant and in the dependant nation, can scarce, under any contingency that may occur, come into the rivalry of competition: on the contrary, they must tend to stimulate and support, to extend and confirm, the power and the value of each other respectively. The surplus value of production above consumpt will, in the speediest and most complete manner possible, be resolved into absolute value; and in this resolved state, it may, with equal facility, be invested anew in other reproductive processes of equal or superior value. The investments, thus made, are such as cannot be depretiated; on the contrary, they are such as must necessarily augment their value and importance at each resolution.

In the case before us, the great difficulty and danger lies in the slothful and savage propensities, the brutal and disgusting practices of these nations. They are in a manner destitute of the first principles of morality and civil polity. In encountering these, however, we possess the advantage of carrying along with us a train of operations, every way calculated to renovate and exalt the human character. The African society has done much for the civilization of that quarter of the globe; much has been effected by Bible and Missionary societies, and much more may warrantably be expected from the beneficent exertions of these, and other philanthropic institutions. It is evident, however, that neither the means at the disposal of these associations, nor the instruments in their hands for giving effect to these

means, neither their organization, their authority, nor their capacity, are equal to the great work of civilizing Africa. As subsidiary means, they may, under higher auspices, be made eminently useful; but while we have so much to bestow, and such high functions to discharge, it constitutes a species of very gross impiety, to argue as if we had done all that is encumbent on us to do; to vaunt of our having complied with the authoritative injunctions of the divine word, and, with perfect self-complacency to sit down as contented with what we have done. Means and energies, much more extended and powerful in their operation, much more completely and absolutely destinated to the whole great lines of duty which lead to this object, are necessary. It is not enough to leave powerful impressions on rude minds, while the individuals impressed, from the circumstances of their condition, are incessantly beset with allurements to return to the very depths of that barbarity from which they may have emerged. Rude and savage nations have a strong attachment to their very worst customs and habits, and it is not until it has been made demonstratively evident to them, that these are at once disgusting and pernicious, that they will consent to abandon them. They have no taste for, but on the contrary, a decided aversion from, the peculiar manners of a civilized state. In order to renovate their character, it is not enough to reason the matter over with them, it is necessary to catch hold of their most active powers, to bend these gently under the influence of our own system, to

make them participate at once in its duties, privileges, and advantages, and to improve with boldness, pertinacity, and dexterity, every impression in our favour that can be made. By these means, and by these only, will we completely bind their strongest, most decided, and most valuable powers, in the cause and service of our system.

We are possessed of two most powerful advantages, for working upon the mind and temperament of Africans. First, these not only admit their sense of the value of our intercourse, but the necessity that is laid on them to produce, by dint of correspondent labour and solicitude, the equivalent that we demand. The motives to personal exertion being thus provided, and the power and virtue of the best stimulus thereto, equitable commercial intercourse, being thus received, we may look forward to a gradual establishment of systematized and enlightened industry. Man had this very lot assigned to him, and correspondent hopes and fears set before him, immediately after his deviation from the paths of sanctity and rectitude; and, thereby, not only were his violent and perverted dispositions effectually curbed and moderated, but a direct and powerful impulse to urge him forward in the line of duty, was provided. The same plan, and the same results, have been disclosed in every age, and in every state and condition of the human race. Even in Africa, the human character improves, almost simultaneously, with the advancement of the power and genius of our system; and ameliorations in the arts of life,

go hand in hand with the introduction of regular stimulants to assiduous industry. Indeed, when we look coolly at the character and condition of man, we see, that labour and solicitude, as connected with fair and appropriate returns, each acting and bearing reciprocally and fully on each other, constitute the only fair ground, on which nations, so rude in their perceptions of what is right, can be effectually weaned from their barbarous customs. Impressions, purely intellectual and moral, may be powerful for a time; but, without systematic exercise under corresponding influence, they can never be permanent or deep rooted; they will neither descend to posterity, nor spread themselves effectually around. In order to accomplish these objects, it is indispensably necessary to render the individual proof against every allurement to return to former habits, and to enure him to a way and manner of living suited to his renovated character. We possess all the means and advantages necessary for effecting this with comparative facility, and it only remains to apply these means appropriately.

This ought not to be considered, as either an arduous or a problematical undertaking, when we advert to the other advantage that is prepared to our hands for such services. The Africans have in our nation, a degree of confidence that must render every exertion that we make for their behoof, peculiarly forcible and impressive. Since the abolition of the slave trade, the sentiments of respectful esteem, and of congenial good will, manifested by the African

tribes towards Britons, do equal honour to both parties. Thereby, they are now effectually predisposed to obey the impulse which our superior policy and prowess may give to their personal and national occupations. An uninterrupted systematic perseverance in such conduct, on our part, is however necessary, to give to these confidential regards, their full power in our general intercourse. Our motives to this perseverance are every way most powerful. We may look forward to the result with much satisfaction, for we may calculate on the general diffusion of those principles that emanate from our great national institutions, and on the establishment of corresponding institutions, in these regions, as the direct consequence of our conduct; and in the end, we may expect to find the groundwork of civil and social renovation, completely consolidated under our own influence. The intercourse, that must thereupon follow, must be of the highest importance to each party, for science will then open the way to improvements of every kind: laws, and other civil and social acquirements, will come to be dispensed under our influence: leaders and rulers, guides and instructors, will turn out to be the most valuable behests that we can bestow. Thereupon, a field of enterprise, peculiarly valuable and important to the deported, will be opened, wherein, from the force of surrounding improvement, all that is truly valuable will be produced. On the other hand, able and faithful indigenous labourers, adroit and respected indigenous handicraftsmen and assistants, will, as fair and suitable returns for such services,

advance to our aid, and enable us to carry forward a system of industry, befitting alike the circumstances of the surrounding nations and our own, and coincident with the whole commercial intercourse which may be attached to the general industry of this colonial empire.

Looking steadily to these, as the grand and ultimate results of our labours, and bearing faithfully along with us the whole of our attainments that can be made to bear on such objects, our first business must be, not to make these colonists regorge the scanty resources, which at present float amongst their hands, but to stimulate them, by dint of well-timed supplies, to exercise their energies and faculties on native means and resources, in such a manner, as to make them improve their own powers, (while they enhance the value and amount of their native productions, and other general results of their industry,) so as to form in themselves habits, favourable to peaceful and ameliorating occupations. For this purpose, we must ourselves study their real interests with much earnestness, and accommodate our supplies to their real wants, as well as to those that are apparent. Cattle and poultry, seeds and saplings, tools, and other implements of art, being of incomparably greater value than any given quantities of commodities that are merely consumable, these ought to be most liberally forced into their hands. These must not only indicate the value bestowed, advance the process of reproduction, and give a character of permanence to every

possession, but form habits of industry, regularity, and sobriety, and give a consistency and solidity to the form of society itself: whereas, subjects of value, which pass off with the using, may unnerve the character, and induce civil disorder and turmoil. That supply, however, which of all others, must be the most important to them, is precisely that which our circumstances induce us most freely to bestow—colonies more or less numerous of those who are capable of taking the lead in such ameliorating processes. These colonies would, no doubt, require to be settled in circumstances, wherein personal respectability, and inherent authority, as well as individual safety, would be secured to them. Organized as we hold our great adumbrating system to be, we could find no difficulty whatever, in securing to the deported such immunities. In our procedure, in regard to this object, the conduct of various missions, and even that of the Jesuits amongst the Paraguay Indians, may serve us alike as a beacon and as a guide. As we carry along with us the bold, the heroic, the enterprising of all ranks, as well as the man of skill, genius, influence and wealth, we may calculate on a fair, if not a signally successful issue, to this leading part of our scheme. As the whole is the result of the regular movements of an immense, completely organized, powerful, and impetuous system, we can scarcely fear either defalcation of means, or inadequacy of force, in any of our operations: and as we must, and certainly will, not only influence the progress of adventure, so as to make its various resolutions har-

monize with our general interests, but take most effectual care, that the fruits and advantages of these shall be regularly applied to their proper objects, we may, in like manner, calculate on a general, regular, and systematic increase of our national means, throughout the whole course of our procedure. On the whole, as substantial amelioration, throughout the whole range of social and civil existence, and radical improvement, in the character and condition of individuals, would be constantly and powerfully advancing under our direct influence, we would come to possess the high satisfaction of having thus happily exercised the invaluable talents intrusted to us by the Most High, and obtain an earnest of blessings, still greater and more important.

Secondly, proceeding onward from that great line of enterprise, which the British empire on the coast of Africa holds up to view, let us next direct our attention to that which the vast empire, and other colonial and provincial possessions, which the British power commands to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope, have provided for our service. Here the prospect bursts upon us with an effulgence and magnificence, that is every way transcendent and overpowering; in place of being met by the stubbornness and ferocity of barbarous hordes, besotted with ignorance and brutal propensities, we find nations aggregated under our banners, basking under the benign influence of our great civil institutions, and already prepared for sending forth those

productions of well directed, highly improved industry, which are most precious and important. In place of having our way to grope amidst sandy desarts, and howling forests, we find cities and mansions, fertile plains, and delicious vistas, together with all the comforts and accommodations of civilized society, thrown open for our reception. Here too, many of our most valuable establishments and attainments have already struck their roots into the ground, and are unfolding with more or less efficacy, some of their peculiar fruits and results, while the condition of each community, and the general organization of society around, are fully prepared for receiving the whole range of blessings which it is in our power to bestow. In the mean time, the immensity of the expanse that is placed under our sway, and the multitudinous population that are subjected to our command, give to all these inestimable advantages in the process of civilization, an importance and an interest, that is at once most stupendous and most transporting. In these highly interesting regions, we possess an empire equal in population and extent to the best part of Europe, and incomparably more replete with resources for general enterprise, than any other region of equal extent in the world. The indigenous tribes in these regions, thus subjected to the British crown, are accustomed to our intercourse, and familiarized with the peculiarities of our national character, and they revere our established authority, as the source and centre of all their civil and social privileges. While the territory

abounds with every thing that our circumstances seem to require, its inhabitants unconsciously stand in need of a multitude of commodities, which our industry can most advantageously supply. Thus, while these countries, and those that possess them, are, from their circumstances, completely prepared for forming links of connexion, the most intimate, and most beneficial; the whole immediate, as well as the whole remote, advantages that must result from the full developement of their whole resources and attainments, are, by being placed most effectually under our control, and rendered obedient to our direct impulse, already most effectually secured for our own special service, and drawn up under our influence; having their results prepared for being distributed anew, according as our circumstances may require.

Although the power and policy of the East India Company seem still to be opposed as most formidable bulwarks against the progression of improvement in these regions, yet I cannot, for a moment, suppose, that either this power, or this policy, can be pertinaciously exercised in the face of general advantage, so positive and so decided. And though the degraded character and temperament of the native tribes accord but ill with that elevation of character and sentiment, which is the ground work of the proposed system, I can as little suppose, that these will be absolutely impervious to its spirit and its influence. It belongs to the Christian system o fill the mind at once with just impressions of its own

native incapacity for high exercises, and of the real strength and virtue that are thereby communicated, and that are inhaled, while urged towards its grand object by correspondent views and apprehensions, those particular dispositions and propensities, which it cherishes, are called forth into exercise. We have been accustomed to regard our Hindoo subjects, merely as ministers to our ambition, combined under our governance for the express purpose of contributing to our personal and national aggrandizement. At length, however, the horrors of that concrete system, under which their energies have been drawn up, have been disclosed, and the blessings of those mild and genial influences, that impress our own population to high, independent, social exercises, have been illustrated amongst them. Let us, therefore, substitute, as the leading spring of our governance, the principle of generous emulation, for that of simple coertion. In place of abject prostration to the domination of ignorance and fatuity, let science and self-possession, a consciousness of worth, and an ardour after high objects, be made to animate their minds, and to invigorate their active powers. In short, let us place them directly and completely under the full influence of our incumbent system, cherish them in following out its objects, and make them full partakers of its ultimate, as well as of its immediate advantages. In doing this, it cannot be necessary for us to divest ourselves, either of power or of dignity; for the principle, under which all our sacrifices and exertions are to be made, obliges us to retain our established authority, and to exercise

with vigour and with assiduity, every advantage that we possess. All that is implied in this direct application of the virtues and energies of our system, is, that we treat as rational and intelligent beings, those whose title to this appellation we dare not dispute; that we exercise our power, and unfold our advantages over them, in that way, which we know, that those who are conscious of their accountability to Heaven, for the use that they make of these high behests, are bound to do; and that we seek, as our supreme object, the diffusion of those principles, and the establishment of those influences, from whence the superiority of our inherent prowess is seen to proceed. Being fully aware, that in diffusing these principles, we confirm only the more completely our own peculiar advantages, and that in establishing these influences, we substantiate and consolidate our real power, let these with all such concomitant advantages and immunities, as may befit the case, be frankly and completely bestowed; and thereby, we will render all that we can call properly our own, more estimable in itself, and more exalted in its nature and effects.

It does not seem to be at all necessary to go into those complicated views and statements, which a detailed outline of our procedure in this most important business would require *. We must calcu-

* At the time when the question respecting the continuance of the East India Company's monopoly was undergoing parliamentary discussion, certain views of our national duty, and of correspondent advantage, occurred to me, which were published

late on the direct operation of our general system, and on the virtue and efficacy, with which this system can, in the regular developement of its inherent qualities, call forth and exercise all that is truly valuable and excellent in human nature and civilized society. Our great object must be, while we give to its natural and proper movements their full force, and bear them out of difficulties, which peculiar occurrences, or unprecedented difficulties may produce, to restrain violent and oppressive tendencies, to disconcert factious and insidious designs, and to dispel corrupting practices, and debasing propensities. The methods for doing this must vary with their object, but there is one great countervailing advantage, which must enter into all our plans, because it is of such paramount power and excellence in this business, that we can, on no account or occasion whatever, dispense with its service. Deleterious practices uniformly court the shade; they cannot bear the light, for the light dispels their power. Let us, therefore, give to all our conduct, and to every part of our procedure, the advantage of *publicity* and *full disclosure*. Our design itself requires no concealment, and the prose-

in a small pamphlet, entitled "Hints," &c. Although it was only meant to take up the real circumstances and interests of the parties then at issue with each other, as these then obviously bore on this question, yet as the whole cumulated views and information, which several years attention to this subject had furnished me with, were condensed under these hints, I must here refer directly to that pamphlet for all those more particular details regarding this subject, that it may be necessary to offer in this place.

cution of it in the face of day, is its highest advantage; thereby, confidence in the dominant party, and in all by whom they may be surrounded, will be produced and maintained: thereby, errors and perversities will be discovered and rectified: thereby, the high road to improvement, in every department of our operations, will be most completely disclosed; and many foul and false steps therein be avoided. Thereby, too, the progress of individuals pursuing this path, will be quickened and confirmed: and thereby, amendments and ameliorations, in all that is deficient and imperfect, may, with perfect ease and celerity, be procured and set in advance; and plans and views continually more and more correct, adequate, and pertinent to their object, as well as more and more extended, enlightened, and comprehensive in their design, be placed within our power *.

* Taking a full view of the character and operation of our whole system, it appears to me, that the liberty of the press is the strongest bulwark of established power, as well as the surest and best defence of the rights of all classes in the community. It is for the advantage of all, that the king governs, and that the laws are administered; and are we not all sensible of the importance of this advantage—that no one dare, in the face of day, make a single inroad on authority, so constituted, with impunity? The king, in the regular discharge of his high functions, must derive much strength and confidence from considering the partiality with which those of his public actions are viewed, which manifestly coincide with his public duty. A sense of this will thereupon animate him, to shake himself loose from the bondage of intriguers and corruptors, and enable him to overwhelm his concealed, as well as his open adversaries, by a mere exhibition of his supreme prowess. In such circumstances, the machina-

But while I am thus disposed to consign all the minor arrangements of our great design, to the ordinary movements of the general system, assisted and reinforced by those multifarious energies and resources, that may arise up as occasion for them occurs, and to rely on the advantages and projects which future emergencies may, through the progress of improvement bring forward into notice, I cannot thus pass over certain preliminary matters, which the means held to be already provided necessarily suggest to our attention. The dominant class, and that of the enterprising commercialist, are held to be both alike comprehended in our scheme, and each to have a vast mass of population and of means in reserve for our disposal. The system itself is held to be prepared for our immediate service, and to be ready to obey any impulse that may be given to it. What is now to be done? Where are we to begin our improvements, our operations, our designs? The statements which an answer to these queries would suggest, will appear in their full and native force, if we pursue in its proper order, the views and the plans, which

tions of the turbulent will be effectually crushed in the bud. Or if it be possible, that for a moment, dissension and dissatisfaction should distract the established order of his government, the exhibition of these, which publication will afford, will only the more fully illustrate the advantages of his reign, confirm and consolidate his essential authority, and conduce, in the end, to harmonize so much the more completely the great movements of the state machine, to cover his enemies with more deep confusion, and to absorb under influences peculiarly his own, those energies that were opposed to his peace.

the developements of the great system heretofore illustrated, throw open to our view.

Taking it for granted, therefore, that the state, and the whole dominant classes of the nation, are alike sensible of the duty and of the advantage that must result from extending and improving our colonial system to the utmost; and that they are heartily disposed to go hand in hand with the enterprising and industrious, in transplanting our bountiful system into every region that has fallen under our sway, I can have no hesitation in subsuming it, as a point thereby gained, that the dignified, yet condescending and compassionate intercourse, by which the fatuous pride, and stubborn ignorance of barbarous and debased tribes, is to be overcome, will of itself become a distinct object of generous and enlightened legislation. Our American settlements have already partaken somewhat of this advantage, and the constant stream of blessings and advantages that have flowed to all parties from it, is too obvious and important, not to have fixed in all our minds its supreme utility. Let us suppose, that this advantage is extended at once, in its principle, and in its application; and that our empires in Asia and Africa, as well as that in America, have been involved fully under parliamentary influence, so as to have ready access to all those regular and systematic legislative provisions, which their recognizal, as a separate, yet peculiar department of our civil administration may point out. As I can neither consider the state, nor the dominant classes, to be remiss

in availing themselves of these advantages, and of every consecutive advantage that must flow from these advantages, while such blessings are seen to be couched under them, nor to be unprepared for making those sacrifices and provisions, that such circumstances evidently call for, I will proceed farther, to suppose, that the whole dependent members of these classes, are not only earnestly disposed, but completely trained and equipped for betaking themselves to the high sphere of action thus prepared.

With such advantages, we will assuredly avoid the difficulties experienced in the early parts of our colonial history, when in the most improvident manner, vast and invaluable grants of land were made away with to particular families, without any specific view to determinate advantage. In order, however, to render the recurrence of such embarrassments altogether impossible, I would have it provided, that, of land no grant should be made, but under the express condition of nullity, in case the party himself does not forthwith occupy it personally, and in this capacity, execute certain stipulated improvements, tending to raise its real value; and that no subsequent conveyance of the whole, or of any part of the same grant should be valid, unless it contained certain specific conditions, enforcing the prosecution of the same general plan of improvement, correspondent to the character and condition of the property about to be transferred. As cases of this kind would fall directly and completely under the cognizance and authority of a native jury,

they would as a

matter of course, meet with that candid and indulgent construction, which their general import required. But although at the first outset in these colonial enterprises, such burdens and such penalties may be indispensably necessary to secure the progress of improvement, yet, through time, both the conditions above mentioned, and the burdens and penalties respecting them, may be expected to go into disuse, and to be superseded by the same ordinary stimulants to improvement, which, in our own native territory, render such provisions altogether unnecessary and inexpedient. It is proper, and it is needful, to guard effectually against prodigality the most pernicious; but as soon as the main weight of the burden itself, the appropriation of the land under actual occupation, and the establishment of a regular system of improvement, commensurate with the general advantages of the settlement, shall have been effectuated to a definite but competent extent, it is perfectly evident, that the circumstances of each property ought to be held to be of themselves, to the proprietor abroad, as they are to the proprietor at home, a sufficiently powerful and effectual stimulant to urge on the process of improvement, as far as his powers and facilities will permit him so to do.

In order to give that full and permanent efficacy to the regulations above stated, throughout the whole range of the colonnial department, which is necessary to attain the great object for which these are to be established, and in order to place the

rights of individuals on the most secure and respectable footing, I would propose farther, that a grand general register for recording all grants and transferences of territorial subjects should be established within the central cities of each colony. For the purpose of insuring regularity and respectability to such records, and at the same time to give to the public at large the amplest developement possible of every territorial right and possession, together with all its burdens, immunities and privileges, I would proceed farther to provide, not only that every grant and transference of territorial right should contain an order or precept for engrossment on the public records, without which clause, no grant or transference should be construed to have been completed, and without which it should be unlawful to enter the deed itself on the public records; but, that priority of delivery at the register, as certified by the proper officers, should carry the property in all questions of competition, where the rights of different parties were equally well founded; and that it should do this, even although the date of such deed should happen to be ulterior to the others. As such rights cannot be too public, I see no good reason why the printing of the original deed, under the authority of the register office, should not be permitted; each page being duly docqueted by the proper officers, and the original deed being always most carefully preserved. In cases where the lands transferred were extensive, or the rights and immunities attached to them, important or peculiar, this measure could not but be

both useful and salutary. In no conceivable case could it be in the least prejudicial, either to the lawful proprietors, or to the public at large. It is evident, that this would not only prevent vexatious disputes and distressing entanglements, but give a character of respectability to transactions respecting territorial rights, and produce a degree of security in the enjoyment of them, that would at once procure general confidence for the individuals holding such subjects, and illustrate and confirm the real and intrinsic value of the subjects themselves. Let it be noticed, that the whole expence of these establishments could not be great, and that it would be entirely borne by those who derived the immediate benefit of them; that thereby the best rule, for distributing public burdens, and for surmounting or removing real obstructions to public improvement, would be obtained; and, that thereby also, the feelings and interests of parties mainly interested in every great measure of general concern and importance would be regularly borne on by the course of things then going on. In short, not only all purchasers, but all civil administrators might, as occasion required it, have regular access to means for expiscating the real state and condition of every peice of heritable property in each colony. The advantages connected with, and resulting from these public records, have been so fully illustrated in every country where they have been adopted, and are so manifest on the present occasion, that it is unnecessary to say more than that, in the case before us, these must alike give security to the

land proprietors, and permanence to the instituted progress of improvement, and that, with this advantage, all the other advantages of our system must be combined.

It is perfectly evident that those advantages, and every other public advantage that can be procured on general principles, can only be held to be valuable, in so far as they are accompanied by, and connected with, the means and instruments that may be necessary to exercise them with full effect. That plentiful supplies of these means and instruments are to be obtained from the mere operations and developements of the general system, and that in the course of these operations and developements, such supplies will naturally and necessarily be thrown into their proper place, has already been sufficiently illustrated. Certain of these means, however, are so very important in themselves, as to call for additional light, to point out those principles and rules by which the requisite supply is to be obtained. One of these is the procurement of labourers and handicraftsmen, upon whom the more burdensome and operose offices of the system are to be devolved. From the character and circumstances of the system, these can be no other than freemen, developing their powers and faculties in the way of general and of personal improvement, advancing their own individual condition, as well as that of all around them, by every consecutive developement of their personal prowess. They must moreover be impelled into action by principles, corres-

pondent to the established principles of the system. Emulation and collision must be the great leading motives to high exertion ; although, it is evident that amidst such rude and boisterous, severe and strenuous services as those, in which these must for the most part be engaged, coertion the most simple, and concretion the most powerful, must be frequently resorted to. How is freedom in such circumstances to be secured and enjoyed ? How are individual talents and advantages to be developed, exercised and rewarded ? These questions involve considerations the most important, but they present no difficulty that does not admit of a complete and satisfactory solution.

In India, the mass of indigenous labourers and handicraftsmen is in numerical amount, and also in absolute competency and physical habits, equal to our wishes in every respect. Their dexterity, assiduity and complacency, in executing any trust that may reposed in them, are equally unquestionable. But they are debased and fanatic in their dispositions, and in many respects altogether unfit to be partakers of the advantages, and co-operators in the services, of a system, whereof individual and general improvement, personal and social advancements, are the leading objects. The evil we perceive distinctly is a moral one, but it admits of that cure which is effectual in every other case of depravity. We must excite them to the discharge of their respective duties, by motives alike correspondent to their character and the end in view ; we

must make them feel the advantages of that superiority which we wish them to earn; and we must put them in possession of all those facilities, advantages and attainments, which it is in our power to afford to them; and in truth and sincerity, do all that we can to accelerate their progress. If we do this with firmness and pertinacity, and with due discrimination of times and circumstances, we can calculate, I think, with much assurance on attaining our object. For this end, also, in intermixing our own population with theirs, we must send to them not only men of superior skill and attainments capable to take the lead in every department of each respective art; and persons whose business it is to inculcate sublime and heavenly doctrines, and to illustrate the powers of these doctrines, in their own character and deportment, and whose intellectual prowess and philanthropic dispositions will dispose and enable them to enter with paternal solicitude into the cares, toils and difficulties of those whom they seek to improve: but individuals and families whose pursuits, interests and concernments lead them to pry into, and improve the whole circumstances of this country; active citizens who will give to real amelioration a steady and a powerful impulse; and who, in consequence of their being invested with legal authority and respectability, will effectually counteract every opposing impulse. Besides giving them these, we must give them all our institutions and establishments, and every other advantage which we possess for bringing forward and exhibiting our own natural talents, en-

dowments and advantages, and encourage them by every method in our power to exercise themselves strenuously under their influence.

The peculiar advantage of such procedure will appear, when we direct our attention to the affairs of Africa. There indigenous laborers and handicraftsmen are not to be looked for in such abundance, nor in circumstances so prepared for our purpose as in Asia. Individuals, however, fitted form any services, may even there be found, perhaps too in sufficient numbers for our immediate occasions, if we attend with sufficient earnestness to the means that are necessary for absorbing them under our system. The Africans are noted, as we well know, for muscular strength and plasticity of nerve, but they are noted also for being not only obtuse in their perceptions, but callous in their sensations. Be this as it may, it is certain that we, as a nation, have found them to be to us on the whole faithful, affectionate and trust-worthy, grateful for kindness done to them, and reverential to those whose characters and circumstances entitle them to peculiar respect. We have used their services to a vast extent, and for a long series of ages, and we cannot, we dare not, impeach them, as a race of men, for either crimes or misdemeanours, that can render them unworthy of our best offices. An exhibition of our advantages will not allure them from their peculiar habits, unless we can at the same time make them feel the real value, and participate in the real importance of the blessings

that we have in store for them. For these reasons. and for those formerly stated, I would set it down as an axiom, that the Africans are to be gained chiefly by commercial intercourse, and that by means of such intercourse, improvement can only be communicated to them by slow degrees. No doubt, industry, excited and improved, extended and advanced, will gradually initiate them into our privileges. Of those whose circumstances dispose them to forsake their stated abodes, multitudes will thereby be attracted into our service. But it will for a long time be both necessary and beneficial to Africa, that our intercourse with them be for the most part maintained by our own means, and through the medium of individuals under the full control of the state; for renovatists and commercialists, who might devote themselves to such services, and who would visit them in their recesses, and display in the public sight, the advantages and the blessings of superior improvement, would thereby only learn to accommodate themselves, and teach us at home to conform our services and enterprises to the real circumstances of the Africans. And, although, for some time, it might be requisite for our British colonists themselves, to bear the whole weight of the hardships and difficulties which the most severe and uncommon of these enterprises might produce; yet, by and by, the Hindoos, and even the native Africans, might be fully prepared for being associated in the most important parts of these adventures; the honors and advantages, as well as in the burdens and hazards of the business being at the same

time frankly accorded to them. Thereby, the progress of improvement would be accelerated, at the same time, that its movements would become easier and more pleasant. Thereby, too, the Hindoos and the Africans, like the British subjects in every quarter of the globe, would come to amalgamate with each other in their feelings, habits and dispositions, and thus be prepared for various services altogether foreign from their former habits, as well as distant from their first abodes. The nerves of British industry and enterprise would, by these means, be more and more reinforced on every hand, and their results be rendered in all respects more valuable and more extensive.

It is here understood, that personal merit, and not personal extraction, is to decide the claims of the industrious, on principles analagous to what takes place within our native territory. It must, however, here as at home be understood in like manner, that the virtues and qualities, necessarily resulting from parentage and early education, are not to be disparaged on trifling grounds. We hold that the Hindoo, who has enjoyed the advantages of education under a certain system of industry, and who, relieved from the load of fanaticism and oppression, under which he had previously labored, and emulous to share in the advantages of adventure under our auspices, has betaken himself with his mere personal attainments, to the African shores, is capacitated to hold a station in the general system of enterprise and industry that is there set down,

superior to that of an indigenous inhabitant; but we must not overlook the irresistible though humble claims on mere humanity and justice, which each African can maintain in respect to many essential points, upon his native shores. Similar observations may be extended to our countrymen, whose circumstances have made them deport themselves to those regions. We can never forget their affinity to us, even when their capabilities, in a moral and professional point of view, are in the lowest state. This leads me to advert more particularly to the circumstances of colonists from the British Islands, whose department is more properly that of labor and industry than that of enterprise. These colonists naturally divide themselves into two classes, those whose deportation is free, and those whose deportation is compulsory; but both these possess claims of a very peculiar kind, such as cannot possibly be under-rated or confounded with those of the rude natives, who are to be absorbed under our system. Every individual in both of these classes has rights, of which neither Hindoo nor African can have any distinct perception, until the knowledge of them shall have been communicated to them under our influence. Each too, has an unquestionable title to be established in the full possession and enjoyment of all and of each of those rights. There is, however, a diversity in this respect, that demands very pointed animadversion.

Those laborers, whose deportation is more or less compulsory, and who of course must remain,

for a longer or shorter period, under restraints that are incompatible with that full participation in the whole privileges and advantages of a free colonist, which has been heretofore supposed, can only belong to one of two classes, corresponding to the two extreme evils, to which, from their circumstances, the industrious are constantly exposed; for it is not to be supposed that colonies, in such circumstances as those abovementioned, can, in any point of view be held to be fit receptacles for criminals, condemned to transportation for flagitious offences. First, we have to guard against the insolence and insubordination that may result from pride and corruption in the industrious. And, though no one calls in question their full claim to the whole value of their industry, or even the right of any particular class, to make in a body a common cause to attain this object, every one must see the necessity of pulling down those conspiracies, which raise their arms against the public peace, and wantonly maim the progress of real improvement, merely, because thereby the value of their proper field of industry may be diminished. As it is evident that no remedy is more proper for this malady than forcible deportation; the energies that are superflous and outrageous being transported to regions where they can be exercised with public as well as with private advantage; perhaps the mere removal of the delinquent to one or other of these settlements, (to be determined by himself,) and placing him under restraint until, he shall have by his industry discharged the expences which his deportation

has occasioned, may, in all ordinary cases, answer the whole end that is held to be in view. After this debt has been fairly and fully discharged, the restraint that previously existed would necessarily terminate, and the individual deported become, as a matter of course, a free British colonist, having a complete right to all the privileges and advantages connected with that character.

Secondly, we have to make provision for the infirm and the helpless, and such others as cannot earn the means of their sustenance. The claims of these, for those means at the hand of the public, in all cases where such means cannot otherwise be obtained, are rested on grounds that cannot be invalidated, either by their extent or by their urgency. The industrious have to earn supplies not only for their own personal wants, but for those of their families at rates of wages, that, by dint of competition, are reduced so low, as to disqualify them for making adequate provision for the extraordinary contingencies to which they are unavoidably exposed. When the charges inseparable from bringing up and educating a family according to the principles of our system, are to be superadded to these, they must make a very great proportion of the poor more or less dependent on the contributions of the public. But, while public impost is thus obviously unavoidable, compensation at least adequate to its extent is derived from it. In consequence of this state of dependence on the good will and good opinion of their superiors, a check is obtained and a control

exercised over the manners of the whole class of the industrious, that must operate irresistibly in preserving good order, and even good morals amongst the people at large. So long as this check and this control can be wielded with a due regard to the character and circumstances of those who apply for public aid, decency and propriety of deportment will continue to be characteristic features of our population, and our most valuable and important interests will remain in a state of comparatively complete security. But, while we thus provide for the distressed and the forlorn, we must guard against the pretensions of the indolent and the vexatious. There is one way, and but one, of effectually precluding these pretensions, and that is to put an end to public mendicity, and to cause every one who appears in this character to be subjected to the discipline which his case requires. If he is infirm, but not altogether disabled from working, let him be furnished with his necessary supplies for that modicum of labor that he can set forth ; and if he is so reduced as to be unable to do any thing, let him, at a corresponding receptacle, receive gratuituosly those attentions which his case requires. If, however, he is found to be able to earn his subsistence, and to undergo those fatigues which deportation to our foreign settlements induce, then and in every such case, let the person who presumes to tax the charity of his neighbours, be transported thither, and kept under restraint, until his labor shall have discharged the expences of his transportation. These provisions may not only repress mendicity, but pro-

duce most effectual relief to the public, both from the evil itself, and from all the mischiefs that are inseparable from it. They will gradually bring down, the poor's rates, nay, perhaps, discharge them at length altogether. At the same time, emulation will be excited, even amongst the lowest classes of society; and the colonies abroad will nurture and bring forward, as efficient and invaluable members of the community, individuals who would otherwise have been its greatest pests.

Let us next consider the general advantages, that are to be derived from following out these provisions on a great scale, according to a liberal but determinate plan. In the first place, let it be noticed, that those, thus taken away from their former haunts of wickedness, placed amidst indigenous and other laborers, who must mark their fallen condition, and the occasion of it, and instigated to amendment of life, by the assured prospect of great and determinate advantage fully in view, will be by these means, virtually subjected to that form of discipline which can most effectually produce improvement. In the next place, as these individuals use the same language, are familiarized with the same general habits and principles, and follow out the same general views, expectations and designs with the dominant party, the way to advancement and to high usefulness in the general system, being fully open before them, they may, according as they happen to possess the advantages of education under influences which have extended or improved

their attainments, warrantably indulge the prospect of becoming ere long important constituent members of the community. Native repulsion from the coarse manners of a barbarous state, and paramount predeliction to the attainments of civilized society, must operate powerfully in predetermining them to favor the system that is going on. The innate contrariety and opposition of manners and sentiments betwixt them and the indigenous tribes, giving at the same time an edge to their sense of personal character, these deported persons will come to earn the confidence of their superiors, which they stand so fairly in the way of obtaining, as well as the means of subsistence. The individuals, who may have acquired the right of using the services of the deported parties, though actuated by the merest sense of interest, will come to employ them precisely in that way that is most conducive to their personal advancement and general improvement; and the deported themselves, sensible of the privileges which they enjoy, as well as of those which they have in prospect, while they, with a determined *esprit du corps*, maintain all the peculiar rights and interests of their class against every other, discerning the real character and evil of insubordination, debasement of pursuit, and instability of conduct, and, having in their view, the attainment of free citizenship, and all the advantages in which they will thereby soon so necessarily participate, will come to be in truth and in effect, guardians of the rights, and protectors of the privileges of their workfellows, at the same time, that they are models of industry, perse-

verance and ingenuity in their own personal character.

We are next led to consider the case of those who are deported in free, but in dependent, circumstances. These are under engagements respecting their personal services, which, like every other free and voluntary obligation, must be discharged, denuded indeed of every thing that is either oppressive or usurious, but fairly construed according to its full legal import. This, however, is all that can anywise affect their personal circumstances, for they must enter at once into the complete enjoyment and possession of the whole privileges and advantages of the colonial scheme. This class is by far the most important portion of our colonial population, for it comprises, not only the instruments by which the process of civilization within these settlements is to be conducted, but that real and constituent staminal power, by means of which alone this process is to be impelled in its regular course. This class will comprehend not only free laborers, handicraftmen, artists and others from every rank and order of society at home, who may find it necessary to adventure themselves under the protection of others, amidst this round of enterprise, but individuals of vast erudition, personal talents and family prowess, whose circumstances render dependence for a time at least necessary. This class, however, must be made to comprehend also those, who, from the inferior classes noticed above, shall have attained to the full enjoyment of their civil rights; it

must shed its influences over the pallid Hindoo, and the dusky African, together with those of the compulsorily deported, who may have emerged from their prostrate state ; and it must recognize as equal competitors on the same field of enterprise, all to whom the law annexes the character of a free colonist. It is therefore of vast importance that the respectability of individuals in this class, as well as their inherent rights, be defended on the broadest basis ; and not only that no disparagement be attached to their condition, but such as is recognized in the parent state, as belonging to others in the like class, but that every privilege and advantage that can serve to consolidate their inherent rights, and to make them, as constituent members of the body politic, more valuable and important, be confirmed to them in the amplest and freeest manner. The great end and design of the whole scheme is to relieve the oppressed and circumscribed energies of our system at home, and, by a due application of their virtues to their proper objects within those remote regions, to civilize and proselyte to the Christian faith, the indigenous inhabitants, who must thereby be rendered at once valuable and high ly efficient members of the British commonwealth. This, it is evident, is a most momentous and a most arduous work, and it can never be accomplished without cherishing, with care and attention, the interests of that whole class of colonists who are to be mainly devoted to such special services. The manner in which this end is to be attained, may be held to be fully expressed, by referring for particular

explanation to parallel cases at home, and within our other settlements, and by declaring it to be utterly incompatible with those exclusive privileges claimed and exercised by the East India Company. Having said so much, I may fairly leave the matter to its course, amidst the other general business of the project. I have only to add, that if the British crown, legislature and people, are still to remain the dupes of the East India Company, we are utterly unworthy to raise up our heads to any such object as that which is professed to be in view; and, that whenever the British crown, legislature and people, shall have determined to withdraw themselves from under their influence, the hints already laid down will lead to the formation of all those particular laws and arrangements which the circumstances of the case may require.

There are, however, two circumstances that must be adverted to, before this subject can be dismissed altogether. First, it is obvious that the only means that can, in such circumstances be resorted to, for the purpose of influencing the industrious and enterprising among the natives, to range themselves completely under our system, is that direct appeal to their own perception of real and personal advantage to be thereby secured to them, which this system exhibits to their view. We are not to have recourse to persecution, nor to any measure that partakes of the nature of violence or coertion, for the purpose of rendering their subserviency to our general plan absolute and irrefragable. It will

be recollected, that very great allowance must be made for defects in their perception of this matter; for however strong these inducements may oe, two things effectually bar their power. First, inherent prejudices, and secondly, the ancient order of things established around them. Suasion may go far in removing the first of these bars, but nothing but systematic operations can effectually counteract their conjoined influence, and raise the individual above the reach of that order of things in which he is entangled. Of the measures that may be resorted to for this purpose, it appears to me that none can be more effectual than that of exhibiting in the most marked and prominent manner, our decided preference to the whole body of those who may enlist themselves, for good and all, under our banners. That is, by conferring upon them our privileges, we must make them full partakers of our national advantages, as soon as we can perceive them to be capable of appretiating and enjoying them. Secondly. It is indispensably necessary to pave the way to the relief of those unhappy wretches whose doom it is to be enthralled in abject slavery, (this though consistent with their own established order of things, is utterly repugnant to that of our system,) and thereafter to raise them along with the rest of the people, by regular graduated steps to the station of free colonists. To give a fair compensation to the proprietors thus deprived of a certain portion of their established power and means, follows, according to our system, as a matter of course. As this measure is only to be effected by

a positive statute, directly applicable to the case, it would be necessary to make a general law, rendering all such power and authority, resoluble into value, at the option of each party having an interest in the matter, and dischargeable, either by delivery of the price thus ascertained, or failing this delivery at the lapse of some definite period, and order of regular service, when the time of service would be held to have expired of its own accord. Individuals, after this relief has been effectuated for them, would be held to have fairly and fully placed themselves within the range of our most common and most general civil privileges.

But in order to give to all these advantages a firm and a permanent seat under our authority and influence, and in order to identify in the fullest manner, the interests of all parties with those of the parent state, it would be necessary to hold out to the view of all these classes of colonists, a complete share in the most valuable advantages of our system, as the fair and natural price of their having faithfully devoted themselves to its duties. For this purpose, I would bestow upon every native British colonist, who could read, write, cast accounts, and give evidence of his being of a fair character, and christian profession, one hundred acres of good land, in as favourable a situation as the interests of each colony would admit of, in perpetuity, without any qualification whatever, except that of being bound, within a certain specific period, to set forward upon it a suitable course of improvement.

His residence either in an absolutely free, or in a dependent state, in circumstances not very remote within the same colony, would be necessary; but, being fully aware of the invaluable public advantages, that must necessarily result from retaining individuals in circumstances, wherein the full and proper value of their professional labors may be enjoyed by them, at the same time, that the results and proceeds of their labors may be readily invested in territorial subjects, I would dispense, at least for the greatest part of the time, with their having a fixed residence on the spot. I would give the same privilege to every other description of colonists from regions under the British sway, whether Hindoo, African, Canadian, Creole, or any other; but I would qualify the grant in this last case with the condition, not only that each applicant do give sufficient evidence of his possessing a fair character, and having been regularly initiated into the Christian faith, but that he also satisfactorily prove his having served in some useful or necessary part of productive industry or enterprise, or in the service of the public, or of the state, for seven full years. This arrangement would not only effectually secure in our own interests, all who were really worthy of public confidence, but it would prove a stimulus, to every native within each of these colonies, to betake himself to regular industry, to embark in his duty with alacrity and with confidence, to improve his capabilities with earnestness and assiduity, and to conduct himself with fidelity and circumspection. As the privilege would not only be hereditary, but would reach to every male

in each family who could produce similar testimonials, as soon as he reached the age of manhood; and as the privileges thus acquired could never become dormant, but might, at any time that was convenient, be exercised, according to the option of the party himself, its importance could not possibly fall off or be disparaged. These are conditions, which when duly executed, would tend to draw the ties of connexion betwixt the different classes of colonists more near, and make all of them hold their common privileges in due estimation. Each individual could look forward thereto, as the sure consequence of a faithful discharge of his duty. Those, whose capacity or circumstances happened to be such as to disqualify them from aiming at such attainments themselves, could regard them as provision in reserve to their offspring, and console themselves with knowing that in the way of attaining and improving heritable property, the highest advantages of the system, to which they were thus contributing, might, through time, become the fair and lawful property of their descendants.

It is in this way, that I would gradually advance the colonists in our general system. The advantages, to be derived therefrom by the state, as well as by the community, are such, as to make me not only calculate on their bestowing the land necessary thereto, upon a fair and equitable plan, and on their affording every facility and advantage to the process of improving it, that the case admits of; but also that government will, in circumstances when

it is needful, purchase land at its own expence, for the purpose of having it distributed in this manner. The value of such land cannot for a long time be anywise considerable, and the sacrifice thereto made must soon be compensated by the multitude of invaluable permanent advantages, that will, in the regular course of things, arise, from its improvement, into the hands of the state itself. It is only as the whole privileges of a British subject are successively transferred to the whole of these classes, as soon and as far as they can appretiate and enjoy them, that they can with one heart and one hand concur in prosecuting the common course of improvement.

There is one great difficulty that here presents itself, and if we are to take it up in the light, in which it is sometimes received, it may prove an unsurmountable one. What is to become of the individuals, sovereigns, chieftains and others who at present possess vast or rather immeasurable, yet, legal and established, power under the old system? Are they to continue as they are, are they to be maintained in power? I answer, How does Russia do? How did we do in regard to Scotch Highland chieftains? But without resorting to such violent procedure to those who are already bent under our power, or encumbering ourselves with their obsolete claims, I propose merely to assume their value, as wealth already resolved into our system, to lend them a hand in resolving their unwieldy useless power into solid acquisitions, into territorial posses-

sion, and to communicate to them the whole security and protection which our system can afford them, in the resolution and in the enjoyment of this wealth, either within their own native territory or elsewhere. In following out this design, I would, moreover, put it in their power, if they chose it, to procure any advanced station under our system, that befits their character and circumstances, and to divide their respective vast cumulations of wealth, in such a way amongst their families, as to create as many inferior but independent branches of them as they please ; to all of whom, the option of similar advancement might for a time be thrown open. Let our great men, our philanthropists, our men of science and of refinement concur in preparing these parties for the enjoyment of such advantages, and, under the blessing of God, we may hope that the individuals, thus favored, will never regret any change that may have taken place in their condition and character, in consequence of the progression of our system.

It is evident, however, that something still more pointed than all this must be done, in order to bring those whole cumulated advantages, under the full and direct authority of the state. We can conceive it possible, for individuals in such circumstances, to run into various most important mistakes, that may be subversive of the general welfare, if they be not timously checked. We can conceive them to be overwhelmed by invasion from without, or to be overthrown by commotion from within. Al-

though, therefore, we should suppose, as according to the principles already unfolded, we necessarily do suppose, that to all these immunities, and every other connected with them, that of having a public voice shall, within three years after the completion of the improvements specified in the deed of conveyance, be bestowed even on the lowest class of these several descriptions of landholders, who, besides having passed the ordeal aforementioned, can speak, read and write the English language in a sufficient manner; still it would be necessary to resort to certain measures for the purpose of collecting into one, their several influences, and binding them up effectually under the power of the state. Their very advantages, we must recollect, may, in the course of things, be laid hold of by some enemy to our nation; by whom again they may be not only inverted against that paternal arm, under whose influence they may have been upreared, but rendered mere instruments of destruction. These things, and the whole circumstances of these colonies, point so directly to the establishment of a local militia, as at once the best means of defence against external and internal attacks, the most effectual method for binding together the scattered public energies of each district, and bearing them on to their proper object, and as the most ready and efficient plan for exercising them, thus constituted, under influences that will render them more and more conformable to the great end of the whole design, that I at once propose this as the most effectual means for providing for this object; and I would lay it down as

a rule, that no foreign or native colonists, but those who had been thus exercised, for at least five years of their life, should be capable of holding any civil office. I would, moreover, annex certain immunities to those who were thus distinguished, that would render their condition at once honorable and advantageous. Amongst other immunities and advantages, I would hold them as free citizens of every great corporation in the empire. I would also enrol them in a civil record, to be kept under public authority, within each district; wherefrom, extracts, duly certified, could, as occasion required it, be obtained; and I would hold their immediate descendants as entitled to a continuation of the same privileges, on terms as favorable as it was possible to devise, in consistency with the maintenance of the instituted order of things. Other honors, besides those resulting from the duties of the militia, should also be devolved on those thus distinguished. The whole inferior class of them should be held to be special constables, and out of the superior class, justices of the peace, jurymen and magistrates would be appointed. In fact, I would rest in their hands the local authority of each district; and leave it to them to draw up, under their own influence, the whole mass of the population of that district. They themselves being in every part of their procedure, all the time, under the direct and complete cognizance of all the instituted authorities, and being at all times amenable to the laws and maxims of the state.

Placed as a body in such circumstances, I cannot for a moment doubt, but great and wonderful changes would soon take place, both in the character of the African and in that of the Hindoo, borne on, as we have all along held these characters to be, by the pure and heavenly doctrines and principles of our holy religion, and influenced and animated, as we have all along held our renovatists and commercialists to be, by the high designs and sublime principles of the Christian faith.

It does not seem to be necessary to advert very particularly to our colonial empire in North America, nor to our valuable West India settlements, nor to that vast and wealthy colony which is springing up into our hands in Guiana; because these, having already been established on principles that harmonize with the general operations of the proposed system, will receive its spirit without sustaining any very important changes, and may accordingly be brought under its influence, without exhibiting any novel appearances *. The territory of

* The slave trade being abolished, the general circumstances of slaves must of course fall to be ameliorated; and we may with confidence look forward to the time, when the interests of all parties will concur in inducing them to resort to all those arrangements and expedients, that may render their ultimate manumission, only a convenient improvement in the general line of colonial polity. It is evident, however, that at present this point is too remote, and too much encumbered with prejudices and other difficulties, to admit of that serious disquisition which its importance would call for.

these colonies will doubtless be laid out for the production of a greater variety of commodities. The face of the country in our larger settlements will be generally better peopled, cultivated and improved than it is at present. This must appear indisputable, if we consider that they will, under the proposed system be thrown open to universal intercourse, be rendered receptacles, wherein the industrious and enterprising of every nation may obtain settlements on the most favorable conditions, and there find prepared, not only an ample well furnished range for developing their respective energies and resources, but absolute security, extensive patronage, and that adequate supply of the medium of exchange, which may correspond with their circumstances. The intercourse betwixt the imperial colonies, about to be settled as abovementioned, and these other settlements, must be great and highly important to them. The general excitation, given to commercial and colonial undertakings, must cover their coasts with correspondent means of enterprise, while the circulation given to those means, and the value, which those will necessarily represent and carry along with them in their circulation, must penetrate into the inmost recesses of the country, and into every branch of industry and enterprise; affording, at every turn, most invaluable stimulation and support to the whole processes of reproduction, sufficient to bear up the various important branches of internal improvement, and to sustain the weight of a great independent and powerful landed interest.

Let us now revert to the circumstances of this last mentioned order in the community, and to those of the dominant orders, and view their interests as connected with this whole colonial scheme. In the first place, let it be noticed, that it is, from the aggregate influence of this class, by their means, and under the direct exercise and application of these, that we hold the whole system to derive its nutriment, and that it is ultimately into their hands that its best results are to be drawn up. Undertakings of a colonial or commercial kind, prosecuted under the management and conduct of the state itself, seldom come to a good account. Individual sense of interest, as well as individual talent and means, must execute the detail of such business, or it will never be executed as it ought to be. Besides this, this class, from the whole circumstances of the case, must be deeply, permanently and intimately interested in the whole, and in every part, of the general undertaking. It is to this class, accordingly, that is, to individuals in the most respectable stations of society, and to associations of them, that we are to be understood as having transferred the management of this business. On proper representations being made to the government, respecting projects of enterprise under their charge, and for their interest, setting forth their capabilities for availing themselves of the advantages lying before them, it is held, that suitable tracts of territory, would, as a matter of course, be allotted to them, either in the way of grant, or in that of an option to purchase, (but always under the condition of improving it to

a certain extent, within a specific limited time, on pain of nullity) and delegations of judicial and civil authority, and military and municipal rank and power; such power and authority being only transferred to those personages who may be worthy of it. When we consider the nature and character of the business, and of the agents at the head of it, we cannot but conclude, that individuals of every rank and denomination of the industrious would, in the way of prosecuting their own interest, in such business, hail with cordiality the advantage offered, of making a common cause with them, and, after making suitable arrangements and provisions corresponding to the case, place themselves and their means within the range of their authority and patronage, in the most anxious and careful manner; that in this way, regular settlements all over the surface of these respective countries would be set down, each having respectable aggregations of local interests constituted; and that these would set forward in advance their general object—a powerful well-digested order of improvement, always developing itself in the way of social excellence, and presenting in the cause of civilization, a steady spirited phalanx, on which the attacks of barbarity and ignorance would prove fruitless and unavailing.

Let us suppose, that in these circumstances, and on these terms, our notables, and others of the enterprising class, obtain grants of land in Africa, and liberty to procure or purchase legal and heritable rights to lands, and other possessions in Asia. Let

us suppose, that those, thus favoured, provide themvelves with all the means, advantages, and facilities, which their settlement in these circumstances would require; and moreover, that the most respected individuals amongst them are invested, with civil influence, judicial or municipal authority, and such rank or dignity in the army, as will convey military power correspondent to their character and condition in society; such influence, authority and power, being always under the same control of the established government abroad, which others, enjoying the same advantages at home, would be subjected to at home. Let us suppose, that these fix themselves in their possessions, in such a way, that they can co-operate with each other, with full advantage, in every great course of improvement that it may be advantageous to institute, and can receive prepared to their hands, with the greatest readiness and facility, all these supplies that the spirit of enterprise may be able to furnish for their advantage. Let us suppose, also, that for all these parties, the dignified enterprising colonist, as well as the respectable enterprising commercialist, the whole regions of the globe, those of rival nations, in every quarter of the world, as well as those of contiguous nations all around, those of our colonies at a distance, as well as the parent state itself at home, are all thrown open, not only as the proper arena for competition in all that is excellent, but as the general field of profitable enterprise—must it not necessarily follow, that thereby, not only abundant means for meeting the wishes of all the parties implicated

therein, would this way be provided, but that the whole frame of that society, in which these are immersed, would be so constituted and provisioned, that the whole blessings and advantages of civilized intercourse, would be at all times completely within the range of its capabilities? While such will be the condition, the employment, and the advantages of those of our community, who in these regions take the lead amidst such affairs—What will be their duties, and what their ultimate fate?

In the first place, it is perfectly evident, that being themselves the prime moving agents of this whole grand progression of things, they will draw up into their own hands its great leading advantages. These will enable them to consolidate and fortify their own collective authority, influence and wealth, throughout the whole range which these can possibly circumscribe, and thus to diffuse most universally, the great spirit and energy of the system. In such circumstances, it will be easy for them to make various articulate arrangements, for carrying forward the business of colonial improvement with the greatest celerity and effect. As it will not be incumbent on them to fix their attention on commercial objects, to the exclusion of every other, they will be under no necessity to confine their residence to low swampish situations, wherein pestilential disorders prevail, on account of their being best fitted for the purposes of civil life; they will find themselves at full liberty to make selections in various places, wherein not only high duties

but means of securing to themselves personal comfort in the discharge of these, await them. Elevated situations will be chosen for cities, which accord alike with the enjoyment of these advantages, and with public security. Municipal and provincial establishments, and those other institutions, wherein the various refinements and attainments of civilized society are developed and exhibited, under every advantage, will be set down in situations and circumstances, correspondent to their nature and object. Amongst other appropriate provisions, amusements, that produce at once mental and corporeal vigor will be at hand. The hunting of the elephant, the antelope, and the tyger, and other beasts of prey, in which not only valor but skill, and not only deep contrivance, but a course of personal discipline and a round of adequate preparations are necessary, will brace up the faculties of both body and mind, keep alive a brave and independent spirit throughout the whole nation, and cherish those feelings and sentiments, that are necessary to bring this spirit forward into full play, whenever it is necessary, and thus tend to harmonize, dulcify and assimulate the national character to its circumstances. Nor will the man of science or of genius want his appropriate exercises. Where every lineament of local territory calls for distinctive demarkation; where varied modes of existence, as well as diversified appearances of nature, present themselves on every hand; and where subjects that must excite the curiosity, and occupy the attention of men of every shade of character, of intellect and of tem-

perament, are so profusely thrown around—there can be no want of dignified, sublime and refined occupation, nor any defalcation in the powers and means that may be requisite in following up that social advancement, into which such occupations lead.

It would be an endless task to set about enumerating the variety of exercises and employments, all tending to general improvement, and all resolving themselves into the advancement of individual character and condition, into which these advantages would lead. Let it be recollected, that the power and the habit of penetrating into regions unexplored, of examining and developing their various resources, of bearing these severally to their proper object, of traversing rivers, seas and oceans, all over the globe, and of passing, with freedom and with security, from clime to clime, always extending the blessings of improvement, and always advancing at once our own attainments, and those of all with whom we may have intercourse, will come to be most familiarly exercised ; and that these, and all the exercitations connected with them, are to be fully, permanently and universally circumscribed, impressed and influenced by a system replete with benign excellence, and effectually opposed to corruption and oppression. In these regions, in a few ages, those junior shoots of the dominant classes, who would otherwise have worn out their existence, either amidst demireps, and other debased votaries of loose enjoyment, or in hopeless or useless plots or contestations, will spring forth with their

full native vigor, improved in all that is known to be excellent, and fully tutored by proper discipline, to enjoy this excellence with the highest gust. With a command much greater over blessings, more valuable than any heretofore known or attained by their ancestors at home, these resplendent shoots of our ancient British peerage, will not only sustain but advance the pristine honours of their race, not only at home, but amidst immense and powerful regions; amidst which, our country has interests and concerns of vast magnitude and importance to provide for; and in providing for which, much talent and much dignity must be unfolded and displayed. In these circumstances, each exhibition of our national prowess will call forth and exercise fresh energies, illustrate higher qualities, and ennoble and advance the character of our race.

Let no one therefore say, that the scheme here proposed is not calculated for the gay and ardent temper of the youthful mind. It may be termed a plodding on towards social eminence; but is not the whole business of life, equally, or rather on the whole, more completely of this character? Those, who have no relish for it, will no doubt let it alone, and though there should be many such, the loss will not be great. They, who thus prefer the ways of vice and folly, (and we may expect that these will not be few) will continue to pursue them, in these circumstances, or in any circumstances. As such conduct, however, must from contrast, only appear the more odious, this, it is apprehended, will not

be deemed a disparagement. Since, then, accessions will certainly be made to the real amount of human enjoyment and improvement; since, there will be no subtraction from the amount of our blessings; since the sacrifices and privations that are demanded, exceed not those, to which the most buoyant and proudful do, of themselves, most readily and much more completely submit, and since every established and received advantage and blessing, personal, domestic, social, civil, institutional and conventional, is secured to all concerned in our scheme, to its fullest extent, the scheme itself is not to be undervalued on their account. It must be acknowledged, that the scheme is not directed to characters of a light and frothy cast. Let us hope, however, that the course of public affairs, for the last twenty years, has improved the tone, as it has wonderfully advanced the circumstances of such characters, and hold out to them the assurance, that amidst those widely extended regions, and this bright scene of action, wherein the flower of the nation is to be embarked, means are prepared to conduct them to high advantage, amidst occupations at once honorable and delectable, whereby their most powerful propensities will be duly exercised, and their perceptions quickened, animated and extended, and let us remain satisfied, that the slaves to fashionable indulgence will so far acknowledge the force of such attraction, as to refrain from systematic opposition to the general plan. Lightness of character, and unseemly buoyancy of spirit surely cannot, in such cir-

cumstances, present very formidable obstructions in our way.

Let us now, however, address ourselves seriously to a higher theme. However valuable, and however important the above, and all the foregoing resolution of our system, may be, the great paramount point remains yet to be considered. There remains for the process of colonizing and civilizing those immense and most delightful regions, another set of means, which, with its peculiar instruments, now demands our attention, as supreme over all the rest, and which, unless we duly avail ourselves of to the utmost, and exercise with becoming strenuousness, we may be said to have in effect produced nothing.—We must carry along with us, and diffuse around us, the power, and the knowledge, and the whole influences, of our most holy faith. What are all our other attainments without this, but gewgaws that glitter in our eyes for a few years, in order to plunge us more completely into primeval darkness? It is from this source that all our peculiar blessings and advantages arise, and these are bestowed upon us for the purpose, and in the order, requisite for urging us forward in the discharge of this greatest of all human duties. It is true, when we transfer our system and our attainments into these regions, we go a certain length in that road into which the discharge of this duty leads; for we put it in the power of individuals of all ranks and orders amongst us, who may feel the power of the obligation, to carry forward the great design, under very peculiar advan-

tages. When we give to our system, in these regions, the same institutional advantages, and the same institutional establishments, that it has at home, we moreover provide these individuals with most invaluable instruments for their purpose. But is this enough for a Christian nation, resting itself so stably on its Christian privileges, to do towards that object, in the prosecution of which, each and all of us are required to leave every earthly possession, every social endearment, every personal enjoyment, in a case, where this object can be subserved, not only without forfeiting or abandoning, but in the direct way of retaining, all those blessings? Are we not far from having reached the full limits of our own powers and capabilities? Is there not something more distinctly applicable to such an object, yet more correspondent to its character yet to be done? If there is, let us recollect that while this remains undone, there is absolutely, and in effect, nothing yet really done, for this, our own highest end and good.

We have not to go far, before we discern most distinctly, and at once, that such a duty lies still upon us as a nation, and that it is now most completely in our power to discharge it. The manner of doing this has been plainly announced to us in the word of truth, and it is brought close home upon our perceptions by the experience of this and of every age. We must not only put into the hands of the heathen the word of life, but press it close on their attention; do this amidst dangers and

difficulties and privations of the most extreme kind: we must do this in the way not only of grateful suasion, kind benediction, and earnest expostulation, but in that of exercising our gifts, talents, means and powers, for the good, and for the advantage, of those whom we would thus bless; we must do this powerfully, on the largest scale that it is possible for us to reach, and in the most impressive manner that is consistent with our capabilities. When our Saviour had invested his disciples with extraordinary powers and means for displaying the superiority of the system to be propagated by them, and had sent them with authority on their mission, we know that they exercised those powers with sufficient earnestness; they healed the sick, and as they had freely received this most extraordinary gift, so they freely communicated it. Following his example, it becomes us to send to the heathen, individuals, who can not only announce heavenly doctrine, but individuals, who can, by the superiority of their characters and attainments, illustrate the truth and force of these doctrines, and propagate the whole system to which they have given rise.

These considerations lead me to remark, that missions for proselyting the inhabitants of the countries, connected with any of our foreign settlements, must derive much advantage from being associated with missions, that have other plans of improvement or advantage to prosecute in these regions; and that these other designs might, at the same time, be, in like manner, promoted by this conjunction of inte-

rests. It is not for us to scan the means and methods, that the Most High may be pleased to render most eminently successful, in the attainment of this grand object. Sometimes the most unlikely, and sometimes the most despised, means are most effectual to his designs. One thing, however, is certain, that since we, as a great political body, have a deep, solid, and permanent interest in the matter, we ought to drop none of the advantages that we possess for accomplishing our great design. Here, as in every parallel case, when we withhold any of the means that are necessary thereto, we become so far amenable for the frustration which such defalcation may occasion. That accompaniments, which confer security, respectability and power on missions, are means necessary, and within our power to contribute, is evident. Why then are they withheld, why then do we not introduce into this service, men of philosophical research, and individuals who, in the regular course of commercial enterprise, would abet our design, while they could contribute means to its support? It is perfectly evident, that if a suitable scheme were digested, and a certain complement of means thereto provided, individuals of various classes would aggregate together, for various objects, and, that by their mutual countenance and assistance to each other, these would severally contribute most liberally to the great design. It is not necessary, and it is not expected, that missionaries should themselves be greatly gifted, either with wealth or personal qualities; and it is not necessary, nor is it expected, that those,

gifted with wealth, or gifted with great qualities, should be missionaries; all that is wanted is, that both parties associate together upon a regular plan. Those, versant in philosophy, medicine and natural history, would be most invaluable associates, in such missions; because, in the exercises that would be induced, our various most peculiar advantages and attainments would be gradually, yet fully, developed under their native influences, in a manner correspondent to their character. Thereby, the public attention would be every where aroused; opposition, arising from prejudice and interestedness, surmounted, and a clear road laid open for the entrance of missionaries into their appropriate labours. It was by means, somewhat analogous, that our Saviour himself and his apostles excited the public feelings, and secured a fair and full hearing to their discourses. They healed the sick, and cured diseases and infirmities; they arrested, and they controlled the order of nature; thereby announcing at once the superiority and sublimity of the faith which they taught, and dispelling the stupidity of those who would oppose its progress. This they no doubt effected by a power that was supernatural. But is not the power with which we are fraught, our high attainments in the arts, the legitimate offspring of similar divine energy, slowly indeed maturing itself, through a long course of ages, and amidst a vast variety of circumstances, but as really the result of consecutive developements of our divine system, as the other was of its direct impulse? These miraculous indications of supernal energy

were exercised by the first preachers of Christianity, for the immediate advantage of individuals, and in the way of building up, through such means, a vast order and system of beneficent and resplendent operations. This same benign character, let it be noticed, the indications now required, are held to possess in a high degree. Evil, moral and natural, have each its appropriate cure applied to it; disease and other bodily ailments, as well as ignorance, prejudice and perversity, are made to give way to superior skill and application. This way, too, there is a palpable and immediate, as well as a sublime and remote, advantage communicated. Blessings are bestowed, which are an indisputable and invaluable earnest of those other blessings, which are to follow from the subsequent developements of the system. Powerful excitation is given to all who behold them, to enlist under the banners of this system, to contribute to its interests, and to qualify themselves for its duties and services; at the same time, grateful and benevolent feelings are kindled, and the character awakened to the mild and charitable influence of the Christian plan. Care, earnest and indefatigable, must follow up the advantages that are attained; because it is thereby, only, that the sublime doctrines of the cross reach to the rudest minds, excite and diffuse the spirit which they breathe, and extend and increase their influence over the temper, disposition and understanding.

For all these reasons, and in order that the expences and burdens of these missions may fall as

light on the public as possible, it appears to be a real and positive duty, fairly and fully laid upon us, to league with missionaries, men of philosophical and philanthropic research, otherwise devoted to such services, and to provide effectually for their safety, in moving, in a body, over the face of the country along with commercialists and others, whom business or personal advantage might attract into their society. These, all organized in an orderly manner, though respectively engaged in their own respective avocations, would, in traversing these regions, conjoinedly contribute much of that aid and countenance to missionaries, which their circumstances required. It would no doubt be necessary for the public to defray some part of the expence of these missions, but I apprehend, that in consequence of the protection and security that might, through the exercise of public authority, be bestowed on the commercialists, no inconsiderable part of this expence, could, with perfect justice, be devolved on that body. In the way of answering this end, a mode of discipline ought to be instituted, in which the interests of all should be placed under proper authority; for the exercise of which authority, the parties entrusted with it should be accountable. Under such auspices as these, each party might calculate on carrying forward that business in which he was engaged with manifest advantage. The most decorous solemnity, as well as regularity and propriety of procedure, would doubtless mark the whole conduct of all parties, least the exercises of philosophy and philanthropy, as well

as the duties of the mission, should degenerate into mere spectacles for stage effect. The rules and laws of justice and good order would also, as a matter of course, be extended to every commercial transaction, that took place under such auspices. The missionaries, being held to be personally at liberty to pursue any particular tract of usefulness that came in their way, without being considered as completely bound up with the course of these stated peregrinations, no great or important hinderance to other business, could, in any ordinary circumstances, be produced by their affairs.

That some such provisions as the foregoing are required, and would be adopted under the progression of improvement, now held to be instituted, we may warrantably infer. Their relative value and importance, as a set of means for consolidating and confirming our national power and influence, within our extensive colonial possessions, will appear in their proper light, if we regard them under the twofold aspect, which their inherent virtue and efficacy, as specific instruments thereto, and their peculiar aptitude to our circumstances as such be fully taken into account.

First, let us consider their inherent virtue and efficacy, in regard to national advantage. That the consciousness of acting under pure and heavenly principles, of prosecuting great and transcendently glorious designs, and of achieving objects, incomparably more momentous and interesting than

any other, which the human mind can be occupied with, will carry over obstructions, otherwise unsurmountable, inspire with confidence and alacrity, amidst struggles the most arduous, and nerve with vigor and fortitude, when called upon to submit to great privations, is not to be disputed. But, besides this, such principles, by raising the individual above mere animal feelings, and personal or worldly considerations, will bear him up with steadiness and satisfaction, amidst scenes of duty, wherein disappointment, vexation and distress on all hands harass him; they will steel the heart against temptations to swerve from the paths of rectitude, and give an efficacy and stability to all that may thereby be accomplished, that is no other way to be obtained. In such circumstances, difficulties the most extreme, and exertions the most severe, hazards the most formidable, and mortifications the most appalling, will but draw forth more valuable means, and more redoubted energies and resources. The conviction of being possessed of such advantages cannot but give assurance to those, who are mainly implicated in the leading design, and fill their minds, and those of their dependents, with correspondent reliance on the strength of their cause. Each party must see, that not only instruments and means, but principles and energies, are prepared and set at work, for the good of the general cause; which, along with the powers thereto necessary, possess that supernal efficiency, which arises from their being thereto destinated by the ordination of heaven, and, from their being carried along that course,

which concurs most completely with this ordination. Nor is this all: there arises out of the sublime regards, which it is the object of this system to develope and cherish in the mind of all its votaries, an intensity of application in the discharge of these high paramount obligations, a determinedness of procedure in following all our consequent duties, and a vehemence of pertinacity in pressing forward to great leading objects, that no obstacles, except such as are disconformable to the character of the system, and no advantage that coincides not with its great leading design, can appal.

The truth and certainty of the above position might be illustrated by various references to the history of nations. In none, more than in the early history of the Jews, and in the first stages of Christianity, would this appear. Regarding, however, more the established order of things, than the supernatural results of direct Divine interference, I apprehend, that the history of the colonial acquirements of Spain, affords an illustration on this point, which to us, under our present views, is at once apt and conclusive. That I am no advocate for the murderous fanaticism and rapacity of Spain, must now be sufficiently manifest; but confining ourselves strictly to those views of the results of the procedure of her first colonists, which, their having placed unbounded confidence in the superiority of the Christian system, and their being animated by irresistible zeal in the discharge of its paramount duty, that of communicating its influence, wherever

it was in their power so to do, afford us; and eyeing the Great Governor of the world, as presiding supremely, wherever his great name and cause are concerned, and as using those self-devoted religionists, (grossly corrupted, and vitiously perverse as they were,) as instruments, for punishing a race of fatuous sensualists, (who had so far derationalized, themselves, as to exclude from their apprehensions, all notions of moral accountability,) and, for establishing over them, a domination more consistent with their real character.—I say, considering the Spaniards, according as in parallel cases, we consider the Jews, as, in this instance, blindly, but assuredly, fulfilling the will, and executing the purposes of that God, in whose name, and for whose cause, they professed to act, then, I apprehend, we have in the consequences that have followed, a supereminent proof and illustration of the power, value, and efficacy of religious principle, in political, civil and moral affairs. A few obscure characters amongst them laid two mighty and extensive empires prostrate at the feet of their system. This system, these parties there established with such paramount power, that it overwhelmed all opposition, and absorbed whatever its mighty energies came in contact with. These immense empires the Spaniards still hold, in spite of the enmity and hostility of neighbours great and powerful, and notwithstanding their indolence and ineptitude to avail themselves of such high advantages. Their horrible bigotry, their ensanguined tyranny, and other antichristian procedure, like that of the Crusaders, unfolded and displayed

along with the potency of ther system, had lost them invaluable territories, possessions and advantages at home. But notwithstanding these calamities, and notwithstanding all that their perversity has done; in spite of their feeble and contemptible scheme of governance, and their rude plan of civil polity, while Spain keeps those empires which she so splendidly acquired, her system still flourishes in them. France, Netherlands and Britain, incessantly contending with unconquerable envy and jealousy against each other, for the privilege, of serving her with adequate supplies to her wants, and of participating in a share of that redundancy which she can spare, contribute to balance her interests in perfect security. Nay, as if for the purpose of giving her the most absolute repose, amidst her possessions, and a tranquillizing lullaby, amidst her enjoyment of this repose, they are constantly more or less engaged in tearing each other to pieces, about the merest trifles, trimming as it were their political dimensions to that humble attitude of servitors, to which it seems they consider themselves as destinated to conform. It is no doubt true, that Spain is all the while both base and contemptible, and that much honor and advantage is attached to our circumstances as servitors, insinuating, with meek dexterity, our good offices into her system; but is not this just what we might expect? Spain is only great, as wallowing amidst abundance, which she has not faculties to enjoy; while we, in consequence of our exercising most manfully, those faculties which we happen to possess, at once obtain the best

share of those advantages, with which this abundance is fraught, and enjoy that animated vigor, which such exercise of our faculties is calculated to bestow. Let us but give these improved faculties of ours full play under that glorious system, which ages have matured for our service, and we will not only be relieved from our present inglorious dependence on the humours and circumstances of others, but regard it with that contempt which it deserves.

I AM accordingly led, in the second place, to consider the advantages that must result, from introducing the highest powers and principles of our system, into these great and general extrinsic movements. The various sources and operations of corruption in the body-politic, even under the best influences of our system, have already been sufficiently illustrated. It is proper, however, now to direct our attention to the aspect, under which these things are regarded, by the political sages of the day. It is alleged by these, and by certain sophists who have contrived to array themselves in the garb, and to express themselves in the accents of wisdom, that the world is in danger of being overpeopled, and that vice and folly, misery and bloodshed, are needful to prevent this the greatest of all conceivable evils. That many good men, and great men, deceived by the imposing placidity of the countenance which utters such blasphemies, have so far given way to their import, as to regard them without due reprehension, is known to all of us. We learn with horror, that it was at one time laid down

as a maxim of state, by the French anarchists, that the extreme operation of that infernal agency, which marked their system, was necessary to clear the world of superfluous incumbents; and yet we resent not an imprecation, which is scarcely less tremendous. It is seen that, in the way of procuring needful supplies, we are led gradually to outstep the measure of our demands, so as to render it necessary for us to seek some outlet to our regorging abundance, almost on any terms. The confusion and desolation, which sometimes oblige our neighbours to do us this good office, are accordingly hailed with pleasure by these sages; and the temporary evils, which these intestine commotions occasionally produce, are not regarded without complacency; these being held to produce the perturbation requisite, for hurling that destruction on the heads of others, which is to render them dependent on our supplies. At the best, and when things go on as we would have them, our whole race (the heads of leading families alone excepted; for whose sakes all their other members, throughout every consecutive generation, are, as it were sucessively immolated,) are seen to be incessantly busied, in jostling each other from the vantage ground of enterprise, wearing out their best energies in frivolous displays, and bearing down their character in licentious celibacy, until, under the chariot wheels of the common destroyer, they pay their forfeit for their perversity. All this, however, we are gravely told, is necessary to procure for us an amplitude of hands and of means, to maintain our nation in its

resplendent condition. On looking at the ordinary employments of the prosperous parts of the community, and marking their assiduity in their respective pursuits—that is—in creating and preparing luxuries and embellishments for the use and service of the votaries of fashion and of pleasure, in every country whence the tribute of their wealth is drawn; together with the anxiety and solicitude which they evince, and all of us evince, in keeping the arts and mysteries, exercised in procuring those supplies, in our own hands,—we are given to understand, that this, too, is indispensibly necessary; for, it being from our continuous industry and enterprise, and the supineness of our neighbours, that commercial wealth is drawn, we not only must go on in pampering the corruption, and in inflaming the vanity, of all with whom we have intercourse, but, we must take care that they never learn to do this service for themselves, otherwise, the value of our precious supplies will immediately fall off. On noting the poverty and scantiness of the returns, which we nevertheless must put up with for all our costly contributions, and that these traverse our own industry, and thus prove so much to the loss and detriment of the nation at large, that we would at times be better without them; we are told of the importance of having foreign balances at our command, on which, as a nation in such high circumstances, we can operate at pleasure. The amount and the pressure of our national debt and public burdens next stare us in the face, together with the ruinous and tremendous contests, in which we are incessantly engaged

in the way of maintaining this high character ; exhibiting as it were the palpable hollowness of our advantages, and of the greatness which these uphold. Even here, however, our complaisant sages do not forsake us ; they point to the glory with which we are surrounded, the dignified attitude we can maintain, the aggrandizement that has fallen to our share, and the national prowess which we, on all suitable occasions, thereby disclose. Thus, we are persuaded to console ourselves for the loss of the sweetest and purest of human joys, for the lack of moral improvement, for the prevalence of corrupting and deteriorating influences, and for our dastardliness in the discharge of the highest of all duties, the communication of the blessings and improvements which we possess, to all with whom we are conversant, and for the consequent forfeiture of the rich behests, with which the faithful discharge of these duties is connected.

Nothing can be more certain than that wickedness and misery, oppression and debasement, will continue to go on, until they are effectually stopped by a much more powerful agency, than any that can be brought against them by mere human force ; and that, while this is the case, every subtraction that we make from their amount, every mitigation that we can give to their asperity, all the blessings that we can elicit from their operation, and all the advantages that we can extract from their existence, are to be hailed, as victories gained over the evil principle, and cherished as benefits of the most es-

timable kind. But when we see it laid down as a maxim, that this evil is to be pursued for the sake of that good; as if there was a necessary tendency in the evil to produce the good; and received as an axiom, that there is a deplorable calamity hanging over our heads, which this evil repels; that inexplicable horrors are attendant on excess of population, and that we are in continual danger of this excess; it becomes every intelligent being to examine the position, thus boldly advanced, with all its implications, before he give way to its import. The rude savage, who sees his extensive forests with difficulty furnishing his scanty supplies, would doubtless be excusable, although he appeared incredulous, when informed of the millions, which, by dint of improvement, these might be made to sustain; but the man and the nation—who have learned what the divine blessing can enable us to extract from well-directed industry and enterprise; who hear God's voice, commanding them to multiply and replenish the earth, and assuring them of his benediction; who perceive this multiplication and this replenishment, not only constantly going hand in hand, but continually developing fresher and greater excellence, raising and supporting masses of social and national grandeur, of moral and natural dignity, more and more energetic and sublime; always preserving a correspondence to, and coincidence with, existing circumstances, and always exhibiting influences congenial to our highest interests, and purest designs—I say that such rationalists cannot with impunity indulge in such scepticism. For my part,

sooner would I admit that improvement might go on interminably, until it absolutely resolved itself into a superior state of things, or that nature herself would disclose new powers, principles and operations, of which we have as yet no conception, than allow the fallacies which this scepticism implies, to have the smallest weight on my mind. In regard to such matters, however, one thing is most certain, that they describe a range that is altogether above our faculties of conception. We have the knowledge and the experience of the divine benignity and supremacy ; and in these, with respect to such matters, it becomes us most unreservedly to confide. In pursuing that path of duty, which is laid open before us, we are certain, that, in so far as we ourselves are concerned, we confide not in vain. As for the rest, it is the most unwarrantable presumption to question the Almighty's provident care.

Now, let it be noticed, that in following out the views now laid down, and in diffusing improvement in its first principles, no such humiliating depression, in contemplating its course, can take place. Ages have already matured to us axioms, which place these matters fully under our eye, and have furnished us with maxims, which we cannot disregard without doing violence to our clearest perceptions. Nothing is more consistent with the views thus obtained, than that labor and talent, improved, concentrated, directed and exercised under such influences, must, as far as human sagacity can penetrate, provide for us a redundancy of all things necessary

for human existence, sufficient to outshoot all our ordinary faculties for consuming them. This position, it is apprehended, will be disputed by none. That an increase of population, trained to follow up these advantages, will, in ordinary cases ensue, and that the continuous exertions of this encreased population will, in following out established advantages, only the more anticipate our faculties of consumption, are positions, equally consistent with all past experience, and to be with equal confidence looked forward to, will be as little disputed. We must assume therefore, that these positions, in so far as they go, are fair and proper grounds for us to take, in judging of the ordinary progress of human affairs, under our own established system; and on assuming this, we must admit, that the whole blessings, peculiar to ourselves, emanate from, and arise out of that grand beneficent order of things, which christian and independent influences have procured for us, that all our acquirements resolve themselves into other acquirements greater and higher, that these ulterior acquirements call forth fresh facilities, and more capacious advantages, for subsequent resolutions, and that, having attained these advantages and facilities, the state of society, the whole march of human affairs, is carried forward amidst a course of universal amelioration, in which the improvement of the character, and the advancement of the condition, of every individual, is comprised. We hence come to discern, that it is to the human being himself, that all the resolutions of our system necessarily converge. Either his passions or pleasures are

fostered, or his character or condition bettered. Society itself, in the meantime, in its form and aspect, indicating both the strength and the tendency of these resolutions, developes organized power and means, that mark the high or the low standard of excellence that is received, and therein prevails. Our bounden duty and primary interest thereupon appear to be so conjoined, as to be absolutely inseparable, and they lead us distinctly to perceive that it is indispensibly necessary for us to have a supreme regard to the improvement of the species, and to take the widest, fullest, strongest and clearest views of our path of duty, in following out these views. We must consider man as himself the ultimate object of regard, his personal concerns, aggregately considered, as paramount to every display of national or physical prowess; and since we know, that we must pass our whole natural and acquired means and powers, talents and resources, into the hands of our successors, it becomes us to take care that these resolve not themselves in vain, but answer most completely that good end, which our best feelings and most improved perceptions lay before us; that we exclude nonewilfully from our good offices; and that the whole concerns thus included have the most extended range of developement. In short, in order to have the urgency and importance of colonizing, on fair and pure principles, demonstrated to our fullest conviction, it is only necessary, to have the whole circumstances of our subject spread out before us, and in order to

have the fallacy of these doctrines, which would impair or traverse that progression in improvement, which developes itself in colonizing projects, fully before us, it is only necessary to contemplate the character and tendency, bearing and operation of those principles, on which these proceed.

But it is said, that we must leave a family name behind us, have it perpetuated, and for this purpose, have it, along with the great mass of our property and attainments, handed down in the most direct line of primogeniture. We forget, however, that in this favoured line, for any thing that we can know, only disgrace may appear; that it may sink under oppression, or become the instrument of it. Yet the fact is, that it is in this very point that the charm lies; the interests of the best and greatest part of our offspring, though incomparably more dear to our hearts than all the other objects for which they are immolated, with their minds whetted for high employment and indulgence, are disposed of, according to some left-handed contrivance, in consequence of the prevailing sentiment, for the sake of this very consideration, so problematical in its character, and so unavailing in its import. Let the plan before us be but duly examined, and the folly of such costly sacrifices will appear. In place of one solitary line, docked short at every generation, and perpetually immured within one set of objects, this plan gives us an indefinite number of lines spreading themselves, in the female, as well as in the male line; at every turn of affairs, embracing high

national concerns, and acquiring vast territorial possessions in the different quarters of the world; each having their energies impressed with the most dignified and important principles of action, each strengthening and confirming the attainments of the other, and each generally conducing to the welfare of the parent line. These considerations cannot but be held to be conclusive in favor of the plan for which we contend, if this plan is viewed in that fair and full light which our circumstances require; they might be greatly amplified; it is enough, however, thus to hint at them. I earnestly wish the great leaders of our nation would seriously take up this subject, in that most interesting light, which it necessarily presents to them, and follow it out through all its bearings on their own, and on the public concernments. By so doing, their minds would expand, so as to embrace vast views of public and private advantage, of the highest importance to themselves and their country; to see the powerful character of the benefits and blessings, that must result from prosecuting the great plan of improvement now laid down; and to dismiss with indignation that presumptuous sophistry, which, *ignis-fatuus* like, devours the understanding, and leads the judgment into paths that are replete with criminality and danger; and, which, implying a delusion, lamentable as well as horrible, disposes mankind to walk blindly forward, amidst the paths of infidelity, towards objects at once vile and flagitious, as if the secrets of providence, like as it was one time held the secrets of nature, could be

made to give way to the magical touch of the philosopher's wand.

Scouting, therefore, the fallacies of a vain philosophy, which would set aside our best established principles, let us, as a nation, follow out the path of duty that is laid open before us; let us freely communicate of our exuberance to those who can turn it to the best account, and spare neither our means, our population, our powers nor our acquirements, when we know that these can be productive of real good. We have not to wander amidst mazes that are unexplored; for the course, which mild and benevolent exercises, as well as that, which industry and enterprise describe, in realizing to us the value of our investments, has been determined with an accuracy, and marked off with a perspicuity, that render it impossible for us to go wrong. We have not, in this course, to drop out of our hands the value of our exertions and sacrifices, or, considering ourselves as devoted to sublime services, to look solely for correspondent sublime and remote rewards. No; in this course, besides these returns, we may expect others more suited to our present circumstances; returns, which, to our immediate apprehension, must appear at once invaluable, interesting, and most delectable. We prepare mankind for that equitable commercial intercourse, which are necessary for our occasions, and we reap the first and best fruits of it; we provide a receptacle for wealth and improvement in foreign regions, and we place ourselves in the chief seat of this recep-

tacle. In the meantime, we snatch our junior offspring from the altar, consecrated to licentiousness and disorder. The great bulk of society, the whole dependent part of the superior classes, and the whole excluded and oppressed part of the inferior, are thus restored to their proper place in society, and we, by their instrumentality, provide an asylum for our race, its establishments, institutions, acquirements and advantages. We incorporate the whole under one great dominant head, so constituted, as to concentrate and diffuse the brightest honours and advantages of the whole great community. This, however, is only to be accomplished by building on the true foundation; by disseminating those principles, on which alone, the charities and the blessings of our system can fully develope themselves. We must not only bless but confide in each other, not only transfer advantages, but cordially emulate in our good offices to those, who are turning these advantages to the best account. This is the spirit of our system; without this spirit its operations must always be languid, irregular and insecure; but, under its influences, all that is out of place or distempered will speedily find its cure. It becomes us, accordingly, to cherish this spirit by every method in our power; never to be alarmed at petty disappointments, although these should imply difficulties which we cannot solve; and never to be ashamed of its services, although these should demand sacrifices, not only of our means, but of our personal feelings, such as, according to ordinary apprehensions, seem to outmeasure their object.

We have now before us the grand ultimate resolutions of that vast system, the multifarious developements of which have been the subject of all our illustrations. These final results coincide alike with its beneficent character and glorious design. They disclose themselves more or less in all its operations; but, in the end, the whole advantages, that have been attained, appear as absorbed under the superior lustre, which the ameliorated condition and exalted character of the human being himself, the ultimate as well as the proximate object of regard, gives forth. At the outset, it was seen, that though industry and enterprise, urged forward in their most productive course, by coercive influences, raised the personal prowess of a few leading characters, they left the great mass of the community, in a great measure destitute, both of enjoyment and of improvement, and bound up hopelessly under influences at once indurate and ensanguined. It was Christianity, reinforced by feudalism, that tore these concrete bonds asunder, and scattered the horrific elements of which they were composed, to the wind. The wants and desires of man, individually considered, in all his circumstances, becoming thereupon the object of universal regard, the processes of industry, of civil and institutional polity, were alike conformed to his personal circumstances; the sciences and the arts, of which man, individually and in society is the theme, and of which his improvement and advancement are the design, were thereupon universally cultivated, cherished and matured. But amidst the degenerating tendencies of our nature,

and the inanity of our general pursuits, a variety of arts and other matters of regard acquired predominancy, and absorbed many of our best attainments under their influences. In consequence of this, concretion takes place in the superior places of our system, amongst the leading ranks, and amidst scenes of the most complicated enterprise; the great objects, on which individual regard ought to be incessantly exercised, thereby losing their character. In the end we see, that by taking clear, strong and full views of our situation we can reach the source of the evil; and by applying, steadily and pertinaciously, the means that rise into our hands, we can disentangle the superinduced concretion, and dispose the course of improvement to flow powerfully onward to its great leading objects, so as, by dint of the potency and intensity of its own operations, to clear its channel of its most formidable obstructions, and thus to lay fully open the grand ultimate design of all improvement.

We hereupon discover the importance of adhering closely, to the regular path of duty. In the way of free equitable enterprise, and in that alone, our industry is seen to receive all that incitation that is necessary to render it effectual to the end for which it is mainly destinated, that of returning to us the full value of its fruits. We see farther, that our characters, thereby rendered conformable to our circumstances, and our energies thereby habituated to correspondent exertions, receive those various necessary improvements, which are the next object

of industry. Attainments of a public and private kind being, by the same means, procured, we are then led by the help of these attainments, duly organized in the high paths of excellence, towards the supreme objects of our system; each step in this progress, rendering the next step easier, and every consecutive acquirement proving an impulse as well as a facility and an advantage, to the reaching of the next. In fact, we have discerned, that in the order of human society, there is comprised a series of resolutions, always evolving themselves in higher and larger spheres; begun excellence becoming the parent and the forerunner of farther excellence. In such circumstances, we see the advantage of seeking constantly larger and larger ranges of enterprise, wherein, by exercising and transmitting the evolving influences, a regorgement of means, to the prejudice of attainments already made, may be prevented; that as the ranges thus required lie around us on every side, it is only requisite to remove unseemly obstructions; and that as the principles of system will thereby be also expedited in their developement, the benignant influences and impulses already established will effectuate the necessary changes; the system itself having been too long and too completely established, its principles too amply diffused and its elements too intensely adapted to the great object before it, and of a character too powerful and too sublime to call for or admit of extrinsic interference, or, when such is offered, to give way to its impulses. In fine, we see that it is by following out these tendencies that are best and purest, and by

administering those facilities that are most just and forcible in themselves, and most closely applicable to the circumstances that demand our greatest regard, and by this way, and by these means alone that we can hold ourselves to have reached these grand ultimate resolutions, into which our various illustrations have led.

It is now proper to revert to another part of our subject. The bare extension of our commercial range, and improvement of the circumstances of our industry, are known to be of little avail to us, without a plenitude of that financial instrument, which constitutes at once the menstruum of these processes, and their ultimate resolution; bearing these onward to the advantages before them, and representing these advantages when attained. The paper currency which now serves us as this instrument, is upheld by the capabilities of men in business; which capabilities rest chiefly on the success of general adventure, as measured by balances of value, secured amidst interchanges of commodities, which are always ready to fall off, and even to disappear, and to carry along with them the whole financial prowess which they had upheld. To the other contingencies of general adventure, we have at present, therefore, to add those that arise from the peculiar qualities of that instrument, which serves us as the menstruum of our commercial processes. In order to procure those articulate obligations, in virtue of the transference of which, this instrument is drawn forth into circulation, the courses of industry

and enterprise, that happen to have become established, be they ever so useless or prejudicial, must be urged on. The loss and detriment that frequently ensue, cannot but increase the difficulties of every emergency; invaluable means and resources are transferred to foreign countries, where they are in a great degree fruitlessly absorbed; while the best energies and faculties of the system are hopelessly exhausted in services, which are lost to the state. Notwithstanding all our sacrifices for the attainment of this instrument, it but too frequently happens that it refuses us its aid; for the connexion and mutual dependence, subsisting betwixt the different courses of adventure, sometimes run the general fortunes of whole communities into one, and thereby render the difficulties of a few individuals common to a multitude of others Nay, as if to render the concretion thus produced, in a manner absolute and universal, articulate obligations, on the strength of which alone the financial instrument is to be obtained, must, according as difficulties increase, carry along with them fresh financial prowess, sufficient not only to meet, but to satiate the jealous cupidity of those, on whom the emission of this instrument depends. The national Bank, supremely presiding over such operations, becomes accordingly at once the source and the receptacle of financial prowess, the umpire and the efficient cause of individual claims on public confidence. Thus she is charged with functions for which she has no faculties, but such as arise from her ascendancy, and this ascendancy she maintains, by virtue of that concretion which her

procedure induces. The whole circle of our commercial and financial enterprises, comprising the concernments of individuals of all classes, is thus, as it were, merged into one. On these enterprises thus aggregated, the fate of every individual process is rendered more or less dependent, although this dependence is neither necessary in itself, nor at all calculated to serve any good purpose.

It will be recollected that the plan of finance, proposed in this treatise, must effectually dissolve this concretion. The establishment of provincial banks, resting on internal resources, such as the reproductive powers of each district can easily supply, must so far relieve each community, from baneful dependence on the solution of articulate obligations for its supplies of the financial instrument, (the inductive cause of this concretion,) that individuals possessed of real property will find themselves placed in such circumstances, that the supplies which their peculiar processes of improvement call for, during any stretch of adventure, will not only be at hand ; (the property, transferable for that purpose to these local banks, being replaced or withdrawn without embarrassment to the proprietor,) but, under this transference, the property transferred will continue to yield its fruits, and may all the time be improved and enjoyed. The plenitude of the value that is called for, on making these transferences, while it will give real validity to the paper emitted, must constitute a check of the very best kind on the circulatory process, preventing its in-

crease beyond due limits, and confining its services to that intercourse, which, from the circumstances of the case, must be most beneficial and salutary to all concerned. This plan it was seen, though primarily destinated for the immediate service of the reproductive processes, necessarily suited itself to the whole circumstances of the community, expediting enterprises the most remote in their results, as well as the most immediate; entering with every advantage into colonial intercourse, and the business of government; and always performing the whole functions of the instrument of exchange with celerity and advantage.

I must nevertheless remark, that the complexity of the principles, on which these several financial processes were established, though, on that very account the more adapted to general enterprise, do not so readily enter into, or amalgamate with, the grand colonial design, now held to be instituted, as the basis of such enterprise. In many situations, where the want of financial means would be a serious evil, such financial processes could not be kept regularly and steadily in motion, and even in cases where this could be done, the avocations and circumstances of individuals would not admit of their burdening themselves and their property with the detail of such affairs. For these reasons, and others that will afterwards appear, I am disposed to bring forward another great mass of financial resources, which are most eminently appropriate to the whole business in hand, and which, from their peculiar

importance in our system, may for a time nearly supercede the plan formerly laid down. With that plan their leading movements and operations may be held to be, on the whole, perfectly coincident. They proceed on the same principles, they affect their objects in a similar manner, they must at the same time tend to produce the same results, for they are borne on by the same train of circumstances. That they admit, too, of the same or similar restraints and limitations, in their progress through the circle of general intercourse, will also most distinctly appear.

In these circumstances, with these views and prospects before us, and for the purpose and design of giving every furtherance and assistance in our power to the developement and progress of the whole grand and glorious project, in all its parts, as these have been illustrated in the course of this treatise, I have therefore to propose a simplification and extension of the great financial scheme formerly laid down, in order to make it adequate to, and commensurate with, the whole circumstances to which it must now be applied. The national debt of Great Britain, although it affects the nation at large as a burden, is evidently, to the individual creditors who hold it, an immense aggregation of capital stock, which might, with much advantage, be thrown into circulation. As it stands at present, it is a dead weight on every great national enterprise, a curb on all our exertions, which fetters and sets limits to our most ordinary procedure, so

as frequently to make these fail of their object. But while, as it thus affects our national measures, it maims and traverses the progression of improvement, absorbs its strength, and represses its vital energies, it may, as wealth drawn up in the hands of British subjects, circulable as well as accumulative and productive, be made to expand and envigorate the whole active powers of the system, and to infuse life and strength into its most difficult operations. On this basis, the plan now to be proposed rests; it is in itself neither complicated nor difficult of application; it derives its main advantages from being introduced amidst improvements of the highest class, and it is to be preserved in exercise by being kept constantly under the impression of the whole circumstances of these improvements. For this last reason, with a direct view to these improvements, and to the end that it may accomplish, in the easiest and most effectual manner, the whole purposes that have, in the course of this treatise, been explained and announced, is it now proposed. It consists in these two things. First, *that it be made optional to the proprietors of the public funds (beginning with those rating at three per cent.) to have their property in these converted at the quarterly terms into authoritative impledgements, circulable all over the Empire, including all its colonies and provinces, but not bearing interest;* and next, *that it be in like manner made optional to all holders of these authoritative impledgements, after a certain lapse of time, to require that these be reconverted into the same description of stock, bearing interest from that term as formerly.* This

simple arrangement, which might be carried into effect at the sight of special committees from both houses of parliament, would have all the advantages of the plan formerly laid down, *provided that it was carried into effect, according to the design and method therein stated, and acted upon under the views, and in the circumstances now under consideration.* It never could be made instrumental in corrupting our civil constitution, or undermining the legislative authority of the houses of parliament, while such glorious objects were before them; nor could it produce any depretiation of the circulating medium, when it could be so easily resolved into fixed capital, or converted, according as the real exigencies of the case required it, into the precious metals in the manner that is formerly laid down *. That the leading results under this plan would be nearly the same as under the former, must appear obvious, if we consider that while the same object is pursuing, and the same instruments affected, industry and enterprise, of that kind which suited

* It is accordingly understood that different facilities proposed in page 574, for the purpose of expediting all the necessary resolutions of validated impledgments into the several kinds of bullion, be adopted and carried into effect under the authority of the state: as also, that the process laid down in a note on 620, for fabricating the paper, of which these notes are to be composed, together with the method therein proposed for executing and applying the engraving, be severally resorted to and followed out in their design. The limitation of the term of currency, and preventing its being defaced or mutilated, already pointed out, and various other provisions of the like tendency, are also understood to obtain the like regard.

the course of improvement, and corresponded to the above circumstances, would be stimulated, supported, and carried onward to its object under every advantage. As these authoritative impledgements, though universally circulable, could only be obtained by the regular delivery of value received, and reputed as such in the public market, genius and talent would in like manner be excited; whereby industry would not only be carried onward to its object in the most direct manner, but be improved in all its results, and in all its circumstances, and be advanced in its leading ends and designs. While colonial and commercial enterprise would thus be replenished with means the most appropriate to their object, and while individual prosperity would go forward with a determinate and irrefragable pace, individual character would become more estimable, and individual acquirements and pursuits more important; and while the number of those in respectable and independent circumstances would thus be constantly increasing, and their faculties of enjoyment and of usefulness constantly distending, the amount and the value of all our great public and general acquisitions, institutions, and other means of improvement, would, in like manner, and on the same principles, be augmented in capacity and number, as well as in power and in importance.

I know very well the strong prejudices that prevail against all government agency in forming paper money. It is said, that the state from its imperious situation, may emit more paper money than

than the public are disposed to receive; that even within the narrowest limits, the confidence reposed may be abused, and the means entrusted perverted; and that though the great trust should be thus violated in the grossest manner, there are at hand no means adequate to the task of procuring redress, no instrument fitted for reaching the source of the aggression. The well established experience, of past ages, in all countries, gives much countenance to the difficulties thus stated, and render it necessary for us to pause, before we can venture to dismiss objections thus urged. It is completely understood, that government is to enter upon the business with caution, to emit no currency but such as can be at once absorbed into the system, and to augment their emissions, only as the increased occasions of the public draws these from them. Still, however, it is plain, that until we can preclude every idea of uncertainty as to the character and operation of the great agent, we must hesitate before we give way to mere views of expediency.

That these considerations, from the power and prevalence of corruption in civil administrations, and from the laxity of the general order of responsibility in public affairs, are highly important, and imply difficulties of no ordinary kind, is not to be disputed. It is not enough to point to the dignity of the services in which these financial services are to be employed, nor to the extent of the public and private advantage, to be obtained in the fair and regular use of these advantages, and thence

to claim, for our own government, a peculiar superiority of character in regard to procedure. We can as little appeal to the results of the Bank of England's suspension of payments in bullion, as a proof and instance of the efficacy of the varied checks and restraints, which our circumstances impose on malversation ; or adduce the care, accuracy and fidelity which designate our complicated receipts, in the Custom, Excise, and other public imposts, and in the no less complicated disbursements of our public expenditure, as indications of the strength and integrity of the principles of our own system, and as measures of the precision of their application to their appropriate objects, sufficient to establish our right to a general exemption from the charge that is thus roundly laid against all government agency, and furnishing good grounds, whereupon to rest a challenge for all that confidence and deference, that the case now before us seems to require. Amidst all these grounds of assurance, the main difficulty still remains. Government is now to be called on to act in a new character, that of emitting the financial instruments, which serve us in the capacity of a menstruum to our reproductive processes, and represent in our hands, the ultimate resolutions of these processes. The Bank of England, and other great public establishments, which have a deep and an immediate common interest with the nation at large, at present furnish us with this instrument; but there is something in our circumstances that serves as a regular check to their procedure, in their emissions of this instrument. It is

evident, however, that Government can be brought under none of these checks; for its interests, paramount to every other, will, whenever the case requires it, be exhibited as occupying a range that is completely above public control; and while its debts are so immense, and its expenditure so enormous, this trust would but prove the greatest possible temptation for it to display this superiority in the most decided form; not only in emitting authoritative impledgements, beyond all due bounds, but in applying their value to purposes altogether different from those, for which the power of emitting them might be granted.

In answer, however, to all these general objections, I have to remark, first, that the conversion of stock into circulable impledgments, is not to be effected according to the will or option of the state, but according to the will and option of stockholders; that this conversion is only to take place within those limits, and according to those regulations, that the legislature is to appoint; and that the agency of converting the one into the other, is to be conducted under the inspection of committees from both houses of parliament. But farther, we see that Government is thereby to be brought under no obligations, but such as it can easily and most satisfactorily fulfil, without either trouble, difficulty or hazard. If Government impledged itself to give forth cash or bullion, or to perform any thing, the fulfilment of which depended on contingent circumstances, there might be some ground for hesi

tating before we received its assurances. But what does it do? It merely issues an instrument, setting forth, that in consequence of the delivery of so much three per cent. stock, the circulatory instrument in hand carries along with it, a specific quantity of the national medium, to be at the public exchequer, anew converted into national stock, in terms of the act of parliament, at the requirement of the holder. This obligation, government can, may, and will most certainly fulfil, whatever the posture of public affairs may be. It is not very easy to conceive how abuse can find its way into the procedure hereto necessary. The business itself is simple, and, to an immense extent, may be done by a very few hands. Those hands may be made to account every night for the means entrusted to them, merely by casting up the sum originally given, which must, in stock and in impledgments, at all times give out precisely the same amount. The advantage accruing to the nation enters not into the transactions of the agents thus entrusted; for it appears only in the saving of interest, on the long score of the national debt, which of course will appear in another department of public affairs, and be checked in the usual way. If proper attention is paid by those with whom the superintendance lies, no malversation, to the most trifling extent, can possibly take place. Government, itself, therefore, in the business now under consideration, is merely the fulcrum or pivot, on which each transaction turns. One species of public property is to be converted into another, and its servants have no

more to do but to trim and adjust the scale, by means of which the conversion is made; which trimming and adjusting, proceed under the eye of the whole parties mainly interested, and admit neither of fraudulent nor oppressive interference.

Secondly, money, or the circulatory medium, is, strictly and absolutely, *circulatory power which, in the hands of the possessor, can be stretched and exercised over all objects, services and considerations that happen, for the time, to be marketable*, and whoever he be that stands in the situation of debtor to another, is, from the necessity of his situation, obligated to deliver this circulatory power, or the medium, the instrument that carries it, to his creditor. These conditions are absolute, and in strict justice they admit of no qualification whatever, although the debtor or party obligated should happen to be a whole community, with its sovereign and senate at its head; and the party in whose favor the obligation has been drawn up, a parcel of Jew brokers, of no name or consideration whatever. If you want to make a common cause with these Jew brokers, you may clothe your procedure in mystery and ambiguity, and either keep the matter of ultimate payment out of view, or shroud in darkness, the circumstances of the resolution, in such a way, as to throw the management of this business out of your own hand into theirs. Do we then trim our procedure for the benefit of stock-jobbers, whose earnings and lucky speculations arise from their sagacity or good luck, in seizing the moment when the

state of the money market favors their speculations? Although it is impossible to believe that Government could warily conform its procedure to the views of such gentry; yet this much must be admitted, that were this the main object of the British Government, it could not more effectually subserve the leading interests of stock-jobbers than it now does. Give to the holders of stock, aggregately considered, that facility of converting their funds into the medium which is now contended for, and you destroy all the vacillations, on which the wily schemes of stock-jobbers are founded.

The truth and force of the above remark will appear altogether irresistible, if we attend to the operation of the foregoing improvement or innovation in the proposed financial scheme. That it would regulate with much precision, the developement of our financial resources, and indicate their capabilities and tendencies, with promptitude and accuracy; and that it would by these means prevent undue vacillation in the public funds, and restore these again to their equilibrium when unduly affected, must be very manifest. While these funds remained at par with legal interest, the extent of the medium of exchange in circulation, would be indicated to be at its proper limits, and to be influencing every department of industry and of enterprise, in a fair and equitable manner, and in exact proportion to its value and importance. That is, as the money market did not call for, any supply to, or subtraction from, the medium then in circulation, so no alteration would

be produced in it, but what the ordinary course of things, and the circumstances of individuals or of the public might dispose them to introduce. But when these funds sank in value so much, that the legal holder of them received more than legal interest for his money, an indication would be forthwith obtained, that the amount of validated impledgments in circulation, was not equal to the public demands for them. This, of course, would induce individuals to convert their funded capital into these impledgments; or, in other words, to accept from the public, sixty for their three per cents., in place of a smaller sum, from any other quarter. In this case, and by these means, the deficiency in the circulation would be speedily and effectually made up; the courses of industry and enterprise would be served in their regular proportions; and the price of stock would be restored to its fair estimation. On the other hand, however, when the public funds rose in value so much, that the holders of them did not receive the usual rate of interest for his money, an indication would forthwith be obtained, that the amount of validated impledgments in circulation exceeded the public demand for them. This, of course, would induce individuals to re-convert circulatory impledgments into funded capital, bearing interest, or, in other words, to accept from the public three per cents. at sixty, when they could not get these, from any other quarter, but at a higher rate. In this case, as in the former, the inequality in the means of circulation would be made up; the surplus would be purged away; and, while, the

courses of industry and enterprise would be served in their due proportions, the price of stocks would be preserved within their proper limits, so that on the whole a confidence in the state and in its resources would be created, which could not but be of the last importance to the public creditor, as well as to the state, and the community. The plan formerly laid down, being expressly calculated to provide for us an instrument to expedite the processes of exchange, and to measure and attest, as well as to represent, the value thereby circulated, might be held to supercede the necessity of resorting to these new means for procuring this indispensible instrument, if the extraordinary circumstances of our situation were out of the question. But that plan could not regulate the financial processes with the facility, readiness and precision of the plan now under consideration. It could neither resolve the surcharges of the public funds, into the service of establishments for industry and enterprise, nor resolve the surcharges of these establishments into these funds, without passing them through those receptacles, wherein the views, interests and caprices of a new set of agents prevail. It therefore merely provides the means that are wanted, without destinating them, or impelling them to their object.

It is necessary for us, at the same time, to attend very particularly to the circumstances, in which we at present stand, before we rest too much on our attainment of the advantages proposed in the financial plan formerly laid down. It is but too

probable, that it, like many other high national projects, prepared for our advantage, though approved of and adopted, may remain inert, from want of a sufficient stimulus and power to set it agoing. We must recollect, that there lies upon the nation, an immense, and a continually increasing burden of debt, which we must ultimately bend under, if by some exertions, corresponding to the pressure of these circumstances, we do not extricate ourselves from under its influence. There, there is, as it were, a vast abyss, which engulphs and absorbs the first and best fruits of our attainments, leaving our enjoyments denuded of their sweetest relish, and our avocations impressed with the most coercive influences. The malignant and ruinous consequences of the usurpations, and harassments, of money holders that thereupon ensue, appal each and all of us, and drive us to seek financial relief, wherever it can be found, without calculating very nearly on the general consequences of the plan which we patronize. The truth is, we cannot calculate on the plan formerly proposed, until it be carried fully into execution, and we can never expect to find it fully executed, until the established form of financial procedure be rendered in some measure independent of the Bank of England, and of all Bank interferences, which have their establishments rested on the present system. It must be held to be one of the advantages of the plan now proposed, that it leads directly and effectually to the ultimate adoption of that plan, to the full developement of its

principles, and to its general establishment, because it effectually supercedes the necessity of this dependence. In the mean time it must be contended that it is altogether impossible to state as an objection to it, that as it may be eventually superseded, it is therefore incompetent for us to make our calculations from things as they at present exist. We find ourselves, accordingly, reduced to the necessity of comparing the advantages and the claims of the system at present established and upheld amongst us, with those of that which is now proposed, simply considered, and as taken by itself, before we can estimate their comparative merits; to appretiate the responsibility of the Bank of England, and its dependent branches, having the resolubility of their impledgments into the precious metals authoritatively suspended, and that of the whole supreme legislative and executive powers of the country, having their authoritative impledgments articulately expressed and defined, and introduced into circulation in a fair and competent state; their value being universally recognized, and their ultimate responsibility being placed out of all doubt; and to see which is most entitled to our regard.

It is proper to begin with noticing, that we must not be deceived with whimsical devotion to claims, without foundation or consistency in themselves, and alike foreign to those of justice and sound policy. Bank of England paper money, like the paper money of any other bank, is nothing but an ideal representation of value, dependent every

hour, and in all its circumstances, on that concentration of results, which a number of financial transactions give forth. When we come to descend into particulars, and set about decyphering the absolute value of these results, they are seen to be in themselves as vapid as those of any similar concentration of financial means; they are absolutely dependent on the contingencies of general enterprise, which again are most absolutely dependent on the general circumstances of the nation. It is true, the Bank of England, since its impledgments have been authoritatively declared to be the ultimate resolution of all other impledgments, stands in a most commanding attitude, having virtually the whole marketable and financial means of the nation under its control. But shall we allow it to rest its claims on an advantage that is not necessary nor essential to it, and that it cannot retain [redacted] one minute longer than our tolerance of it continues? It is evident then we dare not lay it down as a maxim of state, that, like as Bank of England notes can only be converted into each other, so the national debt can only be converted into these notes; because we would thereby be claiming a right to place the creditors of the nation, for ever at the mercy of the Bank. This claim would be much more unjust, than if we were at once to tell these debtors that they have no right that we cannot dispense with at pleasure; inasmuch as our conduct would thereby not only imply this very assumption, but proceed upon it in the most injurious manner possible; consigning the public creditor into the hands of parties who

have a direct interest in oppressing him, and who can practise this oppression in a manner the most vexatious. The Bank, in such circumstances, might withhold its notes to such a degree, as to oblige the national creditor to sell out stock at rates extremely low; and it might thereafter, (having previously replenished its own coffers with stock, thus procured at the very lowest prices,) again emit these notes so profusely, as to raise the market price extremely high. Well might the national creditor, in such a case say, the privilege of thus converting stock into circulable funds, is sometimes the only thing that is wanted, in order to support us under, and extricate us from, our difficulties, why is this privilege withheld? The public funds can only be converted into the medium, through the narrow channel which the Bank of England commands. Why must this aperture be defended with so much care by the state? Since no good reason can be given, why the public debt of Great Britain should never be liquidated, but through Bank of England notes, and since the nation, as things now stand, can pay off its debt in no other way, but by giving the options now contended for—upon what principles of equity or reason can you withhold these options; which, in the circumstances supposed, will answer precisely the same end, place within the power of the national creditors, either public stock, or the financial instrument, and render them for ever independent of Bank of England politics and all its concernments?

Before you can give a direct answer to these questions, you must consider, that you, as a community, comprise at once the debtor and the creditor parties of the account, (the amount of the national debt due to foreigners, being in the aggregate too small, to render its subtraction in a general point of view at all necessary,) and that, accordingly, you cannot sacrifice your own interest or that of the state to the body of agents, who may be in the habit of transacting this business, without doing equal detriment to the national creditor and yourselves.

Since it is evident that the Bank of England has no real right to compel us to accept of her impledgments, except such as she has derived from the state, and must surrender to it on demand; since it is undeniable, that the whole power which the Bank thus exercises may not only be assumed, but be exercised by the state, and since the state, from its circumstances, is so well qualified and entitled to exercise this very function, it becomes us to enquire, what these circumstances are, which would influence government to assume this office. We certainly can discharge the functions of this office, in perfect consistency with our duty, character, and interests, and we ought not to be diverted from our purpose, by any other than the most powerful considerations. Nay, as it has at length become but too evident, that if we do not forthwith extricate our inherent rights from the thraldom, under which they have fallen, they will become proscribed in the hands of those, who know but too well how to

avail themselves of the advantage, we must take care that an immunity, incidentally and for a moment, bestowed, be not effectually, though surreptitiously converted into a right of absolute property, to the prejudice of our highest interests, and to the disparagement of our most important avocations; whereby we may be not only precipitated into immense loss and detriment, but involved in absolute dereliction of duty, and abandonment of those very principles of honor and good faith, to which we all the time, professedly, with so much pertinacity, adhere.

But it may be said, that these parties transacted with each other, under no other views, but such as present circumstances hold up. This is true, but do not these circumstances imply every lawful access to relief, that government and the nation can afford? That the plan, now under consideration, implies no other than lawful redress, must appear manifest, if we consider the circumstances in which, and the objects for which, the national debt was contracted. Things cannot go on forever in this cumulative ratio, and be borne up under them; new and appropriate supplies have at length become necessary. That this is precisely our situation is indisputable. But is it possible, by following out the plan proposed, to bear the interests of all parties out of the whole difficulties with which they are surrounded? I answer by referring you to the illustrations already given. It is there demonstrated, that as by giving full way

to equitable emulation, as the stimulant to the reproductive processes, you make these processes ten times more powerful and productive, so by providing means for converting fixed into circulable funds, or rather by recognizing the existence of a privilege, which is inseparable from the holding of fixed funds, that of having these regularly converted into circulable funds, you take from your system dead coercive weight, and introduce in place of it, active circulable power; you remove a burden that oppresses and restrains all your exertions, and you establish influences which fritter down the burden; you introduce, amidst the walks of industry and enterprise, that emulation which replenishes the system with means, and powers, and energies, which disposes you to invite the circulable burden; nay, to lay hold on it as the true and proper means for bearing you out of difficulties, carrying you through dangers, and establishing the most critical parts of your system, on the most solid substantial grounds. In short, it is absolutely plain and indisputable, that by placing the public creditor on the fair way of circulating the burden that he rests upon you, you dispose him, and capacitate yourself, to operate fully and effectually, your own, as well as his complete relief. This is what the Bank of England cannot do, and does not pretend to do. Nay, on examining into its constitution, you must be satisfied that it will rather contravene than aid you in performing it for yourself.

In the third place, it must be considered, that, on

the sound and broad principles of equity and fair dealing, taking the claims of parties as they at present stand, we can scarcely be held to have it in our power to refuse this concession to government and its creditors. The national debt was contracted, in circumstances that lay it completely on the shoulders of all and of each of us, in our personal as well as in our public capacity, and that render our whole property and means, all that we have, or can, in virtue of our whole energies and resources, individual or general, bring forward for the purpose, absolutely amenable for it; and it was contracted for objects in which all of us participate, for which all of us would contend, from which neither our feelings nor our interests can possibly be alienated. These views appear still more irresistible, when we consider, that government is in the full exercise of all the power and authority, which these things imply. It lays hold of all or of any thing we possess, for the purpose of satisfying the national creditor. This is no doubt done in a regular form, but do we not see that its imposts and assessments reach to all our concernments, and penetrate into all our affairs, and that, without regard to our prejudices or predelictions, plans or measures, it exercises all the functions that are implied in these assumptions, according to its own views of its own paramount occasions, to the exclusion of every other consideration? Although, therefore, we were to regard the plan now proposed as a new mode of impost or assessment, we would have no right to challenge it, either in principle or in tendency; but it is merely a new mode of

exercising certain functions of government which, it cannot possibly be disputed, belong to it, and this for purposes which we cannot and will not for a moment permit to be disparaged, and it is one which from our whole circumstances, we are imperiously called upon to adopt. To each of us, accordingly, it may be said—You have a debt to pay which is undisputed, and the point, which involves every other consideration respecting the fulfilment of your obligation, is the fair, faithful and full payment of your debt. At the same time, you are in circumstances not only to delegate, but to exercise a power which virtually leads to the discharge of it, and to the consequent relief of the community, of which debtors and creditors are the constituent members. If you are determined honestly to fulfil your obligation in its strict terms and import, you must, and you will yourself deliver to your creditor, the instrument of exchange, stamped with your own authority, and marked with the full insignia of that sovereignty with which you are invested. Let it be gold or silver, if these can be procured, but since you cannot procure for him these, and since you can nevertheless give him an instrument that will serve the purpose every whit as well, which necessarily exercises circulatory power over all marketable objects, as fully and as satisfactorily as the precious metals can, you are obligated, in the fairest and fullest manner, to give him this instrument. You can penetrate into the coffers of individuals, and take therefrom, directly, and at once, whatever your exigencies require, accord-

ing to rules and principles, which are recognized, universally, as fair, equitable and irrefragable, and you must and will continue thus to penetrate and abstract their means while occasion for them remains, although these subtractions should reach to our vital energies, and our innate resources. Now it is plain, that neither you, nor we who partake of these burdens along with you, can long bear this, or even look the hazard and dilemma broadly in the face. So long as these imposts, though intruded into the whole range of our affairs, were moderate, something like a compensation was derived from their operation; certain salutary checks and restraints were thereby laid on the ordinary forms of commercial intercourse, judicial procedure, and established processes of industry and enterprise. But, accumulated and constituted as public imposts now are, they have become an absolute dead weight on our reproductive energies, as well as a source of perpetual inquietude. They hopelessly wear out our reproductive powers, and they mar the resolution of their fruits in every market. Nor is this all; the pressure is always the heaviest where we are the least able to bear it; for the public burdens must be discharged, from the first and readiest of all our possessions, although it should so happen, as it sometimes does, that in satiating their demands, there is but little left behind for our other occasions.—With these irrefragable and irresistible statements before us, the matter, on the ground of justice and sound policy, may surely be left entirely to our own feelings.

I am far, however, from wishing to resign this business into the hands of the state and its creditor, in a loose, far less in any absolute form. Holding, as I do, the circulatory instrument to be formed by a combination of the inherent powers of the system, according to the plan formerly laid down, and this instrument alone to be thoroughly constituted, in virtue of its own inherent value, strength and excellence, the fair, natural and legitimate medium of exchange all over the empire; so far from abrogating or suspending the operations of that plan, for the sake of this now proposed, I would cherish its developements, and embrace its constitution, so as to render these as simple and efficient in their manifold operations, and as independent of state influence, as it is possible to make them. Our financial system, rendered by these means independent alike of the state, and of the national creditor, and free and secure in all its operations, would gradually become more and more conformed to our circumstances. But as I would not stop here, but declare that the ultimate resolution of all financial transactions lay in common betwixt the validated and authoritative impledgments, and press them as such alike on the public regard, improvement, simply considered, would draw out each class of impledgments to the requisite extent, and restore them to their fixed state, just as the circumstances of the country and community, and the feelings and interests of parties mainly interested in the matter, might indicate. It would be proper, and indeed necessary, not only to submit to the legislature a detailed quarterly

account of the whole procedure, into which this plan might lead, but to print these accounts, and to send copies of them all over the kingdom, to be exhibited in all public places, and to be disposed of to all who might take an interest in the business. This simple measure would enable the whole monied interest to arrange their financial schemes in exact conformity to existing circumstances.

I AM, accordingly, in the fourth and last place, led to notice, that the state, the public at large*,

* I am aware that clamors might be raised by the Bank of England and other Bankers against this whole design, as entrenching on their department of the public economy. I sincerely hope, that our leading men will not consider it to be very necessary to pay much attention to complaints, which indicate more the arrogance than the necessities of the complainers, and which certainly would never have been heard of, had these parties not already too long engrossed the advantage of providing for us a circulatory medium. That these would be stript of overweening influence in the commercial and financial world, is sufficiently manifest. It must be admitted, also, that in some respects they would resemble those, who, in the progress of improvement, find themselves superceded in their appropriate business. But was it ever expected or proposed, that improvement should be arrested on such grounds? Are the community and the state to be denied the benefit of advantages of the most stupendous kind, absolutely within their grasp, because it will conduce to the interest of certain parties, that the state and the community should dispense with them? Before any clamor is raised on these grounds, it would be proper to have the following questions answered—Who the clamorers are? Monied men. What do these want? The privilege of shutting up your pockets, that you may be obliged to borrow from them at usury. What will

and each of us individually, will necessarily be benefited by the arrangement now proposed. As it is perfectly clear, however, that the superior facility of resolving stocks into the medium, and the

be the consequence of your not gratifying them ? Not starvation most assuredly, not even a positive sense of deficiency or want. At the worst they will be obliged to seek out other modes of investing their money; which, in this improved course of things, may not only be more advantageous to them, but lead on to greater and higher and more extended improvement. But as it is most probable, or rather as it is on the whole very obvious, that the business of banking, like other businesses, into which improvement is introduced, will spread itself wider and deeper, according as its lumpish and unseemly shoots are docked off, and will draw nourishment from resources that at present are either totally neglected, or not sufficiently attended to ; so we may warrantably conclude, that new improvements and arrangements, correspondent to the new established order of finance, will follow, and that Bankers will find means to pursue their business, in a form not only more secure and powerful, but more and more extensively and essentially lucrative than formerly ; every way correspondent to, and commensurate with, the immense advantages with which the general system will be fraught. In order to be satisfied on this head, it is only necessary to consider, that the proportion of their profits, which arises from the interest acquired in consequence of funds saved for other purposes by their emission of impledgments, is necessarily burdened with heavy expences, and daily becoming smaller, on account of the number of competitors, in consequence of forgeries, and from a variety of other causes. On the other hand, the profits arising from meeting the exigencies of the enterprising with needful supplies of funds, if once fully rested on a secure basis, as is now proposed, as they now constitute the greatest, so they would thenceforward prove the most desirable profits of their employment. If such fair and forcible conclusions do not satisfy these

medium into stocks, would carry the chief part of the demands for the medium into the channel formed under the auspices of the state, two great and most important advantages would, in the first place, result to the state from the whole of this arrangement. First, These impledgments, circulating all over the empire, and deriving their whole value from the stability of the central government, would bind together, in the most indissoluble and intimate bonds of connexion, all parts of the British dominions. Our most distant and most extended provinces and colonies, finding that their supply of the medium, their wealth and riches, (for such, in effect, the medium thus validated would be felt to be,) had its source in this centre, and again resolved itself there; and perceiving that honours and advantages, of the most valuable kind, flowed incessantly from this source; that thence their security, and thence the magnitude and extent of every advantage proceeded—could no more consent to be dissevered from it, than territory the most contiguous and most minute. The industrious and enterprising classes, finding in like manner, that the supply of their wants, as well as the whole course of their operations, thus powerfully and effectually provided for by the state, derived their whole value from the instrument of exchange, which the state thus upheld, would not only be bound up in its interests,

parties, it is time for the state to interfere, on the bare ground of expediency, least they begin to plead a prescriptive title to the indulgences, with which they have been so long favored.

by the strongest of all ligaments, a sense of vital connexion, but be urged forward in the high paths of duty, by the most powerful principles of the system. The other classes of the community, from the highest to the lowest, feeling themselves, on all hands, influenced thus powerfully and thus beneficially, by the dominant power, enlightened as to the value of these advantages, and prepared for availing themselves of them to the utmost, would, as organic parts of the same great social and political entity, move in exact unison with the free developements of these primary principles.

Secondly, The interest, of the sum thus circulated, would prove just so much clear gain to the community, and this gain would speedily become a most important consideration. In the natural course of things, and after it had been fully settled, that all other impledgments, those of the Bank of England not excepted, should be resoluble, at the pleasure of the holder, either into validated or into authoritative impledgments, it might, at length, be authoritatively declared to be unlawful *for this Bank, or any other*, to circulate any impledgments *otherwise than as bearing interest from the date of their emission.* In these circumstances, perhaps three, or more, hundred millions of debt might be circulated, and the interest thereof saved to the nation. This saving, conjoined with other advantages, would speedily operate such relief to the nation, that, in no great lapse of time, the whole amount of our national debt might be completely dis-

charged, or run out in impledgments. This is a subject the illustration of which, in a political point of view, might be extended to a prodigious length. The illustrations, given in their proper place in this treatise, must, however, suffice for the present. It is only necessary to remark, that as all paper that is fictitious. or unworthy of a place in the circle, is held to be excluded from it, and as to every document of value, its real, and only its real value is to be attached ; so the amount of impledgements that might be thrown into circulation, and supported in it in such circumstances, must be immense, always universally conducing the twofold advantages of relief to the course of trade, and security to the state machine; and that, considering the prominent situation of Britain in the supposed circumstances, her immense national prowess, and the magnanimity, generosity and irresistible energy with which she wields all these advantages, it cannot, by any means, be deemed presumptuous to expect, that it might ultimately appear to the other nations of the world, to be advantageous to themselves, as well as to Britain, the great friend and abettor of improvement and civilization, to admit her authoritative impledgments into free circulation all over their dominions, and to give them the same authoritative character there, that they would possess in Britain. Thereby, they would doubtless mature their own commercial spirit, and strengthen their own internal resources, and secure to themselves a connexion with the centre and seat of wealth and of enterprise, which would introduce into the service of their several systems, the same or similar

excitation and support to their respective processes of reproduction, with that, which Britain herself possesses.

Whether or not it might coincide with the views of other nations, to admit the circulation of our authoritative impledgments within their bounds, it is impossible for us to ascertain. There are two things however, that may induce us to hope, that they will not very determinately resist their circulation, in case they should find their way into their circulatory processes. First. They will obviously be subjected to neither loss, hardship, nor detriment on that account; they will, in effect, merely consent to accept of money at legal interest, as established in Britain, whereby the industrious, the enterprising, and the state itself, may carry forward all their undertakings, in full plenitude, by means of our circulated capital. Every thing that is realized within their respective domains may be preserved, by thus excluding fallacious support from the courses of circulation; and every thing that can be converted into absolute value amidst these facilities, may have its value, in every nation, maintained and circulated by them, through the greatest possible space, merely by thus extending the range of the financial operations of Britain. London, thus rendered the centre of immense financial operations, will thereby be rendered only a purer and a higher source of real wealth. The motives, by which we will be made to maintain inviolate the high character, on which this and all our advantages rest, will be pa-

ramount to every other consideration, and as such they will be irresistible and irrefragable. Secondly; by these means, these nations will become possessed of one of the highest advantages of our system. The vast national debt of Great Britain, or more properly speaking, the property which our monied interest has in the national funds, is constituted chiefly, if not entirely, of balances of value realized betwixt interchanges of commercial and financial subjects; which balances, to whatever party they belong, by being transferred into our funds, are there preserved and transferred, according to the views of the proprietors. Our funded system, present in a certain sense in every British province, will thereupon be everywhere prepared to receive such impledgments, and to pass them in a drawn up state, into the hands of monied agents, who have connexions with London. By which means, every balance that is ours or theirs, here or abroad, may be realized, and transferred or circulated.

In these circumstances, and under all these advantages, it seems to be altogether impossible to set limits to the amount of the medium that could be preserved in circulation. It is certainly the duty of the state, to preserve in as secure circumstances as possible, our whole train of commercial and financial intercourse. This end, however, is only to be obtained, by resorting to fair and regular measures for excluding from the circulation, paper unworthy of entering into it, and by affording abundant means and sufficient facilities, for supporting this intercourse, without such unworthy in-

struments. How far it may consist with the policy of other nations, to avail themselves of means and facilities, which, while they thereby do themselves no harm, will be productive of such immeasurable universal advantage, we may not be able to estimate. Of this, however, we are certain, that in so far as they do avail themselves of them, in so far will we derive advantage, and to that extent will our national prowess and benign predominancy be extended, confirmed and consolidated; for to that full extent, do these nations preserve means, to which we have access, and resolve their surcharged power and wealth into our system. On the whole, therefore, taking all the circumstances of our situation into view, I think we go not beyond the fair bounds of lawful conjecture, when we suppose that such may ultimately be the amount of the validated impledgments, that we may preserve in circulation, and such the power of the machine, that may be instituted for harmonizing those grand processes, that in course of time, the outstanding balance of our whole national debt may, by these means, come to be converted into authoritative impledgments, and, along with corresponding public imposts, fall to be done away with. Nay, may we not go on still farther and suppose, that the time may at length come, when, after our debt, along with our public imposts are discharged, we may be able to defray the expences of civil government and of the state itself, without any other means, but what the interest of money, to be thus saved and secured to the nation, may be made to afford to us. This way, the nations of the world may be made to repay us the sums

we have expended in their common cause, not only without distressing, but in the way of enriching themselves. This way, too, we may transfer to them the invaluable rudiments of civil, moral and political improvement, as well as those of industry and enterprise, and mutually build up the temple of human society, in all its glory, and in all its excellence.

The statements and considerations that have been adduced, it is apprehended, must set aside every thing like doubt or cavil, respecting the agency of government, in our proposed financial scheme, and impress a thorough conviction, that the business cannot be better disposed of than in its hands. We have seen that Government is already invested with all the necessary functions and powers, and is prepared, *a priori*, to enter into the full exercise of these; that its interference to this end is every way consistent with its character and circumstances; that duties the most indispensible must remain undischarged, like as obligations the most imperious must continue unfulfilled, until it assume this office; and that advantages the most important await its due execution thereof. It remains, however, to notice, that there is still one weighty difficulty in our way, and it is one which government alone can enable us to remove. Whence is this financial process to obtain its first impulse? Are we to wait, till in the progress of things, it work itself forward into full play, and by dint of innate prowess and excellence, develope its superior influences, in spite

of all opposition and discouragement? If this is to be its fate, we must, it is to be feared, form a very different estimate of our project, from that which we have done. Many, very many and very excellent schemes of improvement have not only been lost from defect of power in the primordial impulse, but have been rendered productive of much mischief. As, in the case before us, not only great difficulties, but severe and pertinacious opposition may be expected, such as will affect all and each of us in the most tender point, and bear hardest on us where we are least able to sustain their bearings, it would nearly amount to an abandonment of our design to be remiss in this point.

In order, therefore, at once to overwhelm all the opposition, that the Bank of England and other banks may be able to bring up against us, I propose, that Government do itself give the first impulse to the scheme, by passing its whole disbursements, during one entire year, in authoritative impledgments, under the authority of a legislative act, whereby it would be ordained, not only that these impledgments are to be universally circulable all over the empire, and resoluble into the public funds, as aforementioned, but also, that the whole promissory notes of the Bank of England, and all others, shall thenceforward be resoluble into these impledgments, at the demand of the bearer. This, at first view, may appear to infringe on a proposition formerly laid down, wherein it was stated, that these impledgments were not to be emitted at the

option of the state, but at the option of stockholders. It must be recollected, however, that in setting our scheme agoing, we have a right, not only to calculate on the experience we have attained of the power of our paper currency, when under Bank of England influence, but upon the whole circumstances, by which the primary impulse is to be affected, and on all others that are characteristic of our situation. Unless we do this, we maim our whole design; for it is only after we have discharged our whole duty in regard to this point, that we can fairly look to the consequences that are before us, and calculate on receiving the necessary results of which we are in quest.

But besides this, I would give every possible facility to the full developement of the great plan of improvement, in which these funds are to resolve their power. In order that they might concentrate their essential advantages upon this plan, with the utmost ease and despatch, throughout the whole kingdom, I would establish provincial Boards, in every district, into which Boards, portions of the national funds, commensurate with their occasions, would be conveyed from time to time by the central Board. For the purpose of giving all parties full assurance in their transactions, together with all that aid and relief that their circumstances required, I would also give forth a liberal supply of the medium, at each of these establishments. But I would take every possible precaution to prevent an abuse of this condescending demeanour; I would

make it necessary for the parties requiring a resolution of authoritative impledgments into the metallic medium, to give, at least one day beforehand, a written notification of the quantity and description of bullion that they wanted, and make them state the purposes to which it was to be applied. By these means, while a most complete check could be always maintained against abuse, a very useful scale might be formed of the real occasions for bullion in each community. These occasions, it would become our business to meet on fair ground, and to repress and circumvent every machination, that had for its object the withdrawing bullion, in an undue manner, from the course of circulation.

But I would not stop here, I would at once give the community an earnest and a foretaste of the advantages thus provided for them. For this purpose, I would with the whole amount of that sum that might be saved to the general exchequer, in consequence of our meeting the national expenditure with these authoritative impledgments, purchase up a commensurate quantity of stock at the market prices. The interest thus left with the state, I would, with like promptitude, transfer into the coffers of the nation, by abolishing one of the most burdensome and impolitic of our public imposts. I here refer to the house and window taxes, which have all the mischievous effects of a poll tax, accompanied with this serious aggravation, that they militate in the most direct manner against

improvement, in a department of general industry, which, in our bleak and sombrous climate, is of all others the most deserving of patronage and protection. These considerations are of peculiar importance in the case before us. These taxes, superadded as it were to our manifold indirect taxes, and productive universally of harassment and distress, seem to be of all others the most clamant, and their abolition to be the most likely to excite that full and genial complacency, in that whole class of measures, whence deliverance from them might arise, and thus to insure their general success.

Let us suppose, therefore, that our great financial project is set fully agoing by these means, and under all these advantages, and that, while the relief given to the financial department administers abundant facilities, for carrying forward all that internal improvement, as well as all those external enterprises, which our circumstances point at, the wealthy patrician, as well as the sumptuous votary of taste, ever on the wing for fashionable display, betake themselves in full earnest to the embellishment of their patrimonial domains, and other substantial exhibitions of financial prowess; and that accordingly, while, not only the useful arts, but the fine arts receive all that countenance and support which our circumstances can afford, the inferior classes severally follow out their footsteps, in the same emulous train, and thereby contribute their full quota, in rendering our domestic habitations both delectable and comfortable, and our fertile plains the secure seat of interesting employments; while

our rural scenery, teeming with luxuriant abundance, and even where it is most rugged, fascinating to the imagination, and cheering to the heart, as well as sublime and interesting to the mind of the philanthropic observer—will not thereby our native realms, in other respects the appropriate centre of a widely extended empire, and the grand receptacle of its overflowing wealth, be advanced and ameliorated, in coincidence with the magnificent progression of improvement that is going on, having the full tide of its advantages borne forward in that direction, which is most congenial to its character, and evolving relief and replenishment on every side? Let us I say, suppose such things actually to have taken place, and let us suppose also, that with all these favoring circumstances the grand scheme of improvement, previously sketched out, is developing itself under every advantage, with full effect.—What are the objects and what the circumcumstances, that, as a nation, we ought to have primarily in view, in the way of following up the the high course that is before us?

I answer, that the object, which of all others is the most deserving of our attention, and, indeed, which forces itself upon us most irresistibly, is the magnitude and pressure of our public burdens. Already are the complaints on this score, loud and strong, and if we do not set in earnest about their redress, the superior allurements of more favored climes, when thus reinforced by the comparative lightness of their public burdens, will attract from

us the most effective and independent classes of the community, who will thereby leave on our shoulders a continually increasing load of public imposts. In order to cut this evil short at the outset, before custom and fashion shall have rendered the torrent of emigration irresistible, we must forthwith avail ourselves of every accession of financial advantage, to pay off a correspondent part of our public debt, and thereupon discharge a proportionate extent of our public burdens. It is of considerable importance that this be done in a regular steady manner. Much may be effected by repealing a multitude of petty imposts, whereby Britain is more severely assessed than Ireland. Both countries have exactly the same privileges and advantages, and it is perfectly equitable that they should bear precisely the same burdens. It is true, the Irish regard these distinctive imposts as the safeguards of their manufactures; but it is equally true, that their trade will be effectually borne up, although no such safeguards existed, and that unless we want to keep up incessant and perpetual feuds and animosities betwixt the two countries, those distinctive imposts must all be sooner or later abolished. The truth is; the Irish, from the superior richness of their soil and the low price of labor, have, in effect, the advantage both of the English and of the Scotch manufacturer, seeing our civil and political privileges are alike; so that their seditious clamours on this head are no more deserving of favor or indulgence, that those of a sturdy mendicant, whose stubbornness causes him to nauseate the treatment

you give to your own children, and whose insolence disposes him to reject that provision, which you bestow on those peaceful and faithful adherents, who never spare themselves in your service. If we seriously reflect on the matter, the impolicy as well as the iniquity of our procedure in this business must appear. To the Irish clamorers we have, as it were, already conceded this point, that we ourselves occupy, in regard to them, the vantage ground, and that we do this only by currying favor with them. The moment parties regard each other in this light, discordance is unavoidable. A kind of malignant indignation takes place within that breast, wherein the sense of humiliation is excited, which destroys every principle of gratitude, and induces hostility where co-operation is looked for. Let both nations take one and the same ground, and the principle of self-possession will soon disclose itself; the original distinction will disappear, except when it operates as an incentive to emulation; and both parties will so far rise above the workings of a mind afflicted with a sense of inferiority, that they will be anxious to display their generous independent condition, whenever an opportunity for so doing presents itself. The abolition of these distinctive imposts will thereupon be found, not only to relieve the community, and to simplify a great part of our system of taxation, but to neutralize some of the most obnoxious feelings in our national temperament. I would next proceed to condense and consolidate the remaining duties and imposts, cutting off all forms and practices, together with the imposts with

which they are connected, that have a tendency to oppress individuals, or to transverse the developements of the general system. The retrenchments, which might this way be effectuated in the course of a year or two, would certainly place the country in such circumstances, that nothing very serious could result from the magnitude of our taxation. Our grandees would be incited, not only to improve but to embellish the country of their ancestors, when thus relieved and subserved in their procedure; and our country, thus improved and embellished, in a manner correspondent with its peculiar circumstances, would, from characteristic advantages peculiar to itself, be constituted the centre and the receptacle of all those who, in every nation, could duly relish our superior attainments *.

* One great and leading end and design of all these arrangements is, to harmonize the process of levying public assessments, with the progress of improvement in territorial subjects; and to place landholders and householders of every description in circumstances, wherein they may go on with their investments in these, under the confidence, that they shall enjoy their whole results, in perfect security and tranquillity. It is evident, however, that this end can be held to be but imperfectly attained, while parochial and burgage imposts, poor's rates and tythings, which affect the progress of improvement in the most direct manner, remain on their present footing. We have become so habituated to the extreme harships of these, that we seem almost callous to the distresses to which we are thereby subjected, even, where these tear from us the full value of all that we had previously procured the possession of, and when they absolutely impede the execution of our most necessary improvements. As these modes of assessment have all had their rise in antiquated modes of valuation, and have no other affinity to, nor connexion

Let us therefore continue to suppose, that Government goes on in discharging the national debt, and in abolishing obnoxious or excessive imposts, in every department of the revenue, more particularly

with, the fundamental principles of jurisprudence, than what the merest accident can produce, they, in a case of this kind, deserve no quarter whatever. Under the ancient Jewish economy, the produce of the earth, and that of the herd and of the stall, were not only necessary means of subsistence, tokens of independence, importing dignity of station, and indispensable in the high ceremonies of their sacred ritual; but they constituted also, the general instrument of valuation, and they formed the ordinary result of their reproductive processes. To levy the tenth of these was, therefore, nearly equivalent to levying the tenth part of general income: to levy in kind, at the end of harvest, was nearly tantamount to levying income in its most mature and resolved form. We pay blind devotion to obsolete customs, and disparage their sacred basis. If we drop the antiquated form with its useless encumbrances, retain the principle, and apply it to our circumstances, it is evident, that we will be led to the adoption of an income tax, to be proportioned to the exigencies of the case; and as the principle, with this application of it, is every way respectable, when governed by the rules and principles laid down in this treatise, it amounts to a dereliction of our duty to disregard it. Thereby, we not only levy necessary means in a way, that is fair, equitable, proper, and easily regulated, but we establish one of the greatest bulwarks of our civil and political rights and privileges, and we secure to ourselves one of the most powerful and efficacious fences against the progress of corruption, one that will elevate and purify our national character, while, at the same time, it will afford a range for general improvement, in its most important departments, that must effectually ameliorate our whole circumstances.

I am aware that a check to sumptuousness, in domestic establishments, is generally allowed to be necessary and salutary. I

in the Stamp and Excise departments, where their pressure is literally extreme; and that it is availing itself of every accessible facility for mitigating the hardship of those that remain; there will, in such cir-

must be allowed to state two things in contravention of this generally received notion, to shew, that this mode of expenditure is not without its good effects, and that restraint upon it may go too far. First. Experience has shewn, that according as an individual rises in the sumptuousness of his domestic accommodation, he leaves, at depretiated rates, his former one to individuals below him, who, thereupon again leave theirs to others below them, who again leave theirs to an order still lower; so as in the end to distribute, in a fair way, every advantage of this kind that can be attained, to the community at large. And secondly, we do not thus assess other subjects of valuation. Do we, for instance, tax the lady who wears silk damasks, more than the lady who wears worsted druggets—the gentleman who feeds upon turtle and venison, more than he who feeds on milk and potatoes? —Why is it, therefore, that we assess the person who distributes his means to the public, by procuring a commodious, or elegant mansion, more than the person who hoards these means in a corner of his garret? Shall we say that the first ought to be restrained in his expences? If this is your opinion, tell him so by the letter of your law, and do not pretend to ground your impost on any principle of right. But the fact is, you do not restrain him from expending, you only draw the sum expended into your own pocket. Shall you then say, that this mode of expenditure is injurious to the public, or to the morals of the people? If you say so, you are wrong every way. Let income be the rule of your assessment in every case; let it be fixed and published and perpetually borne on the circumstances of individuals: and you have a fair candid return, uniformly unimpeachable, and you excite and support a delicacy of feeling in regard to personal expenditure, that will disclose itself in every part of one's character and condition.—When you neglect this obvious advantage, and seek to interfere with the

cumstances, two very important advantages spring up to its aid, and go some length in indemnifying the supreme power, for the sacrifices which it may have been led to make, for the good of the people. The first of these will arise from the operation of a well-known principle of taxation. Many of our imposts are so excessive, as to diminish the use or consumpt of the thing assessed. As the relief to be given will fall in with a progression of prosperity and improvement, we must also suppose, that wherever the relief is accorded, there, will a powerful stimulus to the order of industry, thereby favored, be given. That this stimulus may in certain cases prove most immense, must appear manifest, if we consider the parallel case, where in consequence of the prosperous circumstances of the lower orders, coinciding with the fall of the price of certain commodities, that have come into vogue with the great body of the people, an increased consumption of certain articles of luxury has been created. As, in this last instance, the comsumption of every commodity of general use, that is thus favored, must be increased, almost in proportion to the relief thus given; so, in the case on hand, the funds saved will be again laid out according to the state and inclination of individuals. Funds, thus

progress of improvement, so essential and so important as this, you defraud the country of its regular nourishment, and place it upon a regimen, that impairs its natural growth and excellence; which feeds baleful humours and disorderly dispositions, and prepares for the most fatal consequences.

set at liberty, cannot be absorbed or be withdrawn from the public service; they must in the way of expenditure be extended to other objects; all of which objects will be found to be more or less productive of revenue to Government. On the whole, as the funds thus saved, will have their vent in other assessable commodities, it must ultimately be found, that the revenue can at the worst lose but little; taking it therefore for granted, that we must, at the same time, acquire proportionate incentives and means for carrying forward and extending our improvements, we must also conclude, that the general returns to the revenue will, in the aggregate, for a long time after the rate of assessment has been diminished, be borne up to their former amount, or rather be increased; these returns, no doubt, describing a longer circuit amongst our means before they reach the exchequer, than they formerly did.

These things are all, on the whole, very obvious, and it cannot be said that Government has altogether overlooked the advantages, necessarily resulting from digesting and consolidating the general system of taxation. It is evident, however, that while public burdens continue on the increase, and indeed until there be a sufficiently disposable revenue, to bear our affairs completely above all the hazards of shortcoming, nothing more than a simplification of arrangement can be looked for. Under the circumstances supposed, however, besides the foregoing direct advantage, there is another of an indirect, but of a much more efficient and

powerful character that must rise up into its hands. Commercial objects it is evident must fall in price, in consequence of the subtraction of imposts from their denominative amount, and in consequence of the increased momentum, regularity, and improvement, that will be introduced into the processes for producing them. Government, as an immense consumer of commercial objects, and as having a large fixed definite revenue, to lay out on these, as well as in liquidating its debts, must enjoy a proportionate share of this advantage, common to all consumers, and of course, be capacitated to effect more by smaller means than it does at present. In the meantime, in consequence of the progression of improvement, and of the vast advantages inherent in the medium, and accruable from possession of the medium; and in consequence of the advanced and advancing state of society, whereby every one will be disposed to make the most of his means, and to go on with his investments, the demand for the medium will remain unimpaired, or rather, it will become progressively more and more stable and powerful, notwithstanding the diminished sum that will now command commodities, so that Government will continue to have vast means to dispose of, even although its nominal revenue should sustain an abatement.

These circumstances bring into view the key-stone, whereby the general system is bound up, of which we have been so long in search. As it is evident, that where there is a constant demand and necessity

for funds, and an actual subtraction from the price of commercial objects, the power of funds, the instrument which commands such objects, must increase; so it is no less manifest, that since, as representing the public debtor, and as the impledger of all our national debts, Government is merely that fulcrum, which has suspended to it, on one side, the taxes which are levied to pay these debts, and on the other side, the counterbalancing duty and obligation of discharging those debts, and that therefore since it cannot, in the capacity of debtor, gain any thing by the fall of commodities, whatever it may gain by this fall, in its capacity as a great consumer of such commodities, the advantage thus far must fall into the hands of the national creditor, whether he holds funds or impledgments. Farther, as it is evident, that since, by means of the options provided for the national creditor, on which the whole of this scheme turns, an indefinite supply of the medium must be introduced into the money market, commensurate with every demand that can be made upon this market, and this, too, at the fair regulated and determinate rate of five per cent. per annum; so it is no less evident, that the market price of money will soon become completely and permanently fixed and established at or about that rate; so as that the price of commodities, and of every commercial object will fall to be regulated accordingly. Money will be, in the circumstances supposed, what perhaps it has never yet been, a fixed and unalterable test, not only of the price, but of the relative market value of all the objects to which

it can be applied. But as, on the whole, while the demand for other objects, will amidst this progression of things, be vacillating and unsteady, the demand for the medium, in the circumstances supposed, must be absolute, permanent, and uninterupted, and altogether different from that, which an adventitious dearth of funds, while it prevails, produces in the commercial and financial world; so the expansion of the power of property, vested in funds, like as we have seen the expansion of the power of property, vested in land or other heritable subjects, will be not merely fixed and established, but progressive; and it will continue to give the money holder a similar advantage, so long as the strength and purity of the system can be maintained; which we may warrantably hope, will be coeval with our national existence. In illustration of this position, it is only necessary to notice, that the funds drawn out are not fruitlessly expended, they run out into investments in the most productive of all processes, in territorial improvements of vast value and importance, throughout the whole extent of the British empire, and in subjects and institutions, whereby personal advancement, and individual prowess and improvement, are unfolded and established. These funds do not disappear from the circle; they are evolved, by dint of the vital energies of our system, amidst impledgments, validated and authoritative, and establishments, commercial and financial, public and private, and are thereby made to serve as a flux or menstruum to the processes of reproduction, always maintaining, as well as circulating, the value

and power which they represent, and always disclosing the prowess, as well as the rights of every object on which they are borne.

Let us now advance still higher, and see how the key-stone thus provided is fitted to its place. We perceive that the vast political fabric, which we have upreared, rests on a basis that cannot be shaken, and that all its parts are completely adapted to, and concatenated with, each other; but how is this facility of resolving funds into the medium, and the medium into funds, to combine the whole into one, and to give to its whole constitution stability and excellence? That vast body of public creditors whom you would discharge from your system, though upheld by a process of taxation, which drains our vital energies, must, from the necessity of their circumstances, again pour forth their attainments through that tranquil channel, which their ordinary consumption and expenditure will at times keep clear; and thus insensibly recruit those energies which they had previously distrained. Of all those virtues you dispoil our system, at the very time, that you relieve it of its encumbrances. These you pass away, or resolve into new processes of reproduction, new objects of labor and anxiety, which you are pleased to designate new fields of enterprise. But where is the value, where is the advantage of your scheme? how can you make it bear upon and support that beautiful order of improvement, which we profess so much to venerate?

The answer to all this is found in the character and object of our system. That tranquillity and depression, which are thus extolled, are its greatest bane. These are indications of plethorism, which call directly for relief. The national creditors are not to find their means decreased, or their labors or their cares uselessly augmented, under the arrangement above proposed. They have new objects before them, which call forth fresh energies and resources having pre-eminent virtue and importance. But these, while they maintain and improve myriads of human beings, enable and dispose them to send forth redoubted means and capacities, which are no less subservient to immense commercial and financial, than to inestimable political and moral designs: and the national creditor, in running off his funds into territorial investments, is not only renovating the face of the globe, but augmenting his own and the national faculties for receiving and replacing investments. It is evident, therefore, that while the fruits of increase must, in such circumstances, be augmented, the means of enjoyment, improvement and investment multiplied, and the instrument for distributing and apportioning these correspondently increased—it is evident, I say, in such circumstances, that funds in an aggregate state, and the resolutions of funds in a circulable state, in a national, as well as in a commercial point of view, must be proportionally facilitated. These may not be profusely thrown into the hands of the state, or other public bodies, to be dispersed in projects of ambition, or in enterprises without end,

and without object: but that funds, thus fixed and aggregated, will most assuredly continue to increase, in great and powerful masses, amidst nobler and higher objects of investment; and that they will, in this form, continue to give forth fruits to the mere money-dealers, both more powerfully and more steadily; and that the value of these fruits will be constantly and permanently on the increase, are positions, so naturally and completely established by all that has been said, as to require no farther exposition or illustration whatever.

It must follow as a matter of course from all these results, that the value, importance, and efficacy, of Government emissions, will be more and more established and confirmed. There can never arise any great difficulty from the profusion of these funds; for every difficulty will be obviated by Government's continuing to give, amidst such profusion, five per cent. interest, which no other establishment will venture to give, and which must excite and support a strong tendency to resolve its emissions back again into fixed funds in its hands. Thus we see that our key-stone will be not only fitted to, but, if I may use the expression, rivetted into its proper place; insomuch, that not the pushing of these emissions forward in the circle, but the preserving them in it, when thus introduced, will be the great object of solicitude. This circumstance may give rise to new general emissions, on the part of government, in the course of its ordinary expenditure; new consequent discharges of public debt; and new abroga-

tion of public imposts. A diminution in the rate of interest will ultimately follow, and still farther relieve the state and the community.

It is here distinctly understood, that, all the while, the price of labor, the wages of industry, the emoluments of office, the fees and salaries of all functionaries, and the revenue of all landholders and annuitants, are to remain unimpaired; and of course that each individual, in every department of life, from the Prince to the peasant, finds his circumstances advanced, and his command over the means of enjoyment, improvement, and investment, increased on all hands. It is entirely from the diminution of public imposts, from the enhanced energies of improvement, from the increased power of our system, and from the extension of its general range, and not from any encroachment on the rights or means either of one class or of another, that this ameliorated state of things proceeds. Vigorous incentives, fresh means, genial influences, are introduced; and these endow individuals, not only with a greater proportion of every thing desireable, but with faculties and capacities for exercising such advantages with superior effect, sufficient to render their results, correspondent to the character and operation of the general system. No doubt, multitudes on all hands will be left behind. Indolence, incapacity and perversity, must still have their place in the world, and they must continue to produce similar deleterious consequences. These consequences, however, will be lost in the

great and overwhelming influences of that system of improvement, in which they are engulphed; and dereliction of duty will then, as it has always done, not only bring down chastisement proportioned to its character, but furnish beacons and incentives, for keeping all parties close to their own sphere of duty.

I proceed, accordingly, to remark, that taking things on the great scale now laid down, all fully along with us, we must hold, that we have at length secured to ourselves those means of intercourse, in quest of which we, at the outset, began our investigations. We see that an instrument of exchange, comprising faculties of increment, coincident with our circumstances, is provided; whereby our respective possessions, like those of the pastoral fathers, may be resolved under every advantage into absolute wealth, and maintained in that state in any shape or condition that suits our views, always sending forth appropriate fruits, and always conforming itself to the circumstances of our procedure. We, like these ancients, may always, individually, preserve our establishments in a steady order of advancement, without interruption; and we, as one great political body, will always find their value, and the amount of our respective acquirements, resolved in numerical increase; and thus effectually escape all those losses and calamities, worse than those that result from earthquakes and volcanoes in the natural world, to which at present we are incessantly exposed.

I go on farther to notice, that all these advantages may be enjoyed by us, in a state of comparative independence. We have not, in our commercial or in our political transactions, now to run the appalling hazards, and encounter the tremendous disasters, which are inseparable from constant dependance on restricted intercourse. Those limits to our course of production and consumption, whereby our means and our talents were most injuriously compressed, and that waiting for and hastening on of those absorptions of our valuable commodities and productions, in which our strength was so fruitlessly exhausted, will now be done away with. We have always admitted, that it is of no moment to us who consume our productions, if the value, in a realized state, be but procured in return. The difficulty has always lain in this—how we are to obtain this value, in that realized state, which suits our own necessities. We have accordingly been led to introduce our commodities, by any means, into any market, and to take in return whatever that market can afford us, to be again through a longer or shorter course, (for the most part, unprofitable, pernicious and hazardous,) resolved anew; and this, perhaps too, in a way that calls more or less for fresh resolutions; the value of our first investments remaining always absolutely dependent on the ultimate fate of these resolutions. Now, it is evident, that the whole of this difficulty is completely got over, in consequence of the abundance of our medium, in every quarter of the empire; by means of the readiness, whereby intercourse with every other nation can be main-

tained, throughout its vast extent; and in virtue of these facilities and advantages that are provided for giving every financial and commercial operation, its full and equitable bearing on those processes of investment and reproduction, wherein all that is, or can be dear and precious to us, as human beings and moral agents, is comprised. The readiness with which the medium, thus procured, can again be resolved into fixed funds, and, when thus resolved, can again, without risk, be converted into circulable instruments, not only in the centre of the empire, but in every other mercantile station within its bounds, comes next into account. This prepares for the mere money-holder a retreat for his means, wherein he may securely enjoy their fruits, without risk and without trouble. Thereupon, his circumstances, always steady and progressive, will maintain a command over commercial objects, and bring these, ever and anon, under the power of the medium, to its definite amount; which power and command being absolute, wherever the British sceptre isswayed, the result unquestionably must be, that our industry, as well as our means, will be placed in the most commanding attitude. In place of being dependent on every other nation, and resting entirely on the immediate developements of our own industry, always resolving themselves in similar means; we, as a nation, that transacts in funds, will at length come to deal in that instrument, which universally commands means, and this instrument we will, in the natural order of our affairs, be led to aggregate, in a productive and consolidated form,

wherever our means are received; and in this form to introduce it into our territory, as both the ultimate and immediate result of our financial and commercial prowess. Abundance of means will necessarily follow, but this abundance lands us into no difficulty, it produces no regorgement, for it arises out of, and resolves itself into our wants. No concretion of our powers or faculties can in such circumstances ensue. Coertion is foreign to its character, for the emulative principle must incessantly call forth the instrument of independence; and this instrument must exercise its power, in such a way, as to render this independence as universal, as the circumstances of human beings, in a state of general advancement, will admit of. Such a course of things, it is evident, must have the most direct tendency to break to pieces every thing like concretion; for its principles must be insinuated into every crevice of social life. By paying deference to every human want, and every human desire, relief from every check that is inconsistent with the principles of true liberty, as defined by sound morality, has been found to be ultimately attained. It is, however, only by duly respecting those superior wants, and those sublime desires, which arise from exalted and purified principles, by following them out to their object, and by accompanying them in their developements, that we can raise our munificent system above the range, which desolating corruption describes, and render its various evolutions, at once independent and secure. This has been the main design of the project heretofore elucidated, and its

chief advantage consists in this, that while it effectually combats the interests of selfish isolated aggrandisement, it bears up all that is congenial to human advancement to its proper sphere.

Notwithstanding all that has been said to obviate them, there is one sweeping class of objections that will no doubt be urged against the whole plan. As these objections bulk greatly at first sight, and are on the whole very plausible, and thus may possess irresistible force with those who are not disposed to enter deeply and seriously into the subject, they cannot be altogether passed over, although the answer to them has been already anticipated. Are we, it may be said, to bereave our system of its staminal strength, and to unhinge its established organization, by colonial enterprises, which make full way to the lower classes of the community, and to urge these on, amidst fascinating and delusive scenes of adventure? Are we, moreover, as a favored race of men, to usurp supremacy over every rude and depressed tribe of our fellow creatures, whom accident or advantage has placed under our power? Are we, in fine, to set about dissolving that concatenated prowess, in which the strength and stability of the state consists, in the prospect of acquiring and maintaining paramount influence all over the globe, by means of incessant dislocations, to be operated by us, wherever we can have access?

That I do not rest any part of my answer to these

objections, upon that position on which our modern sophists so ingeniously establish their apologies for war, devastation, corruption and oppression, viz. that there is such a tendency in the human race to increase, that the great difficulty is, to counteract and manage matters, so as to prevent our population from overshooting our means, for supplying its wants, and to dispose of the excess of this population, with the least possible disorder; nor proceed to argue, that the project before us comes in aid of this design, must now be sufficiently manifest. This hypothesis, having been scouted as alike presumptuous and erroneous, I betook myself to that mode of meeting the difficulty, which coincides with all that has been said, and which must, to all those who recognize the divine excellence of the Christian system, be acknowledged to be conclusive. Our whole circumstances point out to us the advantage of such an outlet to our teeming energies, as that which is here proposed. Our great acquirements will thereupon disclose themselves amidst high exercises; and, in the direct course of communicating, on liberal mercantile principles, the surcharged results of these exercises to others, amidst transactions and communications, at once sublime and benignant, will our constantly growing resources arise up into our hands, and bring along with them, adequate means and instruments for remedying every deficiency, and for repressing every deletereous tendency, according as these may appear, without our burdening ourselves about incredible hazards. On looking abroad into the world, we perceive that

our agency, in this very form, in as far as human wisdom can discern, so far from being intrusive, or injurious, is indispensibly necessary, in order to carry forward the great business of civilizing and proselyting the human race, and of improving and ameliorating the human condition. This duty is accordingly laid upon us in the clearest and fullest manner. We know, and all past experience compels us to confide in our knowledge of it, that it is only by following out our duty, amidst all its consequences, that we are safe. Let us look to the war, from which we have at length emerged, and think what would have been the universal fate of the world, if we, as a nation, had done any thing less than we have done. We have now a different object before us, but the career is precisely the same. By adhering to our clearest apprehensions of duty and of interest, our system must unfold itself in its natural character; by refusing to adhere to it, it must change its character, and tend towards its termination. Like as the riches and honors, and immense national and political advantages, left in the hands of King Solomon by his most illustrious father, were destinated to the peculiar service of heaven, and to a course of developement and display, correspondent to this destination, without being precluded from other objects, congenial to the general character of the system; in like manner, are the riches and honors, privileges and advantages, that have fallen into our hands, adapted to, and urged forward in, services equally sublime and glorious; having incitations and facili-

ties thereto borne on all its circumstances. We must exercise ourselves in these services, or consent to become parties in projects of aggrandizement, luxury and oppression; and to go on in establishing power, that can only be maintained by severe exactions, in producing objects that can only administer to degenerate appetites, and in creating debts and obligations in our own favour, which can only be cancelled amidst bankruptcy, disorder and desolation. These two paths lie open before us; one or other of them we must and will pursue. The question with us, therefore, comes to be simply this; whether or not shall we, by following out that grand career in which we have reaped so much honor and advantage, conform ourselves to the design of Heaven, pursue the path of duty, and obey the most purified influences of our own system; or give ourselves up to these degenerating propensities, which will speedily sink us amidst the mass of surrounding nations, loaded with the opprobrium of having deserted those resplendent ensigns, under which we had become so renowned.

As to the privations to be encountred at home, from our being occupied amidst such high and extrinsic affairs, it is only necessary to remark, that as no one can embark in these affairs, without a sufficient command over all mercantile objects, a command that is only to be attained in consequence of the delivery of the full equivalent, so no one who has it not fully in his power, to meet with his own means, the full consequences of misadventure, can

possibly be affected by these. The impledgments, which constitute in the hands of individuals this power, are themselves the standard as well as the emblem of realized wealth, to their full imported amount, and as no one will part with these otherwise, than as bearing that absolute value which they represent, so it may be safely left to the option of individuals, to choose for themselves, that line of adventure, which best befits their own interests. As to those changes in the condition of the lower orders, about which such apprehensions take place; can we suppose, that any specific provision, however powerful, comprehensive and apt, will be sufficient to bear these out of their place? Will not multitudes, in every class of society, be left behind for inferior objects, in spite of all we can do to upraise them? Here, however, we are fighting with a shadow; it is not the object of our system to dislocate the established provisions of society, but to reinforce them, to exercise them when thus reinforced on those objects which are most supremely deserving of their regard, to dignify and embellish all their functions, when thus exercised, and to carry these onward to their object, under every advantage that our circumstances can disclose. The truth is, however, there is amongst the dominant classes, a jealousy, or rather a detestation of the inferior orders of society, which disposes these classes to make great sacrifices, and to encountre vast hazards, rather than meet these on equal, or any thing like equal, ground. To individuals thus disposed, it would be a needless as well as a thankless task, to go over the particular-

ly great and transcendent advantages, that throughout this whole system are respected, as peculiar to their class. When individuals can shew or can express such sentiments, they know neither satiety nor gratification; they must bear down all, or be borne down themselves: every other consideration is then forgotten. It belongs to such principles to appear most undaunted, when they have least strength. All we can do is, to caution such men against presuming too much on any advantage, to which their station gives them a peculiar claim. Whatever their advantages are, they are not held by a surer tenure than those, which each individual of the enlightened exalted population of Britain possesses, to every advantage that can result from the exercise of every faculty, talent, resource and energy, which, in the course of Divine Providence, has fallen fairly and regularly into his hands, and to the availing himself of these, to the very utmost length, that his powers lawfully exercised can enable and dispose him to do. It does not now depend altogether on the British Government, or on any government, whether this immunity shall remain to each individual of us in this unqualified state, or not. The principles of our system are too strong for counteraction on this point; resources innumerable, whence deliverance and safety may be obtained, are before us and around us; such as must occur to every one who thinks seriously on the subject; and these, were our Government to derelinquish its own principles, (which we have, thank God, no reason whatever to apprehend) would effectually bring

down upon its head, the full punishment of its demerit. It is no less necessary for the government, than for the community, to do its duty faithfully. It is in thus exercising ourselves, that our safety as individuals is maintained; and since the state is no less dependent on a correspondent faithful discharge of its duty, no order of men can grossly disparage such duty, without experiencing, as the instrument of such disparagement, the baleful consequences of its own procedure.

The chief danger, to which our system is exposed, is that tendency to corruption and deterioration which is inseparable from human affairs; and the chief advantage of the scheme now disclosed is, that it counteracts this tendency, in the most powerful and strenuous manner. Licentiousness, in the lower orders, can only be effectually repressed, by that luminous and vigorous execution of the laws, which it is its object gradually to introduce. Profligacy, in the middle orders, is only to be completely restrained, by that wise and magnanimous adaptation of these laws to all our circumstances, which is held to follow from its developements. Perversity, in the powers which constitute the state, can only be curbed by that systematic application of their offices to their object, which the radical improvements, that are proposed, import. It is evident, that in our legislative assemblies, where above a thousand of the most illustrious and respectable personages of the nation are aggregated; where great talents and virtues, of every kind, are most

assiduously exercised ; and where the benign principles of the system are kept in full play, amidst objects which excite the most emulous exertion, that the great affairs of the nation will, on the whole, make advances towards improvement, either in one way or another ; and that, with these advantages, the structure of our laws and public regulations, even under the administration of them such as it is, may serve tolerably well for the ordinary purposes of society. But the circumstances of the world, more particularly those of Christendom, and in a special manner those of our own nation, and its multiplied and diversified establishments, call imperiously for systematic improvement, on a scale much more extended, and much more appropriate to their object, and point out the consequences of dereliction of our principles, in a way, that is not to be misunderstood. These, as the voice of Heaven, call us to our duty, and lay before us the tendencies, the consequences, and the results of disregarding its dictates.

Even as things stand at present, and have long stood, the King of Great Britain wears the most glorious and enviable crown, that was ever worn by any earthly monarch. It is the centre, towards which the whole honors and affections of a race of men of the highest characters, necessarily tend ; it is the source, from whence the favour and the fervor of a most powerful people incessantly flows. The splendor and influence which it unfolds, are the results of its characteristic advantages ; and if deprived of these, if unsupported by a magnanimous

and enlightened nobility, and a respectable and powerful commonalty, it would not enjoy its present lustre, although it ruled over the whole Globe, with unbounded sway. In like manner, the aristocratic order, established amongst us, unlike that order in most other nations, where it has become the origin of faction, and the instrument of oppression, has, on several most important occasions, procured liberties and immunities for the people, and upheld the power and grandeur of the throne. The democratic part of our constitution, so far from being an object of terror or of hatred, either to the Crown or to the patrician order, as is generally the case in other countries, where the interests of liberty are but imperfectly understood, has voluntarily recognized, defined and perpetuated to both these parties, their respective rights and privileges, so that, in the end, the splendor of the British nobility, like the lustre of the British Crown, is unfolded by these very means. It has been exalted above that of every other set of patricians, that ever existed in any age or in any country; and this splendor our nobility enjoy in the most perfect peace, harmony and security, for the highest social and civil duties.

Yet it must not be forgotten, that all these advantages have been obtained in the way of doing our duty, and of pursuing the whole objects which it embraces, amidst every difficulty and danger; and that it is only, as irradiated with the blessings earned in the service of that cause, which it is the supreme object of man upon earth to promote, that the

glorious effulgence of our system is disclosed. It is here that our prosperity, our safety, our improvement, our excellence, are to be found. It is into this point that the great project now before us converges itself; and it is from it, that it again extracts those blessings in which all our peculiar excellence consists. The means, and the powers, with which we set to work, are alike the result of its operations; and the strength of the increase, which these give forth, flows incessantly from these supernal energies which it inspires. It concentrates the advantages which it produces, at the same time that it diffuses their benign influences in every direction. Thereupon do we derive confidence to look with humble submission to the Most High, for his blessing on all our endeavours, and assurance that this trust shall not be reposed in vain. Into his hands then let us now resign these affairs, earnestly beseeching him, that whatever portion of our plan he may be pleased to favor, therewith his gracious countenance may be given.

NOTE

Referred to in Page 836.

That part of the work, which is here referred from, was passed through the press, about the middle of the year 1812; when the whole disposeable force of France, and of the immense territory under her control, was in full motion for the invasion of Russia; and when the Ottoman Porte, labouring under internal disorders, which disclosed the inadequacy of its strength to approaching evils, and immersed amidst the mazes of French influence, seemed to be as incapable of acting to its own interests, as the meanest Potentate in Christendom. The chief part of the European Continent, having been previously subjugated by the arms of the great destroyer, and its strength and means resolved into his hands, deliverance, in existing circumstances, was not then looked for, from the solitary or collected exertions of any of its political establishments. Its population, as well as its resources, were already arranged and exercised under banners that obeyed the voice of their common tyrant, and a successful issue, to the blow that he was meditating, was all that was awanting, to enable him to deprive them even of their distinctive name, and to absorb them into his political essence. In these circumstances, an awful suspense hung over the nations. The slow but steady advance of general improvement, and a thorough devolution of the highest principles of the system, (resources in reserve, and the main theme of the foregoing treatise,) were then unequal to the press of the occasion. It was not at that time foreseen, that the destroyer, with his whole means, and resources would be so

soon, and so completely, entrapped in a snare of his own providing; nor was it conjectured, that after having been extricated from his embarrassments, he and his nation would anew be hurled, with precipitancy, from their usurped supremacy. It was hoped, and believed, that the great events, then on the tapis, would tend to the subversion of this baleful tyranny, and that out of this overthrow, a renovated order of things might arise; and the reference to subsequent animadversions, to be introduced in the form of a note at the close of the work, when it was expected that the progress of events would have rendered the subject more capable of elucidation, was then made under these views. Since the French system, however, has not only been subverted, but the ancient *regime*, with as little alteration as possible, restored, the animadversions to be introduced must be, in many respects, different from those that were first contemplated.

The Grand Seignor, true to his interests, had relied on the solemn asseverations of the Christian Princes, and he has profited accordingly. He has not only witnessed, but he has experienced the operation, and reaped the advantage, of their faithful and moderate councils. May the lesson of magnanimity, and the blissful gust of genial and cordial complacency in the prosperity of others, thus bestowed, have their full effect, both upon his councils and upon their affairs! and may the time soon come, when Constantinople shall again find, in its lawful sovereign, a determined and an irresistible renovatist, who will boldly uncover the shrine of execrable imposture, and plant himself and his people within the pale of the true religion; placing their whole confidence in its heavenly doctrines, and finding assurance thereto, amidst the sublime virtues which these unfold! Then, will our emotions, on adverting to the circumstances of the possessors of those delicious and highly interesting regions, be no less gratifying than triumphant, and our beneficent de-

signs towards them be unstained, by those darkening projects, that arise out of revolutionary schemes and interferences.

The restoration of the Bourbons to the throne of France has been accompanied with circumstances, which call forth transcendent veneration and esteem. This genuine proof of the generous policy, and Christian forbearance, of the Allied Sovereigns, must for ever silence the cavils of those who taxed them with sinister designs, and add a splendor to their fame, which no length of time can efface. It remains, however, to be seen, whether this great deed of sacred duty shall be blessed to those who are the main partakers of it or not. If these mutually offending parties—the dynasty, by whose profligacy and depravity, France and all Europe have been prepared for revolutionary horrors, and the nation, whose unparalleled wickedness, treachery and debasement have produced those horrors, shall, like our first parents when taken in their fatal apostacy, receive, with sufficient cordiality, their high behests, and cheerfully follow the paths of prescribed duty, in conformity to the laws of that pure system, which they virtually profess to revere; and thereby each, in their place, contribute to build up that frame of society, which coincides with its character; then, Europe and France may long enjoy peaceful concord, and the memory of the past evil serve only the more to attach to present good. But should these parties, one or both of them, despise the lessons given them by the Most High, and place their confidence in criminal practices, or in outdoing each other in plausible derelictions of their sacred trust: then, doubtless a worse thing will befal them; the elements of society will be again endowed with deletereous principles, and their latter destruction will be more complete than their former. As a mean for enabling them to bear themselves out of such danger, ought not some part of that vast expanse of colonial territory, which is so cumbersome to Spain, to be allotted to

France, for the purpose of receiving and exercising those restless spirits, whose want of employment as boisterous as their characters, renders them so troublesome at home; and for that of exciting and establishing a regular stimulus to that species of systematic improvement, which coincides most completely with the French character? It may soon be too late to resort to these alterative courses. Indeed, if we do not now avail ourselves of it, the resorting to it afterwards may but aggravate the evil which it is our business to irradicate; that absorbent, which, if used in due time, might have quenched combustion, will, when this shall have reached its full strength, but add strength to its vehemence.

The events, that have brought down the power of France, and overthrown the empire of Napoleon, cannot be regarded with too much attention, when they are viewed as the workings of Almighty power. That nation, professed to disseminate universally the principles of pure personal liberty, and to be zealous only to draw these forth in all their fervor. They had a full opportunity of disclosing to mankind what they meant by these professions. Their chief made professions, equally loud and strong, respecting his deference to the essential interests of nations and of society at large; and he, too, obtained scope equally ample for giving specimens of what he meant by these professions. It was not, however, until monuments of the treachery of their professions, and of the atrocity of their procedure, with all their consequences and results were produced, such as displayed the character of their system, under a form the most unequivocal and uncontrovertible, sufficient to challenge the attention of men of every age and of every country that they were permitted to envelope themselves, in that tremendous ruin in which they were lost. This order of Divine procedure is announced to us in his word, and it becomes us as at all times to carry it forward in our speculations, and to note its concurrence and trace its coincidence with passing events. I defend

neither the character of the Spanish nation, nor the conduct of their patriots; but when I see, in their supreme councils, a dereliction of moral principle, horrible in the extreme, an accumulation of crimes, progressively more and more aggravated and atrocious, it is proper here, as in the case of Bonaparte and his nation, to remark, that the system which, in defiance of the light of truth, in which it is immersed, gives forth such darkness, and which converts such grateful nourishment into such malignant poison, is hastening on to its maturity. The time and space allowed it for developing its fruits in the greatest perfection and profusion, and the means bestowed upon it for exhibiting these on every hand, cause it to shew most powerfully its genuine character, and to indicate with the greatest precision its deleterious influences. It is long since the nature and properties of the Romish superstition were first prominently set forth in their true light, and analyzed in the face of Europe; but heretofore, it had not disclosed its gross dereliction of moral principle, nor outraged the character of the system out of which it arose, and to which it professedly clung, so completely as it has now done. It seems to have been reserved for those, who have been the most blind, pertinacious and furious adherents of that superstition, to exhibit this to human view. Considering those parties as but hastening on that consummation, into which such matters necessarily lead, I have only to notice, that since these parties are disclosing, in the face of the sun, an inveterate attachment to the works of darkness; and moreover, since we, as a nation, have had abundant proofs that our safety and strength lies, not in such works, nor in any earthly object, but in the grace and mercy of the Most High, it becomes us to beware of participating in their crimes, least we also participate in their punishment.

We must not, however, arrogate to ourselves merit which is not our due. We are a great commercial nation, and we

seek wealth and power with a strenuousness, that bears down every ordinary consideration. There is nothing in this that is in itself blame-worthy. But if, in our pursuit, we so far forget the hand from which the blessing we are in quest of proceeds, as to disregard or disparage those duties, which as a peculiarly favored nation are laid upon us; and still more, if we ply towards our object in gross dereliction of those obligations, and resolutely traverse the progress of that truth, which it is our first and most imperious duty to maintain; then, most assuredly, we are pushing onwards to the same goal, with the Emperor Napoleon and the King Ferdinand. Our prosperity is but a tolerance from Heaven, to draw forth our commercial avidity to its full extent, and our greatness is but additional dimensions to that range of criminality that is going forward. When this end shall have been reached, similar and correspondent punishment will be found to be awaiting us; such punishment as will indicate at once the true character of our procedure, and the height and the depth of our demerit. The object and tendency of our proper course of duty, having in the course of this treatise been sufficiently elucidated, it is only necessary here to intimate, that, at present, we are far from having conformed to its object. Does not the territorial predominancy of the East India Company, immured as it is by British Acts of Parliament, and Post Office arrangements, stand as directly in the way of the progress of truth, as the inquisition at Madrid? To resort to such measures as these, for the defence of our national means, argues, on our part, just so much more disrespect for the cause, and distrust in the power, that has saved us, than the re-establishment of that bloody office does on the part of Spain, as our knowledge and experience of the character of this cause and operations of this power, exceed those of Spain. Furthermore, knowing that we cannot with impunity become parties in, or guarantees for, the immunities of foreign sovereigns, farther than these are necessarily resolved into the pure and beneficent character of

our system—has our complacency in the views of our foreign connexions been circumscribed by this paramount consideration? No; we cannot say that it has. Have we not for very trifling, or rather for very worthless objects, consented to bind up our procedure in regard to points the most important, in order to subserve the views of a cabal of despotic kings, and to place our energies and resources, and all our national means and attainments, under influences that cannot improve, and that may degrade our national character and condition?

In order to place this procedure in its true light, it is necessary to call to remembrance the circumstances of our late situation. Nothing can be more certain than that Bonaparte's plan extended to matters the most important and comprehensive. We amuse ourselves by comparing him to a demon, frantic with ambition, and delirious from success; and, considering his inroad into Russia as the result of these wild propensities, we may concern ourselves little about the leading object or design of this inroad; here, however, as every where else, Bonaparte disclosed a depth of contrivance, that was equalled only by the darkness of his intentions. Had he succeeded in overthrowing the Russian Empire, (and who that carefully considers the extent and value, arrangement and organization of his means, can hesitate in admitting, that, on the ordinary grounds of computation, he might warrantably calculate on accomplishing this overthrow,) all Europe had been at his feet, and its immense means and resources most completely at his disposal. The event has shewn that he calculated not in vain on the co-operation of America, which all the while was drawing off our national resources, and defrauding us of our seamen, and which, when the fate of Christendom hung in doubt, plunged herself into his scale. That this diversion in his favour was to his cause most important, and to ours most alarming, is equally obvious. Let us suppose that either in consequence

of the winter's setting in later than usual, in place of earlier, and being more mild in place of being more severe; or in consequence of his advancing more warily than he did, that Bonaparte had, in the end, proved successful. What would have have been the consequence? In the first place, the greatest mass of naval resources in the world would have been at his disposal; and in the next, we would speedily have found ourselves waylaid in every extrinsic effort. We know that the influence of terror and dismay, when thus exalted, would have been universal and irresistible, and that their consequences in such circumstances would have had the force and velocity of lightning. Our national arm would then have become paralyzed; and, as far as human eye can see, our condition have been absolutely desperate. I know that we are accustomed to separate our personal interests from those of the state, and to cast fond looks to America as a resort in all our difficulties. Let us recollect, however, that America was not only committed against us, but in favour of Bonaparte and all his designs; and that, it is but too probable, that he would have found it noways difficult to reconcile the philosophical rulers of that hemisphere, by means of these patrician and equestrian honours, whereby he would have proceeded to demark their condition in society, to dispart their interests and feelings from the cause of their republic, and to attach these to some branch of his own system. No man can look at Bonaparte's scheme of operations, without being satisfied that these matters came within his design. He is blamed for neglecting Spain; but what would all the advantages that could have been gained there have availed us, if he had overthrown Russia? The procrastination of that war served but to wear out the strength of Britain, to encumber it with difficulties in prosecuting her main interest, to bind the colonial empire of Spain to that triumphal car which would carry the palm at home, and to render our successes within the peninsula, not merely sterile, but devastating.

What has saved Europe? We will no doubt be told of the magnanimity of the Emperor Alexander, and the victories of Wellington. Perhaps it would be better to mention, that Bonaparte, being in consequence of his connexion with Austria, paralyzed on that side, where most exertion was needful, and having, on account of his deadly hatred to Britain, and consequent ill advised commercial interferences, alienated the best disposed part of his subjects from his interests, was, from a kind of necessity, led to apostatize from those principles on which his career had heretofore so successfully proceeded. In place of hurling the resources of his allies into the field before him, he contented himself with drawing out those means, which subjugated Europe, through the hands of its legitimate sovereigns, could regularly collect and transfer under his power. It so happened, however, that these sovereigns, though in his estimation scarcely more than titular, had it in their power, (perhaps from his ill-defined complacency in his father-in-law's interests,) during the procrastination of the war in Russia, to act for once independently, and under impressions of horror and despair, which his known perfidy and treachery had produced. These resources, rested upon, and held to be under his command, or at any rate as in reserve, were thereupon found in battle array against himself. The stupendous victories of the great Duke of Wellington, and other monuments of British generosity and prowess, attracted to our standards all that was disposable on one side; while the successes of the Russians, and their generous and faithful deportment to the allied sovereigns insured this advantage on the other. Thus, while Bonaparte had forfeited his honor so completely on all hands, that nothing but the most complete success could bear him up, and this having failed him, and his career hastening to its termination—the Prince Regent—in consequence of his steady adherence to the councils on which the British Government had already acted, seconded by correspondent conduct on the part of the Emperor of Austria, and availing him fully of all these ad-

vantages—rallied round his standards the scattered forces and resources of the whole European continent.

This is the matter-of-fact statement of that course of events, whereby Europe was saved. But we must mount still higher, before we can reach the source whence this deliverance flowed. It was the motto of an illustrious sovereign, when her enemies met with a similar destruction, to acknowledge with humble reverence this source; and we must be blind indeed, if we cannot do the same. There is, amidst these events, such a multitude of affairs, that carry us directly to the fountain, that the difficulty lies in making the selection. Holding, however, that by adhering to that system which the Almighty protects with special care, we have a cue thereto, I begin with noticing, that the cause of God, that cause, for which we are to contend in a fair, regular, steady way, to the utmost, is not necessarily the same, with that which includes the rights of nations and of individuals, though it may readily include these. It is in principle opposed to oppression and circumvention; it allies itself with equitable, and generous, and charitable procedure; but it does not necessarily lead these on to success as to every mundane object. The reason of this we all know: it is the great leading design of all its exercises and operations, to separate the good from the bad, and to mark in strong characters the distinctive qualities and tendencies of their respective conduct; but their results are frequently reserved for future retribution or manifestation. That there were many pure and fervent patriots in France, in the early stages of the revolution is not to be denied; and that there were many such in Spain, during the late conflicts, is evinced by proofs that are irresistible It is evident, however, that this patriotism was connected with a multitude of deleterious principles, some of them of the most rank and pestilential kind. It is no less evident, that the blessing of Heaven went not with their procedure; and although we have no absolute right to expect or calculate

upon this blessing, in any case or in any circumstances, we can discern causes and reasons which are declared, from infallible authority, to influence the Divine procedure, in regard to such matters, sufficient to render the want of this blessing no difficulty in the present case. First, those parties were not prepared for the liberty which they grasped at. They sought it presumptuously, and by means that would have blasted any advantage whatever. Rational liberty was professedly their object, but they placed no confidence in the superintendence of Heaven; they proceeded to seize upon it by any means that offered, although these were the most violent and the most criminal. Advantages, when attained, were seldom ever applied scrupulously to their professed object; and they were in the end perverted in a mass to the purposes of the wildest licentiousness, and of the most unprincipled aggrandizement. Secondly. Their cause itself was not that of Heaven: religious improvement was scarcely implied in their scheme; moral obligation and a grateful sense of the blessings which resulted therefrom, and of the advantages which they enjoyed for participating in and diffusing those blessings, were almost unknown amongst them. Their whole objects were mundane; their improvements, innovations and interferences had no ends before them but sublunary good. The advancement, possessions, security and happiness, of which they were in quest, were limited and restricted to mere worldly affairs. So far from profiting by the rays of celestial truth that beamed around them, they sedulously excluded themselves from their influence, and pleased themselves with sparks of their own kindling. Most certainly, the despite done to the leading doctrines of Christianity was not universal, nor the contempt generally expressed for moral and religious obligation, always passed over with applause. But it is enough for us to know, that the sacred banners of the cross were effectually abandoned, and its institutions, as stumbling blocks, swept out of the way. The punishment.

accordingly, that is annexed to such sacrilege, they in effect imprecated on their own head. Was this the cause that Heaven was to designate with tokens of favor, to be peculiarly its own? The fact is, these parties had not only no confidence in, but no desire for the pure train of blessings that would have flowed from this cause: the odour of its celestial origin was offensive to their taste; nay, the ordinary advantages that emanated from its possession, were deemed unworthy of their notice, until they had despoiled it of that genial fragrance, whereby its heavenly character was manifested.

Let us carry those views onward to another instance. The attempt made to renovate the government of Poland, about thirty years since, was grand, and every way meritorious, and the conduct of those who frustrated it was flagitious in the extreme. The failure of this attempt may perhaps be resoluble, on the principles afore illustrated. But whether they be thus resoluble or not, we have sufficient proof of the agency of the Most High, in the long series of spoliations to which the nations who partitioned Poland, and of humiliation to which those sovereigns who triumphed over its dynasty, have since been subjected, which, from their novelty in the history of the world, and their peculiar appetency to the circumstances of the case, cannot be thought of without suggesting the idea of the demerit which preceded it. Leaving this matter, however, let us direct our attention to the history of the sovereign, for whose dynasty the throne of Poland was destinated. The elector of Saxony, the adopted heir of the Polish Crown, but the real heir and high representative of that potentate, who first spread his protecting arm over the protestant faith, abjured the religion for which his ancestors had contended so honorably, and into which he was himself initiated, transferring, at the same time, his august dynasty, and all that he could carry along with him, into the lines of a most impure church.

Now let us remark what has followed. The adopted heir of Poland might well have insisted on securing for those of his own faith, immunities sufficient to make his exaltation to the throne, the means of diffusing its influence throughout the whole of his extensive domains. He might have expressed himself decidedly on the necessity of maintaining the religion of his ancestors; declaring at the same time, and exhibiting by his conduct, that he was in earnest, in his declaration, that every legitimate right, recognized by the state, and committed to his trust, be it catholic or protestant, would be fully respected under his government. He would no doubt have run some risk of losing the proffered succession, but he would have averted the danger to which he was exposed. As it was, he soon had the mortification of seeing the crown, for which he had sold himself, evanish from his sight. All his mundane concerns have at length been involved in the same calamity. He has been tossed about the field of common contestation, as if he had been destitute alike of the faculty of judging for himself, and of the power of discharging faithfully any trust. The humiliating plight, to which, in the end, he has been reduced, bears him up no higher than just to exhibit his former character, and the history of his downfal. This humiliation is executed by his compeers, in despite of their principe of recognising all the old dynasties; and this without any eye to this demerit, but on account of his recent political conduct; while the fact is, that Bavaria, Wirtemberg, Baden, and the long list of sovereigns, who owe their existence to their abject servility to any power that could lead their force against the common cause, are, on this very ground, much more culpable. Nay the King of Saxony had real cause of complaint against the Allies, while those others had none. Who does not here see the eye and the arm of him, who maintains inflexibly his own most sacred cause, vindicating its honor? An analogous instance might be adduced from Sweden, where a king of an ancient and much respected line,

zealous for the common good of kings, but regardless of the interests of his protestant subjects, was hurled from his throne, to make way for a personage, who, by means that are not to be defended on any principle recognized by the sovereigns, mounted the vacated throne, embraced the true faith, and faithfully and magnanimously executes the various complicated duties which its possession implies. This throne he holds in right of services, which secure this advantage inviolably for his dynasty. What a lesson do these things give to protestant princes!

Let us press these statements, and the inferences which flow from them, close home upon the subject before us. It is not yet thirty years, since the great potentates of Europe, perceiving the essential advantages of general improvement, and of giving to their subjects a substantial interest in the public weal, held out to them, with a warm and sincere heart, the proffer of rational liberty. They mistook, however, sublunary advantage for genial and paramount attainments, and they conformed their procedure, in one shape or another, to this general misapprehension. They were, accordingly, one and all of them, ensnared amidst the fallacy of the designs that they prosecuted. They trusted on their own wisdom and strength; they trusted not in Heaven; and their own wisdom and strength failed them in their greatest need. In the progress of events, Europe was resolved into a vast military body. Napoleon Bonaparte, a soldier of fortune, by marrying the disgraced concubine of a leading demagogue, got his foot into the stirrup, whence he mounted to supremacy over this vast mass of military power and means This fortune he bestrode, until he had debased every principle on which the revolution had been defended, and levelled every object to the power of the state. At length, this man of might, become presumptuous and outrageous, met his destruction, where he had hoped to have consummated his wickedness; and he left in the hands of the

sovereigns their former power, wonderfully augmented, and relieved from many heavy clogs, and most weighty encumbrances, that had formerly stood in its way. Seeing the Almighty has wrought out all this deliverance, through a diversity of instruments, of various casts of character, are the sovereigns to suppose, that all this is done for their sakes, to enable them to begin a new career of profligacy, with renewed and accelerated strength and boldness? They, as independent rulers of independent states, have at length come to respect and protect each other's claims, in so far as they are recognised to be legitimate. Thus far is well; but are they to guarantee to each other a plenitude of scope, within which tyranny, corruption and licentiousness, are anew to be exercised at random? This seems to be the prevailing sentiment. But, either there is a Divine Providence who has wrought all this for the nations, or there is not. Who will be bold enough to adopt and abide by the negative of these propositions? Concluding, then, that the government of nations, their heads and representatives, are mainly answerable for their constituents, (who in the aggregate constitute an entity, whose duration, fate, and circumstances are measured upon this earth,) on what sacred ground do they stand! Shall the allied powers, in such circumstances, busy themselves in vain attempts to introduce the old *regime?* They had better think well of the business, before they venture far in the attempt. Their case is now more critical than ever; they have had full experience and example of the consequence of rash procedure, and they have undergone durances, that ought to fix these consequences, and all the lessons connected with them, for ever in their minds. If they now fail in chusing the right way, or in putting forth their whole strength and means, in following out their own, and their people's greatest good; if they refuse to pay that deference to religious truth, which is its due; or abate any of their lawful concern for its interests; then, most assuredly, they may look forward to futurity with dismay, and, while

they are solacing themselves with their good fortune, recollect the precarious tenure by which it is held.

Russia acted magnanimously, and in perfect consistence with her high character, when she gave the hand of brotherhood to Prussia, and Sweden, crest-fallen as these then were. Why did she not follow out this line of conduct, and after placing Poland and Saxony under Prussia, and restoring Finland to Sweden, betake herself to her ancient capital, wherein, in a more genial clime, and amidst renewed advantages, she might have set agoing the whole ameliorating establishments of Europe? But was Russia to abandon all the advantages that result from the possession of Petersburgh, and her influence in the west? That does not follow; Petersburgh, as a great commercial station, and naval depot, and as an appropriate centre of surrounding improvement, might uphold all the advantages of which it is susceptible, without the court; and like Casan, Archangel, Astracan, and other ports on the Euxine, Caspian, Baltic, and North seas, bear its full share of the exterior intercourse of this immense empire. At present, Russia converges her whole strength to the west, and is occupied with wild and empty projects of conquest and aggrandizement, the bequest of the imperious Catherine. Under these, no doubt, her little German friends may seem to serve as advanced posts in her march to the Western Ocean. It becomes her, however, to recollect, that before she could reach this object, convulsions from within, and from beyond, on which her power could scarcely be borne with any hopes of success, would spring up and dilapidate all those superinduced advanges, which she labored to build up. Whereas, under the plan now proposed, Russia would soon be covered with flocks and herds; her immense plains would soon be clothed with plenty, sufficient to sustain, over all her territory, a powerful, intelligent and happy population. She would, in the east, soon reap advantages great and altogether peculiar,

such as would bear up a high order of improvement, every way correspondent to her circumstances, replenish her with commercial riches, and other powerful and valuable advantages; and thereby enable and dispose her to disclose, develope and mature her immense resources, in renovating and concentrating reproductive establishments and institutions, possessed of power and efficacy, coincident alike with the circumstances and character of her population, and with her best and highest interests as a first-rate political power.

If Russia had given this example of genuine force of character, she might have assumed a high tone in the affairs of the European congress. Her interest, as well as that of Britain, is to preserve security and tranquillity throughout Christendom. She, thus seconded, might therefore have said to the petty sovereignties of Germany and of Italy. "The time for all warfare, but such as the common interests of nations render necessary, is now for ever gone. We recognize no white slave trade, no business of human butchery, whereby men are disposed of as so many cattle, to serve the purposes of ambition, and fill the coffers of needy princes. The great dynasties of Christendom, have too long burdened themselves with foreign connexions, who, bred up under high notions of their own importance, and possessed of slender means for displaying it, do, by dint of their affinity with the sovereign, unfold profligate and nefarious habits, whereby the head and the members of the state are set in opposition to the community, and the amalgamation of the sovereign with his people, prevented by a discrementive alloy. This necessity, in their former dependent condition, is now at an end. We mean not, however, to deprive you of your laws, or of your separate and legitimate existence, as political entities. All that we propose doing is, to aggregate you under two great states, and to render it needful for you to settle in great deliberative bodies, those disputes which you now adjust amidst political intrigues, and by force of

arms. We place over each of you, a great independent prince; who, as your common father, is charged with watching over your whole general interests; and who, residing in the midst of you, and having no interest, care, or duty, but what is common to all his subjects, must, as your head, be invested with all the power that is necessary for enabling him to execute his trust with fidelity. To assist him in this, both states shall have a general congress, composed of two bodies, one of representatives, chosen by the people at large, as collected in convenient cantonments, the other of a senate, composed of yourselves as their chiefs. By the majority of voices in these assemblies, and with the concurrence of your prince, all general laws are to be ordained and enforced. You need no army and no treasures, but such as are under the command of the princes' responsible ministers; who, of course, with the consent and advice of the congress, will draw these forth according as occasion requires. You yourselves, though chiefs, and all your municipal functionaries, though independent in their character, or of your own special nomination, must be amenable to the common law of the realm. As chiefs, you are thereby deprived of a useless and burdensome sovereignty: but in return for this, you have seats in the senate, and in the great councils of a great empire, where your voice and influence reach, in a fair, regular and recognized form, to matters of the greatest and highest import, amidst which your affairs, and your whole chain of connexions, may increase and advance in all that is estimable, in perfect peace and security. It must be a leading point with you, to diffuse religious, moral, and intellectual blessings throughout the whole range of your community; and as the blessings thus diffused will, in the natural course of things, come to be concentrated and perpetuated, your condition must correspondently advance." Every one understands the character of this improvement in the affairs of Christendom. These states are associated under a form, as nearly correspondent to that of the United States of

America, and placed under a government, as nearly resembling that of Britain, as their circumstances can at present admit of. Subsequent improvements, to be introduced as circumstances favored, might, if it was judged expedient, render this correspondence and resemblance nearer. But whether this took place or not, the great object of legislation would, amidst such arrangements, be effectually answered. If Russia, thus seconded, had thus deported herself, she would have raised a monument of fame to her national prowess and magnanimity, unparalleled in the history of the world, saving only in that of Great Britain for the last twenty years. Russia, however, whether from necessity or choice, has pursued a very opposite line of conduct. She has added so much to her territory, and has permeated the best part of Europe so thoroughly, by connexions and dependents of one kind and another, that, considering the character and organization of her system, it may be apprehended, that she has become just such another colossus of military power, as we dreaded, in revolutionary France. She commands Turkey and the east, most absolutely; and her resources are such, that if she were fully aroused into a warlike attitude, we would be at a loss to find out a state, which she did not directly or indirectly influence. How much to be wished is it, that the present Emperor, so much famed for his magnanimity, would establish Poland, and the whole of his western domains, into an independent constitutional monarchy, under one of his brothers.

But I would by no means lay greater weight on these matters than they can fairly and easily bear; nor regard any particular arrangement of territory, as essential to the progress of improvement. We may still hope, that amidst such a variety of interests, movements the most opposite from those that are calculated upon, may take place. Perhaps, peculiar compensating blessings may arise from what is now done. It is certain that we would, as things stand, endanger much

by attempting to discompose the settlement that has been effectuated; and it cannot be too strongly impressed on our minds, that in so far as we are pledged to it, it is indispensibly necessary for us to hold it as concluded. I remark on this head, however, that it is impossible for princes to mortgage the means or the power of the nation which they govern, for purposes that are not clearly resoluble into general good. To mortgage these, for instance, in defence of the present Spanish system, would be as criminal as to mortgage them in defence of that of Algiers, or the ancient man of the mountains. To some it may appear that this remark might be spared, as no liguments are more fragile than those that subsist betwixt sovereigns, and no consideration so unimportant as not occasionally to dissever them. Although, however, I am satisfied, that the merest tide of interest will sometimes carry off their good will from its safest harbour; yet, as we see that there are among princes and statesmen, conscientious and honest men, who would hold themselves bound, in all circumstances, to any obligation under which they may be brought, whether their brethren did so or not; and as these might be ensnared by entanglements, which could have no other end but to dispart their interest from those of their subjects, and thus render them effectually the dupes of all who could thus affect their councils, it is proper, that the natural limits of princely power should be distinctly understood, and recognised as a matter on all hands set at rest. Nothing is of more importance than national honor, and that pledge for it which the sovereign gives; and perhaps, the reason why its dictates are so often disregarded is, its being extended to points where it cannot be effectually supported. It is a vain, and it is a vile thing for a prince to pledge himself and his subjects to immoral procedure. It is worse to act up to those obligations, in defiance of its obvious consequences; but it is worst of all to persevere in such conduct, where heaven and earth seem to conspire to render it necessary for him to be true to those interests which he

represents. For these interests he is bound to sacrifice, where the occasion requires it, every thing that is personal, or peculiar to his own interests.

I am not without some hopes, that the petty sovereignties both of Germany and of Italy will, of their own accord, from motives of common interest, associate themselves, in some such way as that which has been recommended. It must be carefully attended to, however, that although such associations must be productive of public good, to aggrandize the great powers at present established, by such means, would have a tendency directly the reverse. Already the Rubicon has been passed, and it is seen what military force, under a powerful chief, can effectuate. Like the states of Ancient Greece, those of Christendom have admitted the greatest military power upon earth into their councils, and it has not been found that they can withstand his influence. It is not upon the generous heroes of our own day that we have to calculate. We must act upon system, for system will assuredly form circumstances correspondent to itself. These considerations give us one reason why the foregoing allotment of territory is deserving of notice; the interests of general improvement give us the other, which is scarcely less cogent. Both these reasons, joined to the resolution expressed by the house of Braganza of establishing itself in the Brazils, must dispose us to wish it carried farther, and to give Portugal to Spain in exchange for Paraguay, to the house of Braganza. The circumstances of the times favor it, and the commixture of councils, and bearing of general interests, thus produced, would, more than any principle that can be introduced into these nations, lead on to a system of national representation. Through national representation, accuracy and precision of procedure would be obtained, and through all these, by graduated measures, radical and national improvement. This hint, however, is thrown out chiefly on account of the necessities in which these powers are now involved; because it is certain, that these necessities have arisen out of those nar-

row views of national advantage which they mutually cherish, and that there is no nation upon earth that possesses greater advantages for general improvement, than these would possess under this arrangement.

Having made these remarks, I revert to the principle which has been mainly elucidated in this note, and conclude with remarking, that the thrones now possessed by the potentates of Europe have been procured for them by the fidelity of their subjects, and under the direct or implied condition of being occupied for their good, their highest good, and their permanent good; and that the bargain thus concluded has been ratified and sealed amidst rivers of their blood. The people may hold in their hands no instrument, demonstrative of their claim, no pledge in security for the faithful discharge of their duty, while the sovereigns have now full power to make their people fulfil their part. But let it be recollected, that nothing can relieve them from the load of responsibility under which they now labor, but providing for their people, an equitable civil constitution, to which they, and also their heirs and all their successors, whomsoever these may turn out to be, shall be ever after bound. Without this they do nothing; their personal virtues are all so many lures, deluding the people to their destruction; and their largesses, but preludes to general prodigality and excess. There may be no eye nor arm of man to enforce this paramount obligation; but assuredly Christendom remains under influences that will demark the procedure of nations, and of all who represent national procedure, in a manner sufficiently indicative of their over-ruling force. We may not be able to tell how, or by what means, Heaven may accomplish his object, but most assuredly, his procedure will consist with giving largely of his best blessings to those who acquit themselves faithfully of their duty, and with plentifully pouring on the head of those who, after so many warnings, denounciations and examples, can still make light of the most sacred obligations, the whole consequences of their demerit.

Let us now, however, turn to our own particular duty. Whatever other nations or governments may do, our duty is laid upon us in terms too plain and too cogent to admit of contravention. The time was, when the faithful disciples of our most holy faith, like the followers of the tabernacle in the wilderness, moved about from place to place, exposed to all the inclemencies of the elements. Humble and despised, they were the alternate objects of indignant contempt to the mother of corruption, and to her feudatory kings. At length, Britain became their secure asylum and rallying point. In vain did the terrific Armada rage amidst the howling deep. HE blew with his winds and it was dispersed. Our sacred dynasty, with the whole assembled chiefs of the nation, were snatched from horrible destruction, by a providential interference scarcely less wonderful. When this dynasty, however, had so far degenerated, as to lose its adumbrating influences, to merge amidst surrounding profanity, and to amalgamate with the profligate feudatories of Rome, a deliverer was provided, and a scion of its ancient stock established in its stead. This removal, by a wonderful coincidence of events, took place when the powerful aid of Britain was necessary to arrest the march of unbounded ambition, and to save Europe from the deep darkness of universal despotism. Britain, thus preserved and blessed, advanced in all that was excellent, she excited the envy of her powerful enemies, who, dropping their mutual animosity, leagued together in greater and greater masses, in the hopes of bearing her down by their enormous weight. These attempts, however, successively ended in establishing on higher grounds, the superior power and splendor of the British system, and in illustrating the magnanimity and progressive greatness of the British nation. The next design of France was to traverse and circumscribe our colonial prowess in America; but she was obliged, not only to desist from the attempt, but to abandon the whole territory that had given rise to the encroachment. Rising thus triumphant from the storm, our ungrateful colonies forsook those standards under which their

prosperity had arisen; they aspired to independence, and ranged themselves in the same ranks with those foes, from whose hostility they had but just escaped. These foes, still anxious to triumph over the genius of free British Protestantism, greedily availed themselves of this new opportunity of bearing their force against our most essential concerns; but here, too, they were foiled in their object. Britain was chastened by the loss of her colonies, and she learned to respect those rights of British subjects, which she had attempted to violate. She was taught, that freedom of intercourse, and an equitable representation of government, were boons that she could not with impunity refuse; that these British colonies, the result of her former misapprehensions of rightful power, owed her no obedience, unless she duly maintained her paternal situation; and that they were well warranted, by force of arms, to defend the rights of freemen, for the sake of which they had originally expatriated themselves. This lesson, bestowed by Heaven on the British sovereign, he received with all that humility and submission that was its due. He was left in possession of the colony he had conquered from France, and he has earned more honor by his faithful and affectionate regard to the independence of his former subjects, than he could possibly have gained by their complete subjugation. Here, we have the character and the objects of our duty exemplified before us; let us not refuse their grateful impressions. The sovereigns of Europe know little of these things. Perhaps, when they befriended America, they had in their eye the conduct and example of our first Protestant Queen. If they had, they most assuredly mistook the case altogether. Before their circumstances could have been like her's, they behoved to have been ranged under the same influences with those for whom they contended. But to be placed under such influences was the last thing that they wished for. Soon, however, the character and the consequences of interjecting their coarse and sinister projects, in such a sacred cause, was disclosed to them; and amidst the disasters and humiliations of a whole age, the

instruction which they stood in need of, has been rung in their ears, with such accents, that nothing but the extremity of human obduracy can resist its force.

We must not, however, conclude, that they will not resist the force of these instructions. Marking their former and their present conduct, we must at all events admit, that, as yet, we have not such sufficient reason to conclude, that the discipline accorded to them, has had all those salutary effects that are necessary to induce us (to the dereliction of our own sacred line of duty,) to amalgamate our concerns with theirs. We see not these potentates, like the Babylonish monarch, bowing before that power whom they had offended, and emulous to give proofs of their devotedness to his interests in this world. We see them not, like wise, good and pious men, leading their subjects into the paths of excellence, and cherishing and fostering those precious germs of improvement, that have been miraculously preserved to their hands; shielding those sacred trusts that have anew been devolved on them, from their own and their successor's violence, by constitutional laws; and advancing to the foreground of all their pursuits, the sacred cause of Heaven. Although, therefore, we may, and we must stretch forth the hand of brotherly aid, when circumstances render it necessary, let us not so far identify their concerns with ours, as to tie up our hands in the discharge of those paramount duties which are obviously laid upon us; nor consent to be fettered in the exercise of our most precious and hallowed privileges—that of spreading the powerful influences of our banners, over the cause that is devolved on our special care, and befriending its unfortunate abettors, when they rest upon our aid. We know where our strength lies; and if, amidst the dalliance of unsanctified indulgence, we consent to give it up, we must and shall most assuredly endure the bitter consequences, be forced to submit, not only to all the humiliating scornful drudgery that our foes may inflict, but to see our most sacred privileges, the peculiar blessings of our most holy faith, blasted amidst the convulsions of the storm.

These considerations disclose to us the vast importance of national duty, and of that line of it, which it has been the business of this treatise to unfold; they lead us also to notice a department of this duty which has not heretofore come in our way. I refer to the case of the Irish papists, whose ill-defined claims are perpetually rung in our ears. I am not to defend the test act, which, as now constituted, imposes violence only on tender consciences, deprives the state of much useful talent, and perverts a most sacred rite, to profane purposes; but neither can I plead for the abrogation of all distinctive rules in regard to this point. We are, necessarily and strictly, a vast protestant association, and a direct,[1] unequivocal and credible declaration of belief and adherence, on the part of all our great public functionaries, is thereto indispensibly necessary. Taking this ground, I would maintain it, for behoof and advantage, not only of British protestants, but of Irish papists, whose interest, in the existence and maintenance of our free protestant constitution, is as clear and essential as that of English episcopalians. Under our government, the papists, in the aggregate, enjoy greater liberty of conscience, more valuable means of improvement, and more perfect security in the possession of those, than ever they permitted protestants to enjoy, when they had the ascendancy, than they themselves do enjoy in any other country upon earth, and than they would enjoy, if they had the boon, after which they seem so earnestly to long. In order to clear up this matter, it is not necessary to refer to the annals of St. Hildebert, or of Thomas-a-Becket; the position is sufficiently established, by referring to what is passing at this moment under our eye. In Belgium, almost in defiance of an immense protestant army, and in the face of their sovereign's declarations, the papists are contending for those exclusive privileges, which they usurped during the darkest ages. In Spain, they are acting up to the full import of these claims. In France, in despite of the supreme authority, the papists are pursuing the same course. The truth is, the Popish superstition

is inconsistent with free or tolerant principles; and it is only when its power is effectually restrained, that these principles can have place.

But it is said, the Irish papists will be content with much less than this, they only claim access to those places of power and trust, which the wisdom of the sovereign may find to be their due. I answer, it was some such language as this, that the Parisian rabble held, when the good-natured King Louis allowed their leaders to beguile his sceptre out of his hands. Yet these leaders were not the worst men he had to do with, for they were soon displaced by those who upraised them, in order to make way for others of a still more outrageous cast, who anew made farther encroachments, and were then driven out of the way by more furious competitors. The Popish system is constituted on these very principles, and it is so replete with tremendous instruments, that those, who are involved within its vortex, are seldom able to recover themselves. Belief, in the supremacy and infallibility of the mother church, supersedes every other consideration; and obedience to her dictates is paramount to every moral attainment. Nor is this all. Her encroachments are incessant as well as boundless; insidious and intricate, as well as audacious and unrelenting. After you have satiated the demands of one order of claimants, you must lay your account with meeting those of another behind them, over whom those claimants have as little influence as yourself; and these too, when gratified, will but make way for others, and others, continually increasing in number, and rising in their demands. No pledge, no concession will bind them as a body to your interests, for they are in mind and in body essentially the property of their priests, and the hold, which their system has over this possession, reaches to the most powerful principles of human nature. Neither can these priests, however we may harmonize them to our system, or modify their temperament, be made the objects of your confidence, while any thing that they can claim

remains undelivered. They are themselves but the advanced guard of their own body, who, in close succession, are ready at all times to follow up every advantage.

These considerations are to us of the very last moment. All the privileges and advantages that we enjoy, have been wrung out of the hands of papists. Nay, our rights to our properties and possessions would soon become matters of dispute, if this party were ever to regain its power. Every one who has any opportunity of knowing the sentiments of their priests, must be satisfied, how earnestly they long after those ancient patrimonial domains, in which they at one, time rioted to excess. Give to the papists the privilege of access to places of power and trust, and you will soon find, that the sovereign will not dare to refuse them a decided preference to these places. By and by, the individuals, thus favored, will be found to be immured in difficulties that will render it impossible even for them to act, otherwise, than in subserviency to the Popish cause. We are but too well acquainted with the lukewarmness of protestants, to believe that these encroachments would be vigorously opposed. When, therefore, you have admitted papists into the leading offices in the army and navy, into the bench and the cabinet, you must be prepared to meet them on the throne itself, (for it is not to be expected, that an isolated protestant monarch could long maintain his high seat,) and to see not only your whole civil and ecclesiastical constitution subverted, but the rights and possessions of individuals, that come in their way, set at nought. What would follow under a restored Popish establishment we know not; but, if we can suppose, (and it is no harsh supposition, where the most immense prizes are only to be won by fraud) another Gregory or Alexander to be in the Papal chair, we may calculate on seeing them set out in earnest in the pursuit of the true Popish line of succession; and, if they cannot, by dint of the prowess of some relic, find this out in a personage, fitted for their own purposes, have them agitating those who may happen to

fill the British throne, in such a manner, that the monarch would find it most expedient to compound with them for the most outrageous of their demands. That these are no overcharged representations, the history of bygone ages sufficiently attests. At present, our rulers are amused with their professed deference to the supreme power. Let these reflect however, that if, by the instrumentality of popery, they could relieve themselves from popular restraint, it would only be to wreath around their own necks, the more galling yoke of ecclesiastical tyranny. The national system of Britain, is that which of all others excites the deepest animosity; because it has laid open the fallacies which other systems shrouded. Although, therefore, for the sake of subverting it, they may whet the cupidity of our rulers to the utmost, this is only to bereave them as well as their subjects, of advantages the most precious and momentous.

These considerations are all of the deepest importance; and unhappily circumstances but too plainly disclose to us, that they have other support besides that of hypothesis. Already has our government been allured under disgraceful bonds to the Roman Pontiff, by virtually recognising his authority, when interposed in its favour, against his suffragans and adrents subjected to the British crown. Whether the Pontiff's complacency proceeds from gratitude, or from a design to keep us under thraldom to his courtesy, may not be very easily determined; but it is certain, that we are thereby placed in a dilemma that is deplorable in the extreme, and such as we ought most timously to prevent.

In proceeding to this duty, it becomes us to set to work with pure hands. We must recollect, that the Irish papists, though thus injurious and debased, are professedly our Christian brethren and fellow subjects, and that it is necessary, for us also, to certiorate ourselves that there is nothing to blame on our part. Although it may be wise and neces-

sary for their good, as well as our own, to exclude papists from leading offices in the army and navy, on the bench and at the bar, at the court and in the cabinet: because the powers inseparable from these stations are immense, and in effect irresistible; because this power and influence may be so abused and perverted, so as to produce great and irremediable mischief; and because experience has demonstrated it to us, that papists, though thus exalted, would still remain under a bondage to their party, that might readily lead to the most serious kinds of abuse and perversity. But is there any good reason why papists should be excluded from both houses of parliament? I confess I know of none, and can think of none that deserves to be stated. If I could suppose it possible, that the declamations or intrigues of Popish senators could be dangerous or prejudicial in such circumstances, I would proceed to argue the point; but as I am thoroughly convinced that it would have an effect completely the reverse, I must confess that I am disposed to contend strenuously for their admission into parliament, on the same footing with their fellow subjects. There, we may hear their claims stated in all their dimensions, and have them discussed and argued on their own grounds; and the consequence can only be this, that we must meet them fully on ours. Thereby, the papists will be taught to appeal to the reason and expediency of the case, and we may certainly do the same. In the meantime, their constituents may be gratified to the utmost, by the force and freedom with which the whole views and wishes of their party may be urged; and these senators, by displaying their prowess and dexterity in managing their case, may earn not only confidence, but popularity, with the whole popish interest. Our protestant legislators, too, will come to know and appretiate, with sufficient seriousness, the nature and character of the advantages that they enjoy. The result we may fairly anticipate. The meritorious struggles of our ancestors, in the cause of civil and religious liberty, will come to be duly estimated; truth

and sound policy will maintain their ground; and, in great points of controversy, appeals will be made to our feelings, not through the medium of violence and coertion, but through that of principles recognized by the whole parties concerned.

But our duty does not terminate, when we shall have restored to the papists their native privileges. If our reformed religion is as much prized by us in truth, as it is in profession, we will examine how far we have followed out its object. We have given to Ireland a most stupendous church establishment, so great indeed, that it is said the people groan incessantly under its load. What do our churchmen effectuate in return for this plentiful provision? The answer is but too completely prepared to our hands. How does this happen? is it from the nature of the case, or from any defect of duty on their part? Here the answer is equally plain. These churchmen desert their sacred standards by whole regiments; and they do this before offering to strike one blow for that Master, to whom they profess to be devoted: whose service is so honorable, and whose provision for their supply is so ample and so secure. What excuse do they offer for such conduct? The Irish are such bigotted papists that they wont come to their churches. Now such an excuse cannot be received with much complacency, when it is known, that their Master, our blessed Lord and Saviour, whose footsteps they are bound to follow, went about, every where, preaching his gospel in the face of every danger, and amidst sufferings of all kinds, and frequently placed his pure and sacred presence amidst the vilest of men, declaring, as his reason for so doing, that his business in this world was with such—to call them to repentance. Let protestant ministers shew equal fidelity, in the discharge of their sacred trust to ignorant Irish papists; let them solicit these to accept of their services in any shape, at any place, in any circumstances, that suit their occasions. Let them proffer these with

meek and humble officiousness, and, like the chief of the Apostles, be instant in season and out of season; and persevere in such conduct, assiduously and pertinaciously, amidst rebuffs, contempt, despite, and every danger; and in their zeal for their great work, let them forgive such indignities, and forget such hardships. Let them try all this, and at the same time be steady in their devotional offices, and earnest in benevolent services; and then patiently await the result. I will not be bold enough to say, that the Irish, surrounded by these and by innumerable blessings and advantages, the rich and invaluable behest of the system that is thus promulgated, will forthwith bow their necks to the purifying and animating influences of the reformed faith; but I will venture to aver, that their animosity against it will be abated, and that myriads of them will be effectually reclaimed, whom no other discipline would affect. As things are, it is at once wicked and absurd to charge on the papists, so severely, their contempt of the protestant religion. The example and the influence of those whose business it is to promulgate the truth, accompanied with seasonable and earnest expostulations and admonitions are, what they have never yet obtained; and, until these shall have been obtained, much of the fault must lie with those whose business it is to provide these for them. As well may we expect to reap wheat where none has been sown; to obtain a plentiful harvest where there has been a barren spring, as to look for the fruits of pure and undefiled religion in such an uncultivated wilderness as the church of Ireland at present is.

The inference from all this is plain and obvious. We have neglected and disparaged our most sacred duties, and the consequence of our having done so has overtaken us. We are trumpeting through the world our triumphs over ignorance and heathenism in foreign lands; but we are marring this same most sacred work, within our own territory. We are levying contributions, for the service of Christianity in

every country on the globe; while at home, a most immense pile of means, expressly constituted and destined for our own use, and set aside for this very purpose, have, under our eye, become corrupted from the want of due exercise, at the time we are suffering all the wretchedness that can result from the defect of such supply. But how are we to get redress from these offending churchmen? I ask again, what do you do in parallel cases? If any department of the revenue goes into disorder, do you not set the commissioners, whose business it is to superintend this department, agoing, throughout the whole region where the evil lies, and make these, by an investigation of particulars, by operating forthwith the requisite redress, and by a castigation, and where necessary, expulsion, of delinquents, clear the movements that were obstructed, and you fix your officers to their post, in such a way, as to secure yourself most effectually against future alarm? Our brave warriors, if but a minute from their post, or if they misapprehend their duty but a single iota, must purge themselves fully in the eye of the public. Now apply these rules to the case of churchmen, who are, in like manner, public functionaries and fellow servants; whose office is most honorable, whose duty is most imperious, whose reward is most ample, and whose negligence or disparagement of trust, since it produces disorders the most fatal, must subject them to the most severe penalties, and see into what procedure they would lead. Do these things not discover the indispensible necessity of enforcing church discipline, not so much on the wandering sheep, as on the drowsy pastors? Do they not disclose to us the duty of appointing to church livings, only pious, discreet, intelligent and zealous protestants; that of compelling every individual amongst them to reside constantly on his charge, and, in all circumstances, to be completely on the alert at his post; the bishops and their suite, in scrutinizing with severity the doctrine and conduct of the clergy within their bounds; and the pastors and teachers, in enforcing the truth, by precept and exam-

ple the most cogent. This, no doubt, to these public functionaries, will appear to be a very different thing from stalking along the broad way to preferment, disclosing, with the graces of their oratory, the piety and beneficence of their patrons; but it is the only method by which they can discharge their duty, and benefit the country that pays for and rewards their services; and it is that same narrow and rugged path, which their Master trode before them, and commanded them to follow after him. Neither the laws of the land, those of their establishment, nor those of the bible, exeem churchmen from responsibility as public functionaries. If we choose to let these laws drop asleep, and our clergy to doze over their most important duty, whilst all classes of men, from the king on the throne, to the meanest of his subjects, though seriously and faithfully discharging their own line of public duty, are kept in perpetual agitation from the mishaps of churchmen—let us not say that we are braving it for our country, our laws, our sovereign; we are only labouring for the repose of slothful churchmen, who, having deserted their most honorable post, have left it, to you, and the whole mass of your concernments, to fill up the gap, and to meet the consequences.

As a valuable mean and assistance in urging forward the great work of reformation above referred to, the aid of Baptists, Moravians, Methodists, and other respectable well-disposed protestant associations, ought to be sought after, and suitable encouragement provided for supporting them under their labours, more particularly, in those counties where there is most need of aid; these always paying due deference to the labors of faithful established pastors. The last mentioned of these associations appears to be peculiarly adapted to such services; but it seems there is some standing agreement betwixt the heads of their party, and those of the established church, which precludes them from exercising themselves in Ireland as they ought; an agreement, which,

as it is altogether unchristian, must, for the good of all parties, be mutually undone. In the meantime, all the other plans now in progress towards the same object ought to be reinforced, and improved in coincidence with existing circumstances. In the view of furthering the general design, I have only to suggest the expediency of diffusing public intelligence, civil, ecclesiastical and political. This is one of best means for giving the Irish population, a sense of interest in our common concerns. The strong redoubt to which papists at all times have recourse, whenever they are hard pushed at an argument, being the antiquity and established grandeur of the papal establishment, the printing and distributing of excerpts from church history, whereby the usurpations of the Roman see, and the malverse practices and dereliction of the Christian principles of its adherents, are disclosed, together with judicious and authentic extracts from the narrations of missionaries, cannot but be particularly useful. As the labors, pains, and time, spent in such services, will most assuredly not go unrewarded, let us neither be sparing in our contributions of these, nor alarmed at any obstructions that may come in our way. Already, we have reaped largely of some of the best fruits of such enterprise. The field is large and sufficiently interesting. Let us recollect, that we ought to stop short of nothing less than complete success; that this, with the help of Heaven, we may fairly aspire to; that having established the ascendancy of our system, we secure to ourselves the affections of a warm-hearted, intrepid race of fellow subjects; and that prosecuting this object as we ought, our highest wishes can never outgo our ultimate reward.

The peculiar circumstances, and real importance of this department of our public affairs, have occasioned those detailed animadversions. Thence we learn, that we may not only relieve ourselves from a tremendous mass of deleterious principles, but resolve these, as high agents, in the service of

improvement; that we may do this by means and instruments already provided and prepared to our hands; and that we may thereby replenish our system, where replenishment is most necessary. Doubtless, by following out analogous principles, similar advantages may be obtained in other departments of our civil affairs; but the illustration of these it is impossible to take up at this time.

Besides the foregoing annotation, to which the necessity of reference was anticipated, in the progress of the work, the following, suggested by a reconsideration of the leading articles of the general design, are evidently called for.

Pages 566, *&c. and Note in* 774, *&c.*

Here, the first financial scheme is unfolded, and traced through a variety of ramifications. Taking, however, into consideration, the advantages that must result from the full operation of the whole project, it may now be stated that, though, while groping for financial relief and security, amidst the most profound difficulties, it might be needful that each bank or financial establishment, should be bound, not only to mortgage two full sets of property, one for the security of the impledgments circulated, and another for their security, while replaced in these banks, as their ultimate resolution; but also to institute a process, whereby it could at all times be completely ascertained, that these banks absorbed no more of the public property than they covered. Yet now, amidst such a plenitude of financial resources as we now hold to be obtained, it must be admitted, that it would be sufficient, to enforce the obligation of mortgaging the double set of property, (that is thrice the amount of value in land to that of the impledgments that were to be validated,) without enforcing the exhibition of their transac-

tions, as first proposed; and to leave it to the regular and ordinary course of their business, to check and circumscribe their transactions.

Page 596, *and subsequent context.*

The great design of many regulations, proposed in the course of this treatise, is to give to those who are possessed of capital, confidence to adventure into the foremost rank of commercial enterprise; and to give them this advantage, by bringing as much as possible under their eye the whole extent of the risk which they encounter. That this object is to be promoted by limiting the power of bills of exchange, and transmissable vouchers of debt, is self-evident. It is proposed in the context to which reference is made, to have the law and rule in regard to indorsation to be, that this implies a pledge as to the tenor and import of the note thus docqueted, but *no pledge as to its ultimate resolution*, unless responsibility is expressly assumed. In order to obviate certain difficulties, it was proposed to recognize the competency of indorsers, to give a separate obligation, binding themselves to the validity of the bill; and to give to the instrument, inferring this obligation, the whole virtues of the original note of hand, provided this note of hand was redelivered, within a month after maturity, to such indorsers, and the obligation alone rested on. On reconsidering the case, there appears to be so many avenues, through which underhand advantages could be given, in following out this corollary, that I would propose to drop the recognizal altogether, and to rest simply, solely, and in all cases, upon the bill, or instrument of exchange, and to hold none bound for its ultimate resolution, but those whose declaration to that effect, duly dated and signeted, it bore.

Page 882, *and subsequent context.*

Here, and in various other parts of the treatise, it is meant so to digest the general scheme, that its impressions, on the interests and feelings of individuals and on society at large, may, in all circumstances, be obviously and decidedly favorable to pure and sound morality. Sensible of the paramount influence of fascinating display, and of the insuperable potency of established and consuetudinary habits, its principles are accordingly recognised as extending to every department of social life, and throughout the whole concernments of each individual of every rank. It is proper, however, to notice that in moral agency, laws, regulations and ordinations are of little avail, unless they can be made to reach the heart. As a mean for effectuating this object, and trusting to the aid and blessing of Almighty God, let us farther proceed to extend, multiply and improve those institutions and associations for wise and benevolent purposes, whereby the best principles and purest feelings of the human soul are to be unfolded and exercised, and whereunto the brilliant vivacity of youth, the manly emulation of maturer age, and the sage experience of advanced years, may be aggregated, and their general ardor elicited with becoming spirit, and with decided advantage. As this subject does not readily admit of brief discussion, and is unfolded at full length in another work, as expressed in a note on page 893, reference to that work is accordingly made.

It is necessary, however, to subjoin the two following remarks. First, that in pursuing this object, family feelings must be cherished and extended, towards all those who come within their range; and what is called family pride, be made to circumscribe the whole concernments of the younger, as well as the elder branches of a family, of the female as well

as the male lines of descent. Secondly, that these feelings must be exalted and liberalized, so as to embrace the interests of its objects, though residing in the most remote corners of the earth, and so as to enter into those attainments, which regard points of character, that have little or no connexion with contingent and mundane concerns. It is one of the highest and chiefest designs of this treatise to effectuate these objects, and to give to our system a spring and energy, correspondent to that which prevailed in the days of chivalry; the impetus thus procured being always under the guidance of its highest principles.

Page 1116, *and subsequent context.*

At the time when this treatise was passed through the press, and for long time before, three per cents. had been below 60. Taking into account, however, our present circumstances, it is evident, that under the scheme proposed, these must now be taken at a much higher rate, in order to coincide with the object in view, and correspond with the rising state of the country. Assuming this as the basis of our procedure in this business, and holding it as altogether uncontrovertible, that possessed of such advantages, it is indispensibly necessary for Government to keep steadily in eye, not only the whole range of those affairs, that existing circumstances press upon its notice, but that vast sphere of essential and universal advantage, in which these affairs move, and to conduct itself accordingly, on liberal as well as equitable principles, I would farther propose, that, into the plan here sketched out, be introduced the principles of that scheme which was adopted during the reign of his late Majesty, for reducing the rate of public interest. This, in the case before us, would amount to this. First, that Government do, as a previous step, create a species of funds, into which

all other kinds of funds may be resolved, with some decided pecuniary advantage, taking the average price of stock for a twelvemonth preceding; and that it thereupon transfer to this species of stock, and to it alone, the option of being resoluble into authoritative impledgements as proposed in our scheme. I would also, in the case above referred to, restrict the holders of stock to a certain day, for effecting this resolution; which resolution, if not then accomplished, should never afterwards be accompanied with the proffered advantages. But I would leave the option for ever open, upon easy conditions, and thereby fix invariably the standard of interest; which, from the immensity of the resources from which the medium could, in such circumstances, be thenceforward drawn, would fix, with equal precision, the value of all reproductive subjects whatever, and render this value determinate, not upon the plenty or scarcity of money, but on the intrinsic qualities of their produce.

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